

A N
ABRIDGMENT

O F

Sir *Walter Raleigh's*

HISTORY of the WORLD,

In Five B O O K S.

- I. From the Creation to *Abraham*. II. From *Abraham* to the Destruction of the Temple of *Solomon*. III. From the Destruction of *Jerusalem* to *Philip* of *Macedon*. IV. From *Philip* of *Macedon* to the Race of *Antigonus*. V. From the Establishment of *Alexander* until the Conquest of *Asia* and *Macedon* by the *Romans*.

Wherein the particular Chapters and Paragraphs are succinctly Abridg'd according to his own Method in the larger Volume.

To which is Added,
His Premonition to Princes

With some Genuine R E M A I N S of that
Learned Knight, *Viz.*

- I. Of the first Invention of Shipping.
II. A Relation of the Action at *Cadiz*.
III. A Dialogue between a *Jesuite* and a *Recusant*.
IV. An Apology for his unlucky Voyage to *Guiana*.

Publish'd by *PHILLIP RALEIGH*, Esquire,
the only Grandson to Sir *Walter*.

L O N D O N,

Printed for *M. Gillyflower*, and are to be Sold by *Ralph Smith*, at the Bible under the Royal Exchange, 1700.



Times Witness Herald of Antiquity
The Light of Truth & Life of Memory

*London Printed for Mat: Gillyflower at the Spread Eagle
in Westminster Hall.*

THE
PUBLISHER's Advertisement
TO THE
R E A D E R.

I Need not give any Account of the Excellency of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* History of the World, of which this is an Abridgment: The great Knowledge and Learning, the accurate Skill in Penetration, the sublime Wisdom and Piety, together with the curious Remarks and Observations which so signally appear in that History, have sufficiently recommended it to the Judicious part of the World. Yet, notwithstanding these Excellencies, Sir *Walter* has not been without some considerable Imperfections in respect to History, which he has shewn in his too frequent and long Digressions, and Observations; and tho' several of them are very fine and Ingenious, yet too many of them are wholly Foreign to his Subject: But his Moral and Religious Reflections, tho sometimes long, are generally too excellent to need a Vindication. The above mention'd Faults of this Great Man, which were the general Faults of the Age in which he liv'd, have made many curious Persons wish for an Epitomy of that large Volume, wherein his Excellencies might in a great measure be retain'd, and his Errors be wholly expung'd. This was attempted near Fifty Years since by *Alexander Ross*, but with small Skill and Success; for he has injudiciously fill'd his Epitomy with the most trifling



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and trashy parts of the Original, and omitted too much of what was most material and substantial. For which Reason I have ventur'd to Publish this Abridgment, of which I shall give the Reader this Brief Account.

Above a Year and a half since it was given me by an Ingenious and Judicious Friend, who knew nothing of the Author; but finding it to be done with singular Care and Judgment, he desir'd me to View it and Publish it. Upon Examination, I found my Friend's Character to be rather short of the Author's Deserts, both as to his Skill and Accuracy in Extracting the Essence of the Original; so that I could do no less than expose so choice a piece to the view of the Publick. All that I have done, besides the Expunging and shortning some Passages, is the Correcting and Altering of the Style, which in most places was too obsolete: But in that I have still preserv'd its first Resemblance to the Original, which was almost as remarkable for the Style as the Matter; so that the Reader is not to expect all the Purity of a New Written History, for that would have been too unlike Sir *Walter*. Besides, the Reader may here find an Excellent Abridgment of Sir *Walter's* Preface, which is a most sublime Piece of Morality and Divinity, and a most Noble Lesson and Instruction to all Princes and great Persons; being by many esteem'd of more Worth than all his History besides.

Louth in Lincolnshire,
Octob. 25. 1697;

3 AU 59

Laurence Echard,

SIR,

Sir Walter Raleigh's

Premonition to

PRINCES.

MY own weak Reason convinc'd me, how unfit a choice I made of my Self, to undertake a Work of this nature. For had it been generated in my younger Years, before any Wound receiv'd either by Fortune or Time, yet I might well have fear'd, that the Darknes of Age and Death would have cover'd both me and it, long before its performance: It had better suited with my Disability, to have confin'd my Discourse within our renown'd Island of Britain, and to have set together the disjointed Frame of our English Affairs, than in the Evening of a Tempestuous Life, thus to begin with an History of the World from the Creation. But the deep piercing Wounds, which while uncured, are ever aking; with the desire to satisfie those few Friends, tryed by the Fire of Adversity (the former inforcing, the latter persuading) have caused me to make my Thoughts legible, and my self the Subject of every Man's Opinion, wise or weak.

To the World I present them, to which I am nothing indebted; neither have others that succeeded me sped much better in the change of Fortune; Prosperity and Adversity ever tying and untying vulgar Affections. And as Dogs bark at those they know not, and accompany one another in their Clamours, so it is with the unthinking Multitude; which led by uncertain Reports, condemn without hearing, and wound

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*Ecclesiasti-
cus 11. 7.* without Offence given; contrary to the Counsel of Syracides. Against this vanity of Vulgar Opinion, Seneca giveth a good Rule; Let us satisfie our own Consciences, and not trouble our selves about the Censures of others, be it never so ill, as long as we deserve well.

Touching my self, if in any thing I have preferred the Service of my Country, the general acceptation can yield me now no other profit, than a fair Day does after Ship-wrack; and the contrary, no other harm than as a Tempest in the Port. I know I lost the love of many, for my Fidelity to Her, whom I must still honour in the Dust; though farther than the defence of her excellent Person, I never persecuted any. To labour other satisfaction were the effects of Frenzy, not of Hope; seeing it is Truth, not Opinion which can travel the World without a Passport. Equity alone might persuade, if there were not as many Forms of the Mind, as there are external Figures of Men; and that as every Man hath received a several Picture as to Face, so hath he a diverse Picture as to Mind: Every one a Form by himself; every one a Fancy and Cogitation differing; there being nothing in which Nature so much triumpheth, as in Dissimilitude. From hence it cometh that there is found so great a diversity of Opinions; so strong a contrariety of Inclinations; so many natural and unnatural, wise and foolish, manly and childish Affections and Passions in mortal Men. For it is not the visible fashion or shape of Plants, or reasonable Creatures, that makes the difference of working in the one, or of Condition in the other, but the internal Form.

And though God has reserved the reading of mens Thoughts to himself; yet as the Fruit tells the name of the Tree, so do the outward Works of Men (so far as their Cogitations are acted) give us a light to guess at the rest. Nay, it were not hard to express the one by the other very near the Life, did not the Craft of many, Fear in most, and the Worlds Love in all, teach every Capacity, according to the compass it has, to qualifie and mask over inward Deformities for a time. Yet no Man can long continue masked in a counterfeit Behaviour: The things which are forced for pretences,
having

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having no ground of Truth, cannot long dissemble their own Nature; and the Heart will be seen at the Tongues end.

In this great dissimilitude of reasonable Creatures, the common People are ill Judges of honest things, and their Wisdom is to be despised, said Eccles. As for the better sort, every Understanding has a peculiar Judgment, by which it both censureth others, and valueth it self; and therefore I will not think it strange, if my worthless Papers be torn by Rats, since in all Ages Censurers have not spar'd to tax the Reverend of the Church with Ambition; the severe to themselves, with Hypocrisie; lovers of Justice, with Popularity; and Men of the truest valour with Vain-glory: For nothing is so easie as to Reprove and Censure.

I will not trouble the Reader with repeating the deserved Commendations of History; yet true it is, that among many other Benefits, for which it has been honour'd, it triumphs in this over all Human Knowledge, that it gives Life to our Understanding, since the World it self has Life even to this day: And it has triumphed over Time, which nothing else but Eternity has done; for it has carried our Knowledge over the vast devouring space of many Thousand Years, and has opened the piercing Eyes of our Mind, that we plainly behold living now, as if we lived then, that wise Work of the great God, saith Hermes. By it (I say) we live in the very time when it was Created; behold how it was govern'd, how cover'd with Water, and again repeopl'd: How Kings and Kingdoms flourished and fell, and for what Virtues or Vices God made the one prosperous, and the other wretched. Neither is it the least of our Debt to History, that it has made us acquainted with our dead Ancestors, and raised them out of Darknes to teach us no less wise, than eternal Policy, by comparing former Miseries with our own ill Deservings. But neither the lively Instructions of Example, the Words of the wisest, nor Terror of future Torments, have yet so wrought upon our stupid Minds, as to make us remember, That the infinite Eye, and Wisdom of God doth pierce through all our Pretences; Nor to make us remember, That the Justice of God requires no other Accuser than our own Consciences, which by no false Beauty of our apparent actions, nor all the formality, which we
(to

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(to gull Mens Opinions) put on, can be cover'd from him. Examples of God's Judgments in particulars upon all Degrees, that have played with his Mercies, would fill Volumes. For the Sea of Examples hath no Bottom; though Marks, set on private Men, are (when their Bodies are cast into the Earth) written only in their Memory which lived with them; so that the Persons succeeding, who saw not their Fall, fear not their own Faults. God's Judgments on the Greatest have been Recorded to Posterity, either by those happy Hands, which the Holy Ghost guided, or by others. Now to point as far as the Angels Fall, for Ambition; at Kings eating Grass with Beasts for Pride and Ingratitude; at Pharaoh's wife's Action when he slew the Infants; at Jezebel's Policy in covering Naboth's Murder, with many Thousands of the like, were but a Proof, that Example should be rejected at a distance. For who hath not observed what Labour, Practice, Peril, Blood-shed, and Cruelty the Kings and Princes of the World have undergone and exercised, taken upon them, and committed, to make themselves and their Issues Masters of the World? yet hath Babylon, Persia, Macedon, Rome, or the rest, no Fruit, Flower or Leaf springing upon the face of the Earth: Nay, their very Roots and Ruins do hardly remain; for all that the Hand of Man can make, is either over-turned by the Hand of Man, or Consumed by Time. Politicians say, States have fallen, either by Foreign Force, or Domestick Negligence and Dissention; or by a third Cause rising from both: Others observe, That the greatest have sunk under their own weight; others, That Divine Providence hath set a Period to every State before the first Foundation thereof; as Cratippus objected in Pompey.

But seeing the Books following undertake the Discourse of the first Kings and Kingdoms, and that a short Preface cannot run very far back to the Ancients; I will for the present examine what Advantage has been gain'd by our own Kings and their Neighbour Princes, who having beheld both in Divine and Humane Letters, the success of Infidelity, Injustice and Cruelty, have (notwithstanding) Planted after the same Pattern. Mens Judgments agree not; and no man's Affection is stirred up alike, with Examples of the like nature; but is either touched with that which seemeth to come nearest to his own private Opinion,

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pinion, or else best fits his Apprehension. But the Judgments of God are unchangeable; no Time can weary him, or obtain his Blessing to that in one Age, which he Cursed in another. Those therefore which are Wise, will be able to discern the bitter Fruits of irreligious Policy, as well in old Examples as new; for ill Actions have always been attended with ill Success, as will appear by the following Examples.

We have then no sooner passed over the violence of the Norman Conquest, but we encounter that remarkable Example of God's Justice upon the Children of Henry I. who having by Force, Craft, and Cruelty, over-reached his Brother Robert D. of Normandy, Usurped the Crown of England, and dispossessed him of his Dukedome, and barbarously deprived him of his Sight, to make his own Sons Lords of all; but God cast them all, Male and Female, Nephews and Nieces (Maud excepted) into the bottom of the Sea.

Edward II. being Murdered, a Torrent of Blood followed in the Royal Race, so that all the Masculine Princes (few excepted) dyed of the Bloody-Flux. And though Edward III. in his young Years, made his knowledge of that horrible Fact, no more than suspicious; yet his putting to death his Uncle the Earl of Kent, made it manifest he was not ignorant of what had past, nor greatly desirous to have had it otherwise. But this Cruelty, the unsearchable Judgment of God revenged on his Grandchild; and so it fell out even to the last of the Line; That in the Second or Third Descent, they were all buried under the Ruins of those Buildings whose Mortar had been tempered with innocent Blood. For Richard II. having Murdered his Uncle of Gloucester, was himself Murdered by Henry IV.

Henry IV. having broken Faith to his Lords, and by Treason obtained the Crown, Entailed it by Parliament upon his Issue; and by many Treacheries left all Competitors defenseless, as he supposed, leaving his Son Henry V. full of Valour and signal Victories; yet was his Grand-child Henry VI. and his Son the Prince, without Mercy Murdered, and his Crown transferred to the Houses of his Enemies. It was therefore a true Passage of Caussabon; a Day, an Hour, a Moment, is enough to overthrow what seemeth founded in Adamant.

Henry

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Henry VI. overwhelmed with the Storm of his Grandfathers grievous Crimes, generally esteemed an innocent Prince, yet refused the Daughter of Armagnac, of the House of Navarre, to whom he was Ally'd, and Married a Daughter of Anjou, and so lost all that he had in France: He also condescended to the unworthy Death of his Unkle of Gloucester, the main Pillar of the House of Lancaster. Buckingham and Suffolk contrived the Duke's death, by the Queen's procurement; but the Fruit was answerable to the Plantation, and they and their Adherents were destroy'd by York; whose Son Edward depriv'd Henry the Father, and Edward the Son, of Life and Kingdom. The Politick Lady, the Queen, lived to see the miserable End of her Husband, Son, and all her Adherents; her self plunder'd, and Father beggar'd to Ransom her.

Edward IV. bath his turn to Triumph, when all the Plants of Lancaster, except the Earl of Richmond, were extirpated; whom he had also bought of the D. of Britain, but could not keep him. But what stability can Edward's Plantation promise, when he had seen and approved Prince Edward's Murder, by Gloucester, Dorset, Hastings, &c. which escaped not the Judgment of God in the same kind? He instructed Gloucester to Murder Henry VI. and taught him the Art to kill his own Sons, and to Usurp the Crown.

Richard III. The greatest Master in Villany, of all that went before him; who by necessity of his Tragedy, being to play more Parts in his own Person than all the rest, yet so well fitted every Man's Humour, that join'd with him, as if each had acted his own Interest. Buckingham and Hastings, Enemies to the Queen, and her Kindred, are easily allured to condescend, that Rivers and Grey (the King's maternal Unkle, and half Brother) should first be separated from him; then imprisoned; and for avoiding future Inconveniencies, to lose their Heads. Having brought them to the practice of that common Precept which the Devil has written on every Post, To depress whom they have injur'd, and to destroy whom they have depress'd. Then Buckingham has it form'd in his Head, That when the King and his Brother should be of sufficient Age, they will take severe Revenge of the Wrong to Rivers and Gray, and therefore of necessity, the King and his Brother

must

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must be made away. Hastings being sounded by Gatesby, and found not fordable by reason of his Fidelity to his Masters Sons, after an attempt to kill him, sitting in the Council, the Hangman must get the Tyrant an Appetite to his Dinner, by striking off his Head; a greater Judgment of God than this upon Hastings I never observ'd: For the same Hour, and in the same lawless manner, by his Advice, the Execution of Rivers and Gray was performed. Buckingham has yet a part to play for Richard, in persuading the Londoners to Elect him King, and to be rewarded with the Earldom of Hereford; But after much vexation of Mind, and unfortunate Attempts, being betrayed by his trustiest Servant, he lost his Head at Salisbury, without troubling his Peers. Richard, after other Murders, and Mischievous Policies, having destroy'd his Nephews and Natural Lords, by the great Out-cry of innocent Blood, became an infamous spectacle of Shame and Dishonour both to his Friends and Foes.

Henry VII. (the Instrument of God's Justice in cutting off the Cruel King) Succeeded; a Politick Prince, if ever there was any, who by the Engine of his Wisdom beat down as many strong Oppositions both before and after he wore the Crown, as ever any King of England did: For as his Profits held the Reins of his Affections, so he weighed his Understanding by his Abilities, leaving no more to hazard, than what cannot be denyed in all Human Actions. This King never indured Mediation in rewarding Servants, and was therein exceeding wise; for what himself gave, himself received both Thanks and Love: Knowing that the Affections of Men (purchased no way so ready as by Benefits) were Trains which better became Great Kings than Great Subjects. On the contrary, in whatsoever he grieved his Subjects, he wisely put it off to those that he found fit Ministers of such Actions. He used not to begin their Processes, whom he hated or feared by the Execution, as Lewis XI. did: Yet he somewhat follow'd the Errors of his Ancestors, as the Head of Stanley, (who set the Crown on his) and the Death of the young E. of Warwick, Son to George D. of Clarence do shew, and likewise the Success of his Grandchildren of the first Line, &c.

Henry

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Henry VIII. (the Pattern of a merciless Prince) Succeeded: One who precipitately advanced many, (but for what Virtue no Man could imagine) and with change of his Fancy ruined them, no Man knowing for what Offence. To how many others gave he abundant Flowers from whence to gather Honey, and in the end of Harvest burnt them in the Hive? How many Wives did he cut off, or cast off, as his Fancy or Affection changed? How many Princes of the Blood, with many others of all Degrees, did he Execute? What causeless cruel Wars did he make upon his own Nephew King James V? What Laws and Wills did he invent to establish the Kingdom in his own Family, using his sharpest Weapons to cut off the Branches which sprang from the same Root that himself did? Yet God took away all his own without increase; though for themselves in their several Kinds, all Princes of eminent Virtues: And that Blood which King Henry affirmed that the cold Air of Scotland froze up in the North, God hath diffused by the Sun-shine of his Grace; from whence his Majesty now living, (and long may) is Descended: Of whom I may say truly, that Malice her self cannot charge him justly with any of those foul Spots, by which the Consciences of all the forenamed Princes were defiled; or the Sword of his Justice stained with any Drops of that innocent Blood which had stained their Hands and Fame. And for the Crown of England, it may truly be avowed, He received it from the Hand of God; neither hastning the time upon any provocation; nor taking Revenge upon any that sought to put him by it: And refused Assistance of her Enemies, that wore it long with as great Glory, as ever Princesses did. He entred neither by Breach nor Blood, but by the ordinary Gate, which his own Right had set open; and was received in at it by an universal Love and Obedience. Thus the Northern parts of Britany infinitely severed from the South in Affection for a long time (whereof grew deadly Wars with much Cruelty) were at length happily united. For which Blessing of God, never to be forgotten, as we are bound to much Thankfulness; so the Fruit of this Concord maketh all petty Grievances to appear but as a Mole-Hill to a Mountain. And if the uniting of the Red Rose with the White were the greatest Happiness, next Christian Religion, that ever the Kingdom

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dom received from God to that Day; certainly the Peace between the two Lions of Gold and Gules doth by many Degrees exceed, both by sparing our Blood and assuring the Land.

As it pleased God to punish the Usurpation and unnatural Cruelties of our own Kings; so do we find he dealt with the Sons of Lewis Debonair, Son of Charlemain. For after Debonair had put out his Nephew Bernard's Eyes, the Son of Pipin the Eldest of Charlemain, King of Italy, and Heir of the Empire, and after that caused him to die in Prison; there followed such Murder and Bloodshed, Poisonings, and Civil Wars, till the whole Race of that famous Emperor was extinguished. Debonair further to secure himself, put his Bastard Brothers into a Monastery: But God rais'd up his own Sons to vex, invade, imprison, and depose him, alledging the former Violences to his Nephew and Brothers: Yet he did that which few Kings do; he publicly acknowledg'd and recanted his Cruelty against Bernard in the Assembly of the States. But Blood unjustly spilt is not easily expiated by Repentance: And such Medicines to the Dead, have but dead Rewards. He having also given Aquitain to Pipin his Second Son, sought after that to cast him out, as indeed he did his Son after him, of the same Name, at the Persuasion of Judith to raise her Son Charles.

Lothair, his eldest Son, he left King of Italy, and Emperor, against whom his Nephew Pipin of Aquitain, Lewis of Bavier, and Charles the Bald made War; between whom was fought the most Bloody Battel that ever was known in France, in which, the Loss of the Nobility and Men of War encouraged the Sarazens to invade Italy, the ——— to fall upon Almain, and the Danes upon Normandy. After being invaded by Lewis, and by his own Conscience for rebelling against his Father, and other Cruelties, he quits the Empire, and dies in a Monastery.

Charles the Bald seizeth on Pipin his Nephew, and kills him in a Cloyster, oppresses the Nephews, the Sons of Lothair, and usurps the Empire. His Son Caroloman rebels, and hath his Eyes burnt out by his Father: Lewis of Bavier and his Son Caroloman are overthrown by Charles; and Lewis dies of Grief, as Charles doth of Poison by Zedekias his Physician, a Jew:

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Jew: *Whose Son also Lewis le Begne, dy'd of the same Portion, and Charles the Simple succeeded; whose Natural Brothers Lewis and Charlemain rebell'd; The Younger is slain by a wild Boar, the Elder brake his Neck, as did also the Son of Bavier.*

Charles the Gros became Lord of what Debonair's Sons had held in Germany, who invading Charles the Simple, is forsaken of Nobles, Wife, and Wit, dying a distracted Beggar.

Charles the Simple held in Wardship by Eudes, Mayor of the Palace, and after by Robert his Brother: Lastly is surprised by the E. of Vermandois, and dyed in Prison.

Lewis his Son succeeded, and brake his Neck; one of his Sons dies of Poyson, the other in Prison.

Francis I. was one of the worthiest Kings that ever France had, except his exposing the Protestants of Mirandel and Cabriers to the Fire and Sword; of which though he repented, and charged his Son to do Justice on the Murderers, yet was not that unseasonable Care accepted of by God; who cut off his Four Sons without Issue to succeed. And notwithstanding all their Subtily and Breach of Faith, with all their Massacres upon those of the Religion, the Crown was set on his Head, whom they all endeavour'd to ruin; and the Protestants are now in number and strength more than ever.

Spain has found God the same, as Don Pedro of Castile may witness, who as he became the most merciless of all Heathen or Christian Tyrants, (as the History of Spain records) so he perished by the Hands of his Younger Brother, who dispossessed all his Children of their Inheritance.

John D. of Burgoign may parallel this King, if any can; who after a Trayterous Murder of the D. of Orleance, caused the Chancellor, Constable, divers Bishops, Officers of Justice, of the Treasury, Requests, Chamber of Accompts, with Sixteen Hundred others, suddenly to be slain; which kind of Death eased the World of himself.

Ferdinand holding Arragon by Usurpation of his Ancestors, added Castile and Leon, which he held by force of Arms from the Daughter of the last Henry, and expell'd his Neece from the Kingdom of Navarr: He betrayed Ferdinand and Frederick

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derick King of Naples (his Kinsman) to the French, with the Army he sent to their succour. The Politick King, who sold Heaven and his own Honour, to make his Son the greatest Monarch, saw his Death with his Wife's, and her untimely Birth buried together; the like End he saw of his own Eldest Daughter; his Second dyed Mad; his Third was cast off by our King Henry VIII. and the Mother of a Daughter, whose unhappy Zeal shed a Deluge of Innocent Blood, and had all his Kingdoms possess'd by strange Masters.

Charles V. Son to Arch. D. Philip, who had Married Ferdinand's Mad Daughter, after the Death of many Multitudes of Christian Souldiers and renowned Captains, in his vain Enterprizes upon France, Germany, and other States, while the Turk took the City of Rhodes; was, in conclusion, chased out of France, and in some sort out of Germany, being persued by D. Maurice over the Alps, which he passed by Torch Light, and crept into a Cloister, and became his Son's Prisoner, who paid him very slowly.

Philip II. his Son, not content to hold Holland and Zealand (wrested by his Ancestors from Jaqueline their lawful Prince) and to possess many other parts of the Netherland Provinces in Peace, by persuation of that mischievous Cardinal of Granvil and other Tyrants; forgetting the remarkable Services done to his Father; and the Forty Millions of Florens presented him at his Entrance; and his solemn Oaths twice taken to maintain their Privileges, which they had enjoyed under Thirty five Earls, conditional Princes, began to Tyrannize over them by the Spanish Inquisition and other intolerable Impositions; and lastly, by Force of Arms sought to make himself, not Monarch only, like the Kings of England, France, &c. but Turk-like, to overturn all their National Fundamental Laws, Privileges and Customs. To effect this, he easily obtained a Dispensation of his Oaths from the Pope, and then divided the Nobility, under the Government of his base Sister Margaret of Austria, and Cardinal Granvil: Then he employ'd that Merciless Spaniard Ferdinand Alvarez D. of Alva, who in six Years cut off Eighteen Thousand six Hundred Gentlemen and others, by the Hand of the Hang-man. Failing of his purpose by Force, he tryeth Policy, and sent Don

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John of Austria, his Bastard Brother; who upon the Papal advantage, made no scruple to smear; and having received Six Hundred Thousand Pounds of the Provinces to ease them of the Garrisons, he suddenly surprized the Citadel of Antwerp, Namure, &c. yet after so many Thousands slain; Thirty six Millions of Treasure spent in Six Years, he left the Country; and the King spent above One Hundred Millions, with the Death of Four Hundred Thousand Christians, to lose the richest Country he had.

Oh by what Plots! by what Oaths, treacherous Practices, Oppressions, Imprisonments, Tortures, Poysonings; and under what Reasons of State and Polity, have these Kings pulled the Vengeance of God upon themselves, upon Theirs, and upon prudent Ministers? and at last have brought these things to pass for their Enemies Advantage; and found an effect so directly contrary to all their own Counsels, and Cruelties; that the one could never have hoped for it, and the other never have succeeded, had no such Opposition been made: God hath said it, and performed it ever; I will destroy the Wisdom of the Wise.

But to what end do we lay before the Eyes of the Living, the Fate and Fortunes of the Dead, seeing the World is the same it hath been, and the Children will obey their Parents? It is in the present that all the Wits of the World are exercised; and to enjoy the Times we have, we hold all things lawful; and either hope to hold them for ever, or hope there is nothing after them to be hoped for. For as we are content to forget our own Experience, and counterfeit Ignorance of our Knowledge in things that concern our selves; or perswade our selves, that God hath given us Letters Patents to persue all our irreligious Affections with a Non obstante; So we neither look behind us what has been, nor before us what shall be. It is true, the quantity we have is of the Body; we are by it joined to the Earth, we are compounded of the Earth, and inhabit the Earth. The Heavens are high, afar off, and unexplorable: We have a sense of corporeal things, but of eternal Grace only by Revelation: No wonder then, that our Thoughts are so Earthly; and a less wonder that the Words of worthless Men cannot cleanse us; seeing their Instructions and

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and Doctrine, whose Understanding the Holy Ghost vouchsafed to inhabit, have not performed it. For the Prophet Isaiah cryed out long ago, Lord, who hath believed our Reports? And doubtless as he complained of his time; so are they less believed every day, though Religion be still in Mens Mouths; we profess to know, but by works deny him; which argueth an universal Dissimulation. For Happiness consisteth in a Divine Life, not in knowledge of Divine Things, wherein Devils excel us. Contentions about Religion have bred lamentable effects; and the Discourse thereof hath near upon driven the Practice out of the World. He which obtaineth Knowledge only by Mens Disputations of Religion, would judge that Heaven were chiefly to be desired, but look upon many Disputers Lives, and nothing is found in the Soul but Hypocrisie. We are all (in effect) become Comedians in Religion; we act in Voice and Gesture Divine Virtues; but in course of Life we renounce the part we play, and Charity, Justice, and Truth have their Being but in Terms, as the Philosophers Materia prima.

That Wisdom which teacheth us the Knowledge of God, hath great Esteem enough in that we give it our good Word, but the Wisdom which is altogether exercised in gathering Riches, by which we purchase Honour in the World, These are the Marks we Shoot at; the Care whereof is our own in this Life, and the Peril our own in the future; Though in our greatest Abundance we have but one Man's Portion, as the Man of the greatest Wisdom and Ability hath told us. As for those which devour the rest, and follow us in fair Weather, they again forsake us in the first Storm of our Misfortune, and fly away before Sea and Wind, leaving us to the Malice of our Destinies. Among a Thousand Examples take that of Mr. Darnet: Charles V. at Vlissing, in his return to Spain, conferring with Seldius, his Brother Ferdinands Ambassador, till the dead of Night, when they should part, called some of his Servants; and when none answered (being either gone or asleep) himself took the Candle to light down Seldius, notwithstanding his importunity to the contrary: But at the stairs foot, he desir'd him so remember when he was dead, That

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whom he had known in his time environ'd with mighty Armies, he hath seen forsaken of his own Domesticks.

But you will say Men more regard the Honour done to great Men than the former: It is true indeed, provided that an inward Love from their Justice and Piety, accompanying the outward Worship given to their Places and Power; without which, the applause of the Multitude is as the Out-cry of a Herd of Animals, who without knowledge of any true Cause, please themselves with the Noise they make. Impious Men in Prosperity have ever been applauded, and the most Virtuous (if unprosperous) have ever been despised, and Virtue and Fortune are rarely distinguish'd. For as Fortune's Man rides the Horse, so Fortune her self rides the Man; who when he is descended on foot, the Man is taken from his Beast, and Fortune from the Man; a base Groom beats the one, and bitter Contempt spurns at the other, with equal liberty.

The Second thing which Men more respect, is raising of Posterity. If these Men conceive that Souls departed take any Comfort therein, they are Wise in a foolish thing, as Lactantius speaketh. De fal. sap. li. 3. c. 28. For when our Mortal Spirits are departed, and dispos'd of by God, they are pleas'd no more in Posterity, than Stones are proud which sleep in the Walls of a King's Palace; neither have they more Sorrow in their Poverty, than there is Shame in the Prop of a Beggar's Cottage. The Dead, tho' Holy, know nothing, no not of their own Children: For the Souls departed are not Conversant with the Affairs of the Living, said Augustine, de Cura pro Mort. Job also, of whom we cannot doubt, tells us, we shall neither understand of our Childrens Honour, or low Degree. Man walketh in a Shadow, disquieting himself in vain; he heapeth up Riches, and cannot tell who shall gather them. The living, saith Eccles. know they shall die, but the Dead know nothing at all; for who shall shew to Man, what shall be after him under the Sun? And when he consider'd all his Labours, and could not tell whether a Fool or a Wise Man should enjoy the Fruit thereof, himself bated his own Labours. What can other Men hope to know after Death,

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Death, When Isaiah confesseth, Abraham himself is ignorant of us? Death's dark Night shall cover us, till he return that hath Triumph'd over it; when we shall again receive Organs glorified and Immortal, the Seats of Evangelical Affections; and the Souls of the Blessed shall be exercis'd in so great Admiration, as that they can admit no mixture of less Joy, nor any return of Mortal Affections towards Friends, Children, &c. Whether we shall retain any particular Knowledge of them, or in any sort distinguish them; no man can assure us, and the Wisest Men doubt. But on the contrary, if a Divine Life retain any of those Faculties which the Soul exercis'd in a Mortal Body; we shall not then so divide the Joys of Heaven, as to cast any part thereof on the memory of their Felicities which remain in the World: Whose Estates, be they greater than ever the World gave, we shall from the difference then known to us, even detest the Consideration thereof. And whatsoever shall remain of all that's past, the same will consist in the Charity which we exercis'd when living; and in the Piety, Justice, and firm Faith, for which it pleas'd the infinite Mercy of God to accept of us and receive us. Shall we then value Honour and Riches at nothing, and neglect them as unnecessary and vain? certainly no. For that infinite Wisdom of God, which hath distinguished his Angels, the Light and Beauty of Heavenly Bodies; differenced Beasts and Birds; Created the Eagle and the Fly, the Cedar and the Shrub; given the fairest tincture to the Ruby, and quickest Light to the Diamond; hath also Ordained Kings, Dukes, Magistrates, and Judges amongst his People. And as Honour is left to Posterity, as an Ensign of the Virtue and Understanding of their Ancestors; so benign Titles with proportionable Estates, fall under the miserable Succours of other Mens Pity. I account it Foolishness to condemn such Care: Provided that Worldly Goods be well gotten, and that we raise not our Building out of other Mens Ruins, which God accurseth, by Jeremiah and Isaiah, and true Wisdom forbids, Prov. 1. 10, to 18, 19.

And if we could afford our selves so much Leisure, as to consider, that he who has most in the World, hath in respect of the World nothing; and he who has the longest time to live in it, hath no Proportion at all therein, comparing it with

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the Time past, when we were not, or with the Time to come, in which we shall abide for ever: I say if our Portion in the World, and our Time in the World, be thus considered, they differ little from nothing: It is not out of any Excellency of Understanding, that we so much prize the one, which hath (in Effect) no being; and so much neglect the other, which hath no ending; Coveting the Mortal Things of the World, as if our Souls were there Immortal; and neglect the things Immortal, as if our selves, after the World, were but Mortal.

Let every Man value his own Wisdom as he pleases, the Rich Man think all Fools that cannot equal his Abundance; The Revengeful esteem them negligent, which have not trampled upon their Opposites: The Politician think them Blockheads, that cannot merchandize their Faith: Yet when we come within Sight of the Port of Death, to which all Winds drive us; and when, by letting fall the fatal Anchor, which can never be weighed again, the Navigation of this Life takes End: Then it is (I say) that our own Cogitations, those sad and severe ones (formerly thrown off by Health and Felicity) return again, and pay us to the uttermost for all the pleasing Passages of our Lives past. Then it is we cry for God's Mercy, when we can no longer exercise Cruelty; then this terrible Sentence, God will not be mocked, striketh through our Souls. For if the righteous shall scarcely be saved, and that God spared not the Angels; where shall those appear, who having served their Appetites all their Lives, presum'd that the severe Commands of the dreadful God were given in Sport, and that the last faint Breath is forced to sound Lord have Mercy, without any kind of Satisfaction to Men, or Amendment? Oh how many (saith a Reverend Father) descend to Eternal Torments and Sorrows with this Hope!

It is indeed a Comfort to our Friends to have it said, we died well; for all desire to die the Death of the Righteous, as Balaam did. But what shall we call (indeed) a Mocking of God, if that those Men mock him not, that think it enough for God, to ask him Mercy at Leisure, with the last remains of a Malicious Breath? This well-dying Prayer amounts to as much as this, We beseech thee, O God, that all the Falshoods, Forswearing, and Treacheries of our Lives past, may be

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be well pleasing to thee; that thou wilt for our Sakes, (that have had no Leisure to do any thing for thine) change thy Nature, (though impossible) and forget to be a just God; that thou wilt love Injuries and Oppressions, call Ambition Wisdom, and Charity Foolishness. For I shall prejudice my Son (which I am resolved not to do) if I make Restitution, and confess my self to have been unjust, (which I am too proud to do) if I deliver the Oppressed. These wise Worldings have either found, or made them a Leaden God, like that which Lewis the Eleventh wore in his Cap, and used to kiss it; and ask it Pardon, when he had caused any to be Murdered, promising it should be the last; as when by the Practice of a Cardinal, and falsified Sacrament, he caused the Earl of Armagnack to be stabbed at Prayers. Of this Composition are all devout Lovers of the World, that they fear all that is worthless and frivolous; they fear the Plots and Practices, yea the very Whisperings of their Opposites; they fear the Opinions of Men, which beat but upon Shadows: They flatter and forsake the prosperous or unprosperous, Friends or Kings: Yea, they dive under Water, like Ducks, at every Pebble Stone thrown at them by a powerful Hand. On the contrary; they shew an obstinate and Gigantick Valour against the terrible Judgments of the All-powerful God; yea, they shew themselves Gods against God, and Slaves towards Men, whose Bodies and Consciences are alike rotten.

Now for the rest, if we examine the Difference between the Rich and Mighty, whom we call Fortunate, and the Poor and Oppressed, whom we account Wretched; we shall find the Unhappiness of the one, and the Misery of the other so tyed by God to the very Instant, and so subject to enterchange, (witness the sudden Downfall of the greatest, and the speedy Rise of the meanest) that the one hath nothing certain whereof to boast, nor the other to lament. For no Man is so assured of Honour, Riches, Health or Life, but may be deprived of either, or all, the very next hour; for what an Evening will bring with it is uncertain; and none can tell what shall be to morrow, saith St. James: To Day he is set up, to morrow he shall not be found; for he is turned into Dust, and his Purpose perisheth. And though the Air of Adversity be very obscure, yet therein we better discern God, than in the shining

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Light of Wor'dly Glory, through whose Clearness no Vanity whatsoever can escape our Sight. And though Adversity seem ridiculous to the Happy and Fortunate, who delight themselves at others Misfortunes; though it seem grievous to those which were in it: Yet this is true, that of all that's past, to the very Instant, what remains is equal to either. For though we have lived many Years, and in them have rejoiced (according to Solomon) or have we sorrowed as long; yet looking back, we find both Joy and Sorrow sailed out of Sight, and Death which hath held us in Chase from the Womb, hath put an end to both. I let him therefore, whom Fortune hath served, and Time befriended, take an Accompt of his Memory, (the only Keeper of Pleasures past) and truly examine what it hath reserved of Beauty, Youth, or past Delights; or of his dearest Affections, or whatsoever Contentment the amorous Spring-time gave his Thoughts, and he shall find, that all the Art which his Elder Years had, can draw no other Vapour out of these Dissolutions, than heavy, secret, and sad Sighs. He shall find nothing remaining, but those Sorrows which grow up after our fast Springing Youth; overtook it, when it was at a Stand; and overtopping it utterly, when it began to wither. Looking back therefore from the Instant of our present Being, and the poor diseased Captive hath as little Sense of all former Miseries and Pains, as the Man so blessed in common Opinion hath of fore-past Pleasures and Delights. For whatsoever is cast behind us, is just nothing; and what is to come depends upon deceitful Hope. Only I must except those few black Swans, who having had the Grace to value worldly Vanities at no more than their worth, do by retaining the comfortable Memory of a well-acted Life, behold Death without Dread, the Grave without Fear, and embrace both, as necessary Guides to Endless Glory.

For my self, this is my Comfort, and all that I can offer to others, that the Sorrows of this Life either respect God, when we complain to him against our selves for our Offences; and confess, Thou Lord art just in all that hath befallen us; Or respect the World, when we complain to our selves against God, as doing us wrong either in not giving what we desire; or taking away what we enjoyed: Forgetting that humble and just

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just Acknowledgment of Job, The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken. And out of doubt he is either a Fool, or ungrateful to God, or both, that doth not acknowledge, that how mean soever his Estate be, it is far greater than God owes him: Or how sharp soever his Afflictions be, the same are yet far less, than those that are due to him. If an Heathen called Adversities the Tributes of living; a wise Christian ought to know them, and bear them as the Tributes of offending. For seeing God, who is the Author of all our Tragedies, hath written out and appointed what every Man must play, using no Partiality to the mightiest Princes; Why should other Men who are but as the least Worms, complain of Wrongs? Did not the Lord set Darius to play the part of the greatest Emperor, and the part of the most miserable Beggar, that begged Water of an Enemy to quench the Drought of Death? Bajazet, the Grand Seignior of the Turks in the Morning, the same Day became the Foot-stool of Tamberlain; both which parts Valerian the Emperor had played, being taken by Sapoers. Bellisarius had performed the part of a most Victorious Captain, and after became a Blind Beggar; with a Thousand like Examples. Certainly there is no other Accompt to be made of this ridiculous World, than to resolve, That the change of Fortune on this great Theatre, is but as the change of Garments on the lesser: For when every Man weareth but his own Skin, the Players are all alike. If any Man out of Weakness judge otherwise, (for it is a Point of great Wit, to call the Mind from the Senses) it is by reason of that unhappy Fancy of ours, which forgeth in Men's Brains all the Miseries to which he is subject (the Corporal excepted) therein it is that Misfortune and Adversity effect what they do. For seeing Death is the end of the Play, and takes from all, whatsoever Fortune or Force takes from any one; It were foolish Madness in the Shipwrack of Worldly Things, (where all sinks but the Sorrow for the Loss of them) to sink under Fortune, which (according to Seneca) is of all other the most miserable Destiny.

Now to the Picture of Time, (which we call History) let my good Intent excuse my drawing it in so large a Table. The Examples of Divine Providence every where to be found, (the first Divine Histories being nothing else but a Continuation of

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of such Examples) have perswaded me to fetch my Beginning from all Beginnings, the Creation. For these two glorious Actions of the Almighty are so linked together, that the one necessarily implieth the other: Creation inferring Providence, and Providence presuming Creation; though many seeming wise have gone about to separate them; Epicurus denies both, yet allows a Beginning: The Aristotelians grant Providence, but deny all Beginning, whose verbal Doctrine grounded upon a rotten Ground, was not able to stand against the Doctrine of Faith, touching the Creation in time, Heb. 1. though natural Reason might have inform'd him better. And though Aristotle failed herein, and taught little other than Terms in the rest, yet many do absolutely subject themselves to him, as not to indure any other search of Truth. The Law of their Philosophical Principles doth not so bind, but that where Natural Reason is in Force against them, it ought to stand in all Questions of Nature and Finite Power, as a Fundamental Law of Human Knowledge. For every Human Proposition hath equal Authority, if Reason make no difference. But where Reason is not admitted, and Inventions of Ancestors approved without Judgment, Men suffer themselves to be led after the manner of Beasts.

This Sloath and Dulness has made Ignorance a powerful Tyrant, and has set true Philosophy, Phyllick and Divinity on the Pillory, and written over the First, Contra Principia negantem, over the Second, Virtus specifica, and the Third Ecclesia Romana.

But I will never believe that all natural Knowledge was shut up in Aristotle's Brain, or that the Heathen only invaded Nature, and found out her Strength. We know that Time and not Reason, Experience and not Art both taught the Causes of such Effects, as that Soweriness doth Coagulate Milk; but ask the Reason why and how it does it, and Vulgar Philosophy cannot satisfy you; nor in many Things of the like Nature, as why Grass is green rather than red. Man hardly discerns the Things on Earth; his Time is but short to learn, and begins no sooner to learn than to dye: Whose Memory has but a borrowed Knowledge; understanding nothing truly, and is ignorant of the Essence of his own Soul; which Aristotle could never define, but by effects, which all Men know as well as he. Man

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I say, who is an Idiot in the next Cause of his own Life, and actions thereof, will notwithstanding examin the Art of God in Creating the World; and will disable him from making a World without Matter; and rather ascribe it to Atoms in the Air, or to Fate, Fortune, Nature, or to two Powers, of which one was Author of Matter, the other of Form: And lastly, for want of a Work-man, Aristotle brought in that New Doctrine of the Worlds Eternity, contrary to these Ancients, Hermes, Zoroaster, Musæus, Orpheus, Linus, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, Melissus, Pherecydes, Thales, Cleanthus, Pythagoras, Plato, and many others; who found in the necessity of invincible Reason, one Eternal Infinite Being, to be the Parent of the Universe. Whose Opinions, tho' uncertain, (saith Lactantius) shew that they agree upon one Lord, Providence, whether Nature, Light, Reason, Understanding, Destiny, or Divine Ordination, which is the same we call God. For as all Rivers in the World, tho' rising and running diversly, fall at last in the Ocean: So after all searches made by Human Capacity, all Man's Reason dissolves it self in the Necessity of this Infinite Power.

Those who held the Matter of the World Eternal, hardly deserve an Answer, as giving part of the Work to God, part to Fortune, by which God found this Matter. And were it Eternal, it either fitted it self to God, or he accommodated himself to it; both which are foul Absurdities. But suppose this Chaos or Matter had been too little for the Work, God then Created out of nothing so much New Matter as was wanting; or if the Matter were too much, he must annihilate what was superfluous; both which are alike proper to God only: It could not therefore be caused by a less than an All-sufficient Power; for to say it was the Cause of it self, were the greatest Idiotism.

Again, if Matter were eternal, of necessity it must be infinite and so left no place for infinite Form; but the finite Form proves the Matter finite, and so not eternal. He who will believe the contrary, eternal Death be his Reward; for what Reason of Man (not stupify'd by presumption) hath doubted, that That infinite Power (of which we comprehend but the Shadow) can want either Matter or Form, for as many

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ny Worlds as there are Sands in the Sea, if it were his Will, which is the only limitation of his Works?

Can a finite Man, a Fool and meer Dust, change the Form of Matter made to his Hand, and infinite Power, cannot make a finite World without pre-existing Matter? The universal World has not shew'd us all his Wisdom and Power, which cannot be bounded.

But others who hold the Worlds Eternity upon the ground of nothing, nothing is made, (which is true where the Agent is finite) may consider their Master Aristotle, confessing, That all the Ancients Decree a kind of Beginning, and the same infinite; and he farther saith, There is no beginning of it; but it is found the beginning of all things, and embraceth and governs all things. If we compare the universal World, that Infinite it self, we may say of the most unmeasurable Orbs of Heaven, that they are neither quid, quale, nor quantum; and therefore to bring Finite out of Infinite is no wonder in God's Power. Therefore Anaximander, Melissus, and Empedocles, call the World not Universal, but a part of the Universality and Infinite: Plato calls it a Shadow of God. God's being a sufficient effectual Cause of the World, proves it not Eternal as he is: For as his Sufficiency is free, so is his Will; no difficulty can binder, nor necessity force his Will in choice of Time. Again, tho' natural Agents which can work, do it not 'till they are moved, which argueth Change in them; yet it followeth not, that because God cannot be moved, therefore he caused the World from Eternity. For the same action of his Will which intended the World for ever, from Eternity, did also set down down the time to effect it, 'till which time he withheld it. Others answer, That the Pattern of the World was Eternally with God, which the Platonists call the Spiritual World; but the Material World was not eternal, but shall continue for ever; which Christians understood of a new Heaven and Earth, yet without new Creation of Matter.

They who deny the World shall have any End, Reason from the Heavens, which are neither Corrupted, nor have any shew of Age. The little Change may argue Newness, but not Perpetuity: Yet to Answer Conjectures with Con-

jectures,

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ctures, many of old held the Torrid Zone not habitable by reason of the Suns Heat; nor the Sea Navigable under the Equinoctial Line; but now we know the contrary, which argueth that the Suns Heat is decayed: And if little Change did prove perpetuity, then also many Stone-walls, which have stood two or three Thousand Years, and many things digged out of the Earth, might seem to remain unchanged ever since the Flood; and Gold probably held Created from the Beginning, &c. If Elementary Bodies shew so little Change, no marvel if Celestial shew none. And seeing inferiour Creatures are generated by help of Celestial, and receive Virtue from the Sun, their general decay argueth its decay also.

But if the World were eternal, why not all things in it; especially Man, who is more Rational, why did he not provide for his Eternity? Again, if there were no common order of the divers Natures, how came that Difference, who set the Earth in the Center, the Sun and Celestial Bodies in their Courses, &c. If those keep their Course of their own accord, to do good to the inferior Bodies, they are then eternal Love; yea, so many Gods, &c. And if they be limited to their Course, there is an efficient Cause which hath bounded them.

Now as to Nature: As Aristotle hath by the Ambiguity of the Name recommended Errors, and obscured God's glory in the Creation and Government of the World; so his best Definition of it is but Nominal; only differencing natural Motion from artificial, which yet the Academicks explain better, calling it Seminary strength infused into Matter by the Soul of the World; and why give they the first place to Providence, the second to Fate, and third to Nature, But be Nature what it will, it cannot be the Cause of all things, if it hath not both Will and Knowledge, said Lactantius. Nature cannot but work, if Matter be present; and then also it can but produce the same things, except she have divers Matters to work upon, said Ficinus. But Nature could not chuse diversity of Matters without Understanding and Will, Reason and Power; why then is such a Cause called Nature rather than God?

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All Men assign the highest place among all their Gods, to One, by Aristotle's confession, de cœlo; and reason teacheth us to Acknowledge and Adore the most Sublime Power. I account it therefore monstrous Impiety to confound God, who disposes all things according to his own Will, with Nature, which disposes of nothing but as the Matter wherein it worketh will permit. Nature existeth not of her self, but as a Faculty infused into things existing, by the supreamest Power; who therefore is to be Worshipped for creating such a Nature in all things, as without understanding what or how it worketh, yet bringeth all things to perfection. If therefore Men will rest upon that ground which all Antiquity held, That there is a Power infinite and eternal; all things deliver'd in Holy Scripture do as easily flow to the Proof of it, as the Waters to that of a running River. Reason teaching us, That Wisdom or Knowledge goes before Religion; for God is first to be known, and then to be Worshipped. Wisdom, said Plato, is the Knowledge of the absolute Good. Faith is not extorted by Violence, but perswaded by Reason and Example, said Isidore.

To inquire farther into God's Essence, Power and Skill, is to grow mad with Reason: What is beyond the reach of true Reason, is no shame to be ignorant of; neither is our Faith weakened by our being Ignorant how God Created the World, which Reason perswades he did.

I cannot stand to excuse divers Passages in the following History, the whole being exceeding weak; especially the Division of the Books, I being directed to enlarge the Building after the Foundation was laid.

Generally, as to the Order, I took Counsel from the Argument: After Babel's Fall, the Assyrians are first, of whose Actions we find but little Recorded, and more in Fame than Faith: Other Kings Actions are also related by Digressions, with some other things belonging to those Ages: These Digressions, the whole Course of our Lives (which is but Digression) may excuse: Yet I am not wholly ignorant of the Law of History.

The Persian Empire was by Order next to be attended, and the Nations which had reference thereto; then followed the Grecians

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Grecians and the Romans: Other Nations which resisted their Beginnings, are not neglected. The weak Phrase shews the Parent: In Hebrew words, I made use of learned Friends and Expositors; though in Eleven Years I might have learn'd any Language at leisure. Many will say, a Story of my own time would have pleased better: But I say, He which in a Modern Story shall follow Truth too near the Heels, it may chance to strike out his Teeth; and no Mistress hath led her followers into greater Miseries. He which follows her too far off, loseth her and himself: He which keeps at a middle distance, I know not which to call it Temper or Baseness.

I never labour'd for Mens Opinions, when I might have made the best use of them; and now my Days are too few Ambitiously or Cowardly to flatter between the Bed and the Grave, even when Death has me on his Shoulders.

If it be said, I Tax the Living in the Persons of the Dead, I cannot help it, tho' Innocent. If any, finding themselves spotted like the Tygers of old times, shall find fault with me for Painting them over a-new; they shall therein Accuse themselves justly, and me falsely: For I Protest before the Majesty of GOD, I have no Malice against any Man under the Sun.

I know it is impossible to please all; seeing few or none are so pleased with themselves, by reason of their subjection to private Passions, but that they seem divers Persons in one and the same Day. Seneca said it, and so do I; One is to me instead of All: Yea (as it hath deplorably fallen out) as an Ancient Philosopher said, One is enough, None is enough. For it was for the service of that inestimable Prince Henry, the successive Hope, and one of the greatest of the Christian World, that I undertook this Work: And it pleased him to peruse part thereof, and to pardon what was amiss. It is now left to the World without a Master; from which, all that is presented to it, receiveth both Blows and Thanks: For we approve and reprobate the same things. And this is the End of every Judgment, when the Controversie is committed to many: The Charitable will judge charitably; And against the Malicious

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Malicious, my present Adversity hath disarm'd me. I am on the Ground already; and therefore have not far to fall: And for rising again, as in the Natural Privation there is no recession to Habit; so is it seldom seen in the Politick Privation. I do therefore forbear to stile my Readers, Gentle, Courteous, and Friendly, so to beg their good Opinions: Or promise a Second and Third Volume, (which I intended) if the First receive a good Acceptance. For that which is already done, may be thought enough and too much: And let us claw the Reader with never so many Courteous Phrases; yet we shall ever be thought Fools that Write Foolishly.

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THE

Chap. I.

I

Sir *Walter Raleigh's*
HISTORY
OF THE
WORLD.

BOOK I.

TREATING

Of the first Ages, from the Creation to
Abraham.

CHAP. I.

Of the Creation and Preservation of the World.

§. 1. **G**OD Invisible is seen in his Creatures, God acknow-
ledged by the wisest Men to be a Power *uneffa-
ble, Virtue infinite, a Light* by abundant clari-
ty *invisible*, an Understanding which it self can
only comprehend, an Essence eternal and spiritual, of absolute
Pureness and Simplicity, *was and is* pleased to make himself
known by the work of the World: In the wonderful magnitude
thereof, which yet he embraceth, filleth, and sustaineth, we be-
hold the Image of that Glory which cannot be measured; and that
one Universal Nature which cannot be defined: In the Glorious
Light

B

Light of Heaven we perceive a shadow of his Divine Countenance: In his provision for all that live, his manifold *Goodness*: And in Creating and making the whole World to exist by the absolute Act of his own Word, his *All-sufficiency*; which *All-sufficiency* in Power and Wisdom, which *Light*, *Vertue* and *Goodness*, being but Attributes of one simple Essence, and one God, we in all admire, and in part discern by the Glass of his Creatures, in the disposition, order, and variety of Bodies *Cœlestial* and *Terrestrial*. The *Terrestrial*, in Strange and Manifold diversities; the *Cœlestial* in their Beauties, Magnitude, and continual contrary Motions, yet neither Repugnant, intermix'd, nor confounded: By these Potent effects we approach to the knowledge of the Omnipotent Cause, and by these motions, to their Almighty wise Mover. In these more than wonderful Works, God speaketh to Men, who by their Reason may know their Maker to be God; who with Corporal Eyes cannot otherwise be seen, *Joh. 1. 18.* and *1 Tim. 6. 16.* but by his *Word* and this visible *World*, *Rom. 1. 20.* Of all which Works there was no other Cause preceding, but his Will: No Matter, but his Power: No Workman but his *Word*; no other Consideration but his *Goodness*.

§ 2. *The World's Creation acknowledged by Ancient Philosophers.* Mercury *Trisnegistus*, in *Pymandro*, called God the Original of the Universe, and that God made it only by his *Word*. Orpheus, *de Summo Jove*, says; *Jupiter having hidden all things in himself, did afterwards send forth into the grateful Light the admirable Works he had forethought.* Pindar calls him the one God, Father and Creator of all: And Original of all, saith *Plato*. And though Scripture hath no need of Foreign Testimony, yet *St. Paul* despised not the use of *Philosophers*. Truth by whomsoever uttered is of the Holy Ghost, said *Ambrose*.

§ 3. All things began to be in the Creation, before which was neither Matter nor Form of any thing, but the Eternal one; for had there been a former Matter, the Creation had not been first; and if any thing were before Created, there must be a double Creation; if any thing uncreated but God, there must be two Beginnings and two infinite Eternals.

§ 4. *Heaven and Earth first Created.* These were not Matter without all Form, without which nothing can exist; but by *Heaven* and *Earth* is meant that solid Substance and Matter as well of the *Heavens* and the Orbs, as of the Globe of the *Earth*, and Waters which covered it; called by *Calvin*, the Seed of the Universe.

§ 5. As *Moses* by *Heaven* meant the Matter of all heavenly Bodies and Natures; so by *Earth* comprehending the waters, he meant the Matter of all things under the Moon. Waters in the Plural signify a double Liquor of divers Natures, mixed with *Earth*, till God separated them.

§ 6. The

§ 6. *The Spirit of God moved, &c.* Seeing that God is every way above Reason, tho' the effects which follow his wonderful ways of working, may in a measure be perceived by Man's Understanding, yet the manner and the first Operation of the Divine Power cannot be conceived by any Mind or Spirit, compassed with a Mortal Body: And *St. Paul* saith, *They are past finding out.* Therefore whether that Motion, Vitality, and Operation were by Incubation, or any other way, the manner God only knows; for there would be no difference between God and Man, if men could comprehend the Counsels, and Disposings of the Almighty: And therefore to be over curious to search how the all-powerful Word of God, and his piercing operative Spirit wrought and gave Form to the Matter of the Universe, is a Labour like unto his, who not content with a safe known foord, adventureth upon the unknown Depths of the greatest Rivers. We have good use of Sun and Fire, but if we seek to outface the one, or go into the other, we become blind or burnt. The English word *Moved* is most proper and Significant: For of Motion proceeds all production, and whatsoever is effected. This Omnipotent Spirit of God indeed may be called the beginning of Motion: or with *Mirandula*, the force of the efficient Cause; but my mind fainteth, my voice faileth, and even that of Angels would, to understand and utter the way and Works of the Creation; as *Cyprian* said of the incarnation of our Saviour. This moving Spirit can be no other but that infinite Power of God, which then formed and distinguished, and which now sustaineth and giveth continuance to the Universe. *If thou send forth thy Spirit*, saith *David*, *they are Created.* By it the *Heavens* were garnished, *Job 26. 13.* This motion of the Spirit upon the Waters, produced their Spiritual and Natural motion, which breathed heat, whereof came Rarefaction of Parts: Thus was Air begotten, an Element lighter and superior to the Waters.

§ 7. *The Light is next*, which for its Excellency is first called *Good*; tho' I conceive it did not yet distinguish Day from Night, but with reference to the Sun's Creation; in which this dispersed Light was united, *v. 14.* till when there was no motion to be measured by time. So that the day named, *v. 1.* was such a space as afterwards by the Sun's motion made a natural day. As then the *Earth* and the Waters were the Matter of the Air, Firmament, upper and lower Waters, and of the Creatures therein; So may the Light be called the material Substance of the Sun, and other Lights of *Heaven*. Howbeit neither the Sun nor other Heavenly Bodies are that Light, but the Sun is enlightened by it most of all other; and by it the Moon; and so the next, which the *Greeks* call *Aether*, the supposed Element of Fire, is affected, and by it all Bodies living in this our Air. This Light is the conductor and Nourisher

riser of all Cœlestial influences, and bringeth heat with it, which it leaveth in the Subject enlighthned by it, when it departeth, as warmth in the Air, &c. *Academicks* hold Light Incorporeal, contrary to *Aristotle*; others find Materiality in it, and yet but improperly, seeing in an instant it passeth from *Heaven* to *Earth*, and pierceth solid Bodies, as Glass, &c. No marvel Writers agree not about it, when no man understands it, or themselves therein; School-men were rather curious about Terms and subtil distinctions concerning Doctrines already laid down, than to discover any thing hidden in Philosophy or Divinity; of whom it may be truly said, nothing is more odious to true Wisdom than too acute sharpness. They deny it can be Corporeal, considering it pierceth the Air and solid Diaphonous Bodies; Incorporeal it cannot be, seeing it is insensible. Others deny it is Matter, because no Form is so excellent as it self: Neither can it be an Accident, for it cannot be separated without the Destruction of the Subject, the Body of the Sun; which is no Sun without Light, neither doth Light proceed from Matter or Form. And tho' the nature of Light be not yet understood, yet I gather, the Light Created the first day was the Substance of the Sun, tho' it had not formal Perfection, Beauty, Circle, and bounded Magnitude till the fourth day, when the dispersed Light was united and fixed to a certain place; after which it had Life and Motion, and from that time separated Day from Night: So that what is said of the day before, was by anticipation; for till the Creatures were produced, God's Wisdom found no Cause why Light should move, or give Heat or Operation. But knowing by God's question propounded to *Job*, that the Nature of Light falls not under Man's Understanding, let it suffice that by his grace we enjoy the effect thereof. Lastly, if we may behold in any Creature, any one spark of that Eternal farr-off dawning of God's glorious Brightness, the same is in the Beauty, Motion, and Vertue of this Light; the Shadow of that which enlighthneth all, *Job*. i. who yet is neither Mind, Spirit, nor Light, but the Cause that they exist. *Hermes* in *Py-mandro*.

§. 8. The *Firmament* between the Waters, is the extended distance between the Sea and Waters in the *Earth*, and those in the Clouds ingendered in the uppermost Air. This *Firmament* in which the Fowls do Fly, is also called *Heaven* in Scripture. *Gen*. 48. 25. and elsewhere. The Crystalline Heaven, *Bazil* calls Childish.

§. 9. God having Created the Matter of all things, and distinguished every general Nature, and given them their proper Form; as Levity to what should Ascend, and Gravity to what should Descend, and set each in its place in the three first days; in

in the three last he beautified and furnished them with their proper kinds; as the Sun, Moon, and Stars, in the higher *Firmament of Heaven*; Fowls in the Air, Fishes in the Waters, Beasts on the *Earth*; giving a generative Power for the continuance of their Kinds, to such as in the individual should be subject to decay, or needed increase.

§. 10. Nature is a working power infused by God into every Creature; not any self-ability to be the Original of any thing of it self, no more than the Helm can guide the Ship without an Hand, or an Hand without judgment. All Agents work by virtue of the first Act, and as the Eye seeth, Ear hearerh, and yet it is the Soul which giveth ability, life, and motion to these Organs: So it is God who worketh by Angels, Men, Nature, Stars, or infused Properties, as by his Instruments; all second Causes being but Conduits to convey and disperse what they have received from the Fountain of the Universal Cause. It is God's infinite Power and Omnipresence embracing and piercing all things, that giveth Power to the Sun, and all second Causes, and to Nature her self, to do what they do; which operative power from God being staid, Nature is without Virtue: For all things flourish by God, saith *Orpheus*. I seek not to annihilate those various Virtues given by God to his Creatures, for all his Works in their Virtues praise him; but how he worketh in and by them no Man could ever conceive: As *Lactantius*, confounding the Wisdom of *Philosophers*, denied that all their study had found it; for could the precise knowledge of any thing be had, that then of necessity all other things might be known. So the *Philosophers* Curiosity was more than their Skill about the First Matter; for if it had being, it was not the First Matter, which existeth only in Power; and seeing it is neither a perfect nor imperfect Substance, how a Substance should take a concrease from it, they have not yet shewed. So to make it the Subject of Forms, understanding the same to precede them, is hard to conceive: For to make Form which is the Cause, to be subsequent to the thing caused, is contrary to all reason: Only we say, originally there is no other difference between Matter and Form, than between Heat and Fire, of which one cannot subsist without the other, but in a kind of rational consideration.

§. 11. *Destiny* might safely be admitted, but for the inevitable necessity even over Mens Minds and Wills, held by *Stoicks*, *Caldeans*, *Pharisees*, *Pricilianists*, &c. *Hermes* and *Apuleius* conceived that Fate was an Obedience of second Causes to the first.

Plotinus calls it a disposition from the Acts of the Cælestial Orbs working unchangeably in inferior Bodies; which is true in things not ordered by a rational mind. Fate is that which God hath spoken concerning us, say the *Stoicks*, *Seneca*, and *Protolmy*: And no doubt Stars are of a greater use than to give an obscure Light; neither are the Seasons of Winter and Summer so uncertain in Heat and Cold, by the motions of the Sun and Moon, which are so certain; but by the working of the Stars with them. God hath given Virtues to Springs, Plants, Stones, &c. yea, to Excrements of base Creatures; why then should we rob the Beautiful Stars of their working power, being so many in number, and so eminent in Beauty and Magnitude: The Treasury of his Wisdom, who is so eminent, could not be short in giving them their peculiar Virtues and Operations, as he gave to Herbs, Plants, &c. which adorn the Earth. As therefore these Ornaments of the Earth have their Virtue to feed and Cure, so no doubt these Heavenly Ornaments want not their further use wherein to serve his Divine Providence, as his just Will shall please to determine. *Origen* held them to be a Book of all things to come, but by no humane Wisdom to be read; which latter I do well believe, as I do that in *Eccles.* 42. 34. and *Wisd.* 9. 16. But in this question of Fate, let us neither bind God to his Creatures, nor rob them of the Office he hath given them. If second Causes restrain God, or God by them enforce Man's Mind or Will, then wicked men might lay the fault on God; as *Augustine* saith they impiously use to do. *Quest.* 20. on *Gen.* The Stars may incline the Will by mediation of the Sensitive Appetite, which is stirred up by the Constitution of Bodies, that hath therein a kind of drawing of the Affections; especially Bodies strong in Humours, and Minds weak in Virtue, as a Cholerick Complexion, &c. That Cælestial Bodies are instruments of God's Providence, wholly ordering the Creature left to it's natural appetite, I doubt not. Of Men differing little from Beasts I cannot judge: But as he who contends against these enforcements, may easily master them; so he which neglecteth the remedy prepared by Virtue and Piety, puts himself altogether under the power of his sensitive appetite; Fate neglected overcometh, but will be Conquered by Resistance. And howsoever we are inclin'd by the Stars at our Birth, many things in Nature and Art weaken the same (besides God's reserved Power) especially Education; for a Religious Education may reform the worst Inclination: And on the contrary, a favourable Constellation (if Stars incline the Will) meeting with a virtuous Education, makes Men excellent in Virtue; a wise Man

Man assisteth the Stars, as Husbandry does the Ground. God made the Stars, as the rest of his Works, subject to his unwritten Law, whose Execution he may stay or alter at his pleasure; neither is any Inclination or Temptation so forcible, which humble Prayer cannot frustrate; else our Saviour had taught us in vain, *Let us not be led into Temptation, but Deliver us from, &c.* And were the influence of the Stars of such necessity, God would be debarr'd of all Worship; neither would he ever have made such promises to well-doing, nor threatned the contrary, if he had bound us to an inevitable Destiny, and laid Necessity on our Souls.

§. 12. *Prescience* or Fore-knowledge (if we may speak of God after the manner of Men) goeth before his Providence; for God infallibly fore-knew all things, before they had a being to be cared for; yet was it not the Cause of things following, nor imposed necessity.

§. 13. *Providence* is an intellectual Knowledge, fore-seeing, caring for, and ordering all things; beholding matters past, present, and to come, and is the Cause of their being so. And such an one we call Provident, who considering things past, and comparing them with those present, can thereby with Judgment provide for the future. This the Scripture highly commends, *Psal.* 36. 6. *Matth.* 6. 28. And many other places. *Orpheus* called it an Infinite Eye. 'Tis true, no Man commands in a King's presence, without his direction: but God is Omnipresent, and will command himself, that being an Honour which he will not part with, *Es.* 42. 8. Yea the *Turks* are so confident in God's Providence, as not to decline imminent danger. God's Creatures shew his Providence; for all living things care for their young ones. God's love is the perpetual Knot and foundation of the World, and every part thereof, saith *Plato*. God only being the Cause of all, can only provide for all, being only able, present, and of perfect love.

§. 14. *Predestination* we distinguish from *Prescience* and *Providence*. These belong to all Creatures, from the highest Angel to the basest worm; but that only respects Mens Salvation (in the common use of Divines) or Perdition, according to some. *Augustin* sets it out by two Cities, one predestinated Eternally to Reign with God, the other to everlasting Torments. *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Bucharius*, &c. are of the same Opinion. Why it pleased God to Create some Vessels to Honour, and some to Dishonour, though the Reason may be hidden, unjust it cannot be.

§. 15. *Fortune*, the God of Fools, so much reverenc'd, and so much revil'd, falleth before Fate and Providence, and was hard-

ly known before *Homer*; and *Hesiod*, who taught the Birth of those Human Gods, hath not a word of this new Goddess, which at length grew so Potent, that she ordered all things, from Kings and Kingdoms to the Beggar and his Cottage; she made the Wise miserable, and prospered Fools, and Man's life was but her Pastime. This Image of Power was made by ignorant Men, who ascribed unto Fortune that whercof they saw no manifest Cause. Yet *Plato* taught, That nothing ever came to pass under the Sun, of which there was not a just preceding Cause. And Holy Scripture maketh this clear in things most casual, *Deut.* 19. 5. *Pro.* 16. 33. The best *Philosophers* held that all things in *Heaven* and *Earth* were order'd by the Soul of the World, said *Cicero*; when Riches and Honour are given to Empty Men without Kernel, and Learned, Valiant, and Virtuous Men wear out their Lives in a dejected condition, the Cause is manifest to the Wise, though Fools ascribe it to blind Fortune: For either it is affection in Men to prefer others, or great Persons which endure no other discourse but that of Flatterers: So that honest, open hearted lovers of the Truth, which cannot conform themselves thereto, must hang under the Wheel. Shall he which tells a Ruler he is Unjust, a General he is not Valiant, or a Lady she is not Fair, be made a Counsellor, a Captain, or a Courtier? It's not sufficient to be Wise, Just, and Valiant, under such: But with the change of the Successor, he must change, or else the base Observant will out-go him in Honour and Riches, by that only Quality of humouring Mens Vices as Virtues, with which every Fool is won, saith *Menander*. He therefore that will live out of himself, and study other Men's humors, shall never be unfortunate; but he that priset Truth and Virtue (except in a Virtuous age) shall never prosper by the Possession, or Profession of them. It is also the token of a worldly wise Man, not to contend in vain against the Nature of the Times, but to give way to Fury. And he which aimeth at *Machiavel's* two marks, Glory and Riches, must have a Steel-back to a Wooden-bow, to fit both weak and strong; or as Men at Sea, either must hoise or strike Sails, as Calms or Storms require, or use Sails of small extention, and so content himself to travel slowly. So must Men that prize Virtue for it self.

C H A P. II.

Of Man's Estate in the Creation, and of God's Rest.

§. 1. **M**AN was the last and most admirable of God's Works: The greatest wonder, saith *Plato* out of *Mercurius*, meaning the internal Form, whose Nature is an immortal spiritual Essence, and in quality, by God's Creation, holy and righteous in truth, and the Lord of the World. This Image of God in Man, *Chrysostom* makes chiefly to consist in Dominion; so *Ambrose* and others; but denyeth it to Women, contrary to the Text, *let them Rule*, not excluding the Woman. Others conceive this Image to be in Man's immortal Soul, which is one and *Incorporeal*, governing the Body; being in every part of it wholly, as God is wholly in every part of the World: But the Soul's being in every part wholly, more than potentially, is doubted of. Schoolmen make the resemblance to be especially in Man's Mind, whose Memory, Understanding, and Will really differing, yet are but one Mind, resembling the Trinity. They also, as did *Victorinus*, make a difference of Image, which they refer to the Substance of the Soul not lost, and the similitude which is in Holiness and Righteousness of quality. But as *Augustin* defended, that Man lost the perfection of Gods Image: So *St. Paul* makes it the same with Similitude, *1 Cor.* 15. 39. and *Jam.* 3. 9. &c. *Zanchius* held this Image to be both in Body and Mind, because it was referred to the *Hypostasis* or the whole Man, *Vide de opere dei*; yet he confesseth it may be answered, *Moses* used a Synecdoche. But *Augustine* cursed him that resembled the Deity to Man's Body. In general, Humane Virtue is liker unto God, than his Figure, saith *Cicero*. Neither Dominion, nor the immortal Soul, endued with Memory, Understanding, and Will, is this Image; seeing Man hath these common with Devils. *Sybill* called right Reason the Image of God, that is, rightly to know, confess, serve, love, and obey God.

§. 2. *Of the intellectual Mind of Man, and God's Image in it.* This Mind is not taken for the Soul, which is the Form and Nature of Man, but for the principal Power of the Soul, whose Act is a perpetual Contemplation of the Truth; and therefore is called Divine Understanding, and a Contemplative Mind: *Cusan* calls it, a Power compounded of all Powers of Comprehending. *Mercurius* held it to be the Essence of God, no otherwise separated from him, than the Light from the Sun; which

which Error the *Manichees* also held. But as the Sun is not of the Essence of the Divine Light, but a Body enlightned with a Created Light; So this Mind or Understanding in Man, is not of the Essence of God's Understanding; but the purest of the Soul's Faculties, or the very light of the reasonable Soul, called *the Soul of the Soul*, or *Eye of the Soul* by *Augustine*, or the Receptracle of Wisdom. Between this *Mens* or Understanding, Power, or Reason, I say, between it and *Anima* and *Animus*, is this difference; that by the Soul we live, by Reason we judge and Discourse, by the Mind or *Animus* we will and chuse; but this Mind called *Mens* is a pure Substantial Act of the Soul, not depending upon matter, but hath Relation to that which is intelligible, as its first Object. *Mercurius* saith, the Soul is the Image of the Mind, which is the Image of God, &c. *Ficinus* labours to prove the Mind hath no need of Organs: *Zanchius* holds the Mind needs no means to Understand by, yet confesseth that the Representations which come from the Sense to the Phantasie, are the Objects of the Understanding; which Resemblances are to the Mind, as Colours to the Sight. Thus he makes the Phantasie an Organ to the Mind, as the Eye is to the sight, contrary to his first assertion. However the question be determined, we may safely resemble our selves to God in Mind, in respect of that pure Faculty which is never separated from Contemplation and love of God. The Mind, saith *Bernard*, is not the Image of God because it Understandeth, Remembers, and Loveth it self; but because it Understandeth, Remembreth, and Loveth God, who created it. So that Immortality, Reason, and Dominion, do not make us God's Shadow, but the habit of Righteousness, most perfectly infused into the Soul and Mind in the Creation. It's not by Nature that we are Imprinted with the Seal of God's Image, (though Reason be part of the Essential Constitution of our proper Species or Kind) but this is from the Bounty of God's Goodness, which breathing Life into *Earth*, contriv'd therein the inimitable ability of his own Justice, Piety and Righteousness. So long therefore as Men walk in Gods ways, which is called walking with God, and do fear, love, and serve him truly, for the love of God alone, so long they retain this Image; but it cannot be in Unjust, Cruel, False and Ambitious Souls, &c. And though Nature (according to common Understanding,) does make us capable and apt enough to receive this Image, yet if Gods exceeding Wisdom and liberal Mercy framed not Eyes to our Souls, we could not come by it. For not only the Perfection, but the Image

Image it self (to wit) that Supernatural Gift of Grace and Glory, is wholly blotted out by Sin.

§. 3. *Adam's* Body was made of *Adamah*, red fat *Earth*; of which God produced not an Image, but a Body of Flesh, Blood, and Bones, in the form it now hath. And though Nature and Experience assure our Mortality, and our *Bodies* are but Anvils of Pains and Diseases; and our *Minds* but Hives of Innumerable Cares, Sorrows, and Passions; and that our greatest Glories are but painted Posts for Envy to cast her Darts at; yet our unhappy Condition and darkness of Understanding is such, that we only esteem this Slave of Death; and only at idle Hours remember the immortal imprisoned Soul, the everlasting Subject of Reward or Punishment. This we never think on while one Vanity is left in us; we plead for Titles till Breath fail us; dig for Riches till Strength be spent; and excercise Malice while we are able to revenge: And then when time hath deprived us both from Youth, Pleasure, and Health; and Nature her self hates the House of her old Age, we Remember with *Job*, we must go whence we shall not return, and that our Bed is made ready for us in the Dark. Then we look too late into the bottom of our Conscience, and behold the fearful Image of past Actions, with this terrible Inscription, *God will bring every work to Judgment*. Let us not therefore flatter our selves wilfully to offend God, in hope easily to make our Peace at the last, which is a Rebellious Presumption, and deriding the dreadful God, his Laws and Precepts.

§. 4. To this corruptible Body God gave a Soul spiritual and incorruptible, which again shall return to him, as the Body to the *Earth*. The Soul's Immortality is manifest, from comparing the manner of Creating other things with it, *Gen.* 1. 20, 24. with *v.* 26. and *Chap.* 2. 7.

§. 5. Man thus compounded, became a Model of the Universe, having a Natural Power, with ability fit for the Government of the World, an Intellectual Soul common with Angels, and Sensitive with Beasts. Thus he became a little World in the great one, in whom all Natures were bound up together; our Flesh is heavy like *Earth*, our Bones hard as Stones, our Veins as the Rivers, Breath as the Air, Natural Heat like the warmth inclosed in the *Earth*, which the Sun stirreth up in procreation; our radical moisture, which feedeth the Natural Heat, is as the fatness in the *Earth*; our Hairs as Grass; our Generative Power as Nature which produceth; our Determinations like wandering Clouds; our Eyes like the Lights in Heaven; our growth like the Spring; our settled Age like the Summer; Declension like *Autumn*; and old Age like Winter; our

Thoughts

Thoughts are like the motions of Angels; our pure Understanding like the Intellectual Natures always present with God, and the habitual Holiness and Righteousness of our immortal Souls was the Image of God, as a Shadow may be like the Substance. Man's four Complexions are like the Four Elements, and his Seven Ages like the Seven Planets. Our *Infancy* is like the Moon, in which it seemeth only to grow as *Plants*; and in our *next Age* we are instructed as under *Mercury*, always near the Sun: Our *Youth* is wanton, and given to pleasure, as *Venus*; our *Fourth Age* Strong, Vigorous, and Flourishing, is like the Sun: Our *Fifth* like *Mars* striving for Honour; our *Sixth Age* like *Jupiter*, Wise, and stay'd: and our *Seventh* like *Saturn*, slow, and heavy; when by irrevocable loss we see, that of all our vain Passions and Affections the Sorrow only abideth, and our Attendants are various Infirmities and Diseases, of which many are the Remainders of former Follies and Excesses. And if Riches yet Continue with us, the more our Plenty is, the more greedily is our End wished for; we being now of no other use but to with-hold our Riches from our Successors, and being made unsociable to others, we become a burden to our selves. Now, and never before, we think upon our Eternal Habitation, whereto we pass with many sighs, groanings, and sad thoughts; and in the end by Death we finish the sorrowful Business of a wretched Life, towards which we always have been travelling, sleeping and waking; and by what crooked Path soever we walked, yet it led us the straight-way to the gate of Death. Neither can our beloved *Companions*, or rather our Gods, *Riches* and *Honour*, stay us one hour from entering into that all-devouring Dungeon of *Death*, which is not satisfied with the by-past Generations, but still crieth *all Flesh is Grass*, 'till it have consumed all. Thus the *Tide* of Man's Life once declining, makes a perpetual *Ebb*, never to return hither, and this Leaf fallen, shall never spring again.

*Trees cast their Leaves, and spring again;
Man's Leaf once cast, doth so remain.
Sun being set returns with Light,
Man's Light is short, long lasting Night.*

§. 6. Our Parents having but one Prohibition for Tryal of obedience, would needs extend the Freedom of their Will thereto, and so brought all mankind into endless misery.

§. 7. God on the Seventh Day ceased to Create more Kinds,

Kinds, having perfected those he intended, and indued with Generative Power, such as should continue by Generation.

C H A P. III.

Of Paradise, and many Opinions about it.

§. 1. *Paradise*, was the first Habitation of *Adam*, Eastward in *Eden*, about which Men's Opinions are as divers as the Persons that dispute it; and many imbibe gross Errors, led thereto by Authority of great Men, wherein diverse Fathers were far wide; as it is the fate of all to err, neither has any Man the knowledge of all things.

§. 2. Many held *Paradise* in *Moses* to be Allegorical only; as *Origen*, *Philo*, and *Ambrose* leaned to that Opinion; so did *Strabus*, *Rabanus*, *Beda*, *Commeffor*, *Chrysamenfis*; and *Luther* thought it not extant, though it had been. *Vadianus* and *Hoviomagus* held it to be the whole *Earth*; *Tertullian*, *Bonaventure*, and *Durand*, place it under the Equinoctial: *Postellus* under the North Pole.

§. 3. *Paradise*, by *Moses's* description, was a place on *Earth*, in *Eden*, a Country Eastward, so called for the pleasantness thereof; as in *America*, a Country is called *Florida*. Here the vulgar Translation mistakes, in interpreting it to be a *Paradise* of Pleasure from the beginning. This Situation of *Paradise* in the East, occasioned the Praying and setting Churches to the East, contrary to the standing of *Solomon's Temple*, and the Priest turning to the West: Yet God is every where, neither is there any Mystery in the word Eastward, but the place stood so from *Canaan*. As *Moses* by his description proves it an *Earthly* place, and *Ezechiel* witnesseth that *Eden* was a Country near *Charan*: So *Adam's* Actions, and end of being placed in it, prove no less against those vain Allegorizers of Scripture Stories, confuted by *Jerom* and *Epiphanius*; yet I exclude not an Allegorical Sense of some Stories, besides the Literal, as *Augustine* and *Suidas* held *Paradise* had both. *Homer's Alcinous Garden*, and *Elizien Fields*, were Poetical Fictions stolen out of the Divine Treasury, and prophaned by them.

§. 4. It is no Curiosity to enquire after the place, seeing there is nothing in Scripture but for instruction; and if the truth of the Story be necessary, the place set out for the proof of it is not to be neglected, nor should Men's fancies therein overthrow the Story. For what is more ridiculous than to seek *Adam's Paradise*

Paradise as high as the Moon, or beyond the Ocean which he waded through to come to *Judea*! or that it is a separated Land, hanging in the Air under the Moon, from whence the four Rivers fall with Violence, and force through the Sea, and rise again in our habitable World! as *Comestor* and others dreamed. That therefore the Truth may receive no prejudice, God's Wisdom hath so carefully described the place for our easie finding, as the choicest part of the *Earth*. And if it be a generous mind to desire to know the original of our Ancestors, this search cannot be discommended.

§. 5. *Paradise* is not so defaced by the Flood that it cannot be found, as *Augustinus Chrysamenfis* judged; though the Beauty of it be lost, and time made it as a common Field in *Eden*; yet *Moses* eight hundred seventy Years after would not have so particularly described it, nor the Prophets have mentioned *Eden* so often, if the same could not be found, or if the Rivers which in his time bare the Names were not the same, of which *Euphrates* and *Tigris* were never doubted of, as the Country of *Eden* is yet well known. As for the alteration made by the Flood, in changing the currents of Rivers, and raising Mountains, as some judge, it is improbable; for the Waters covered the *Earth* spherically, and did not fall violently from higher places, or come in with Storms, or ebbings and flowings, which make such choaking up of the mouths of the Rivers. The Waters were then raised by universal eruptions, and by down right falls of Rain, which use to scatter the strongest Winds. *Seth's* Pillar erected 1426 Years before, as Antiquity reports, and standing in *Josephus's* days; the City under *Libanus*, whose ruins remain'd to *Annius's* days; and by *Berosus* his forged Fragments, called *Enochia*, as being built by *Cain*, and the City *Foppa* remaining after the Flood, all argue the Flood had no such effect to work such alteration, when even Bay-Trees out-stood it. Antiquity also speaketh of *Barris*, and *Sion*, whereon 'tis Fabled the Giants were saved, which argue their Judgment touching the Antiquity of Mountains.

§. 6. *Paradise* was not the whole *Earth*, as *Manichus*, *Vadianus*, *Noviomagus*, and *Goropius Becanus* judged, seeing the Text saith it was Eastward in *Eden*, and the Angel was placed on the East side of *Paradise*, and *Adam* was cast out of it; not out of all the *Earth*. Yet the Error of *Ephrem*, *Athanasius*, and *Cyrril*, was still greater, that *Paradise* was beyond the Ocean, through which *Adam* walked when he was cast out, to return to the Land of his Creation; and was buried on *Calvary*.

§. 7. *Paradise*

§. 7. *Paradise* by *Bar-Cephas*, *Beda*, *Strabus*, and *Rabanus*, was placed on a Mountain almost as high as the Moon; neither did *Rupertus* differ much from them. It seems they took it out of *Plato*; and *Socrates* mis-understood it, who no doubt took this place for *Heaven*, the Habitation of Blessed Souls after Death; though for fear of the *Arcopagites*, they durst not set down in plain terms what they believed therein; and though in the end *Socrates* was put to Death for acknowledging one only *All-sufficient* God, yet the Devil himself did him that right, to pronounce him the wisest Man. As for the place in question, *Tertullian* and *Eusebius* conceive, by it he meant the *Cœlestial Paradise*. *Solinus* indeed mentions a place called *Acrothonos*, upon Mount *Atho*, which was pleasant and Healthful, whose Inhabitants are called *Macrobiæ*, a long lived People: Upon the aforesaid *Lunary Hill*, they say *Enoch* was preserved, which *Isidore* and *Lumbard* approve of; and *Tertullian*, *Ireneus*, and *Justin Martyr* believed the Souls of Blessed Men lived there; which Fancies *Hopkins* and *Pererius* have confuted. As for the Bodies of *Enoch* and *Elias*, they might be changed, as others may be in the last day. The Schoolmen in this and in their other Questions were exceeding witty, but yet taught their Followers to shift better than to resolve, by their Distinctions. The Fables of *Olympus*, *Atlas*, and *Atho*, to be higher than any Winds, *Pliny* himself disproveth.

§. 8. *Tertullian*, *Bonaventure*, and *Durand* place *Paradise* under the *Equinoctial*, whereunto *Equinus* opposeth the inconvenience of Heat there. But this is *Non causa* for *causa*; the true cause is, *Eden* and the Rivers are not there; else that Climate hath as pleasant Fertile places as any other. Neither was any Region Created but for Habitation, and those hot Countries are tempered by East Winds, and long cool Nights, as I well know my self; Only where Mountains obstruct the Winds, and in Sandy Grounds void of Trees, the Country is not so well inhabited as the other parts which are very Fertile, and whose Inhabitants idleness makes them Vicious, and the Country to be so called.

§. 9. *Paradise* not being in the forementioned places, sure we are it was in *Eden*, nor hard to have been found out, had not Names been changed since *Moses's* days; and that other Nations have sought to extinguish both the Name and Monuments of the *Jews*. But for our help we have *Euphrates* and *Tigris* agreed upon, and that it was Eastward from *Canaan*; which latter might agree with *Arabia* the Stony and Desert; but the former cannot; neither has it the property of exceeding Fertility. As for the bordering Countries, though *Moses* named

none,

none, yet *Isaiah* and *Ezekiel* do; and though *Amos* mentions that *Eden*, which is *Cœlosyria*; and *Beroaldus* findeth a City there called *Paradise*, yet it cannot be the *Eden* we seek, seeing *Cœlosyria* and *Syrian Damascena* is full North from *Canaan*, and wants our known Rivers. Come then to the *Edomites* in *Thalassar*, and the rest by *Isaiah* mentioned: *Thalassar* was a strong City in an Island upon the Border of *Caldea*, on the River *Euphrates*, towards the North; which after *Senacharib's* Death, *Merodach Baladan*, enjoying *Babilonia*, fortified against *Esar Haddon*, which City *Marcellinus* calls *Thelatha*; as do *Pliny*, and *Terdada*, being the same that *Julian* durst not assault. The other places in *Isaiah* are either in *Mesopotamia*, as *Charan* and *Reseph*, or in *Media*, as *Gofan*: So *Ezekiel*, setting out the Countries which traded with *Tyrus*, joyneth *Charan* with *Eden*, as also *Calne*, which *Ferom* calls *Seleucia*, standing upon *Euphrates* towards *Tigris*, named also *Channeh*, and the Inhabitants *Schenits* by *Pliny*; who Inhabited from *Seleucia* on both sides of *Euphrates*, Westward to *Cœlosyria*, as far as *Tapeacus*, where the River is Fordable. *Charan* therefore cannot be *Channeh*, the one standing on the *Euphrates*, the other on *Chaboras*, which falleth into the *Euphrates*, far off in *Mesopotamia*; or *Aram* between the Floods. Besides *Channeh* or *Calne*, is by *Moses* Named in *Shinar*, one of *Nimrod's* Cities. Lastly, *Sheba* and *Rhaama* upon the *Persian* Gulf, traded with *Tyrus* by the *Tygris*, so to *Seleucia*, and so to *Syria* by the *Euphrates*, till they come to *Aleppo* or *Hierapolis*, from whence they went by Land to *Tyrus*, and after *Tyrus's* decay to *Tripoly*, and now to *Alexandretta* in the Bay of *Ifficus* or *Laiazzo*. *Chalmad* is also joyned with *Eden* by *Ezekiel*, a benign Region of higher *Medea*, North-East of *Eden*, called *Coronitania* by Geographers. Thus *Eden* is bounded on the East and on the North-East by *Elanah* and *Chalmad*; on the West and North-West by *Charan* and *Channa*; on the South by *Sheba*; between which *Chaldee* (properly so called) is contain'd, which is the *Eden* we seek for.

§. 10. *Eden* hath not yet wholly lost the Name and distinction of the old Country, as is to be seen in the Epistles written by the Christians inhabiting *Mesopotamia*, to the Pope, Anno. 1552. Published by *Masius*, mentioning the Island of *Eden* in the River *Tigris*, which is commonly called *Gozoria* or *Gezer*. So that we may perceive, that *Eden* before the Flood, comprehended, besides the Island of *Babilonia* in the South, all *Affyria*, *Armenia*, and *Mesopotamia*, bounded by Mount *Taurus* on the North. In this Isle, which is Forty Miles in compass, is the Metropolitan City, and Patriarchate of all the *Nestorian Christians*

ans in *Affyria*, *Mesopotamia*, *Chaldea*, and *Persia*, and stands Twelve Miles from above *Mosell*.

§. 11. An Objection is made out of the Text. That a River, in the Singular Number, divideth it self into Four Heads. Answer, *Kimchi* and *Vatallus* say, the Singular is put here for the Plural, and this is usual with the Hebrews. But take it to be singular for *Euphrates*, and we find it divided into Four Branches in the Country of *Chaldea*. And what alteration soever time hath bred, evident it is that *Perah* in *Moses* is *Euphrates*, and *Hiddekel* is *Tigris*, which runneth through *Affyria*, whose chief City is *Nineve*.

§. 12. An Objection touching the Fertility of *Paradise* no where found, is Answered: That no place after the Flood, was like to what it was at the Creation; yet *Herodotus* commendeth the Country about *Euphrates* near its Confluence with the *Tigris*, above all he had seen; yielding two hundred for one; with plenty of *Palm-Trees*, of which they make Meat, Wine and Honey: *Strabo*, and *Niger* added Bread, and *Anthony* the *Eremit* addeth Flax. They mow the Blade twice, and after eat it down with Cattle, to prevent the inconveniency of over much rankness; and it is void of Weeds. See *Pliny*, Lib. 18. Chap. 17. who says the *Babylonians* reap a Crop the second Year without Sowing; and yet Cut their Corn twice in the Year they sow it, saith *Niger*: And least their Cattle should perish of Satiety, they drive them out of the Pasture, saith *Quintus Curtius*.

§. 13. *Pison*, and *Gehon*, the other two Rivers in *Paradise*, must be found to Branch out of that River, or Rivers of *Eden*. And therefore it was a strange fancy to seek out these Rivers in the *Ganges* in *India*, and *Nylus* in *Egypt*. The Error about *Pison* grew by mistaking *Havila* in *India*, whose founder was a Son of *Joctan*, for that *Havila* upon the *Tygris*, after called *Susiana*, Planted by a Son of *Cush*. If regard was had to the largeness of *Ganges*, *Indus* is not inferior, having *Hydaspis* Famous in *Alexander* the Great's Story, and many like Rivers falling unto it, as *Cous*, *Suaflus*, *Acesimies*, *Adris*, *Hispalis*, *Saradrus*; *Indus* is also nearer *Tygris* almost by 40 degrees, between which and *Ganges* is the great Kingdom of *Magor*. As for *Nylus* it can no way be a Branch of a River, which runneth through *Eden* with the rest, seeing it runneth contrary to them, springing from the South coast, and falleth North, whereas they spring North, and fall into the South Sea. *Pison* therefore will rather be found a River Branching out of the *Euphrates* into *Tygris* at *Appanita*, called *Pisa-Tygris*, running through *Havila* or *Susiana*, from *Hercules* Altar into the *Persian* Gulph, and hath Gold, and *Bdellium*, and

and Onix Stones in it. Time hath made a greater change of other Names than these; As to call *Babylon*, *Bandas*, *Baldach*, *Bagded*, and *Bonghedor*. *Pison* is called *Basilius*, or *Regius*; And for *Gehon*, it has bore the Name of *Maharsares*, *Marsias*, *Baarsares* in *Ptolomy*, and the like. *Euphrates* at her Fountain, was called *Pixirates* and *Puck-perch*; *Plutarch* calls it *Medus* and *Zaranda*; others name it *Cobar*, which is a Branch of it: The *Affyrians* name it *Armalchar* and *Nabar Malcha*; now it is call'd *Phrat*, *Tigris*, in *Hebrew* *Hiddekel*; others term it *Diglito*, *Diglath*, *Scilax*, *Sollax*, now *Telig*. *Mercer* contrived it well that the *Euphrates* and *Tigris* stream into four Branches, and that the *Euphrates* falling into *Gehon* lost the name, and is swallowed up in the *Caldee* Lakes near *Ur*; but *Pison* breaking into *Tygris* falls into the Sea, and bred a name compounded of both, viz. *Pisotigris*, running through *Chavila*, so named of the Son of *Cush*, whose Issue inhabited both sides, and was mistaken for *Ethiopia*, 1 *Sam.* 15. 7.

§. 14. *Gehon*, by mistaking *Ethiopia* for *Chus*, drew them to *Nilus*, which Error *Pererius* would help by an East *Ethiopia* in *Arabia Petraea*, and part of *Felix*, which being granted, *Gehon* is not *Nilus*, neither did the 1000000 Men which *Zera* brought against *Asa*, come from beyond *Egypt*, but were *Chushites*, *Madianites*, *Amalakites*, and *Ismaelites*, which inhabited the Land of *Cush*, over which *Zera* in *Gerar* near *Juda* commanded. But besides *Pererius*, *Pliny* tells us, *East-Ethiopia* was about *Nilus*, South of *Egypt*; and the *West* was about the River *Niger*; so that all that take *Cush* for *Ethiopia*, *Num.* 12. 1. do err, as also 2 *Chron.* 21. 16. *Beroaldus* in seeking *Gehon* at *Gaza*, lost himself in the Desert, by finding a River scarce 20 Miles long, for *Gehon*, which watereth all the Land of *Cush*, (whose *West* part lies from *Tigris*) went towards *Arabia*, and ran through the South of *Caldee*, where was *Cusca* afterwards called *Chuduca*; from whence, either increase, or fear of *Nimrod's* Posterity, made them scatter more towards the *West*, out of that part of *Shinar*, where *Nimrod*, through Policy and Strength, had seated himself; as did his Father upon *Gehon*, and a Brother of his, called *Havila*, on both sides the *Tigris*, and along the Sea towards *Arabia*.

§. 15. To conclude, it appeareth to me by Scripture, Paradise was a created place in our habitable World, in the lower part of a Country called *Eden*, from the pleasantness thereof, containing part of *Armenia*, all *Mesopotamia* and *Shinar*. This Region in 35 Degrees, is most temperate, abounding with whatsoever Life needeth without Labour; exceeding both the *Indies* with their perpetual Spring and Summer, which are accompanied with fearful Thunder, Lightning, Earthquakes, venomous Creatures, and desperate Diseases, whereof *Eden* is free. I desire no other Reward for

for my Labour in this Description, but a suspension of Judgment, till it be confuted by a more probable Opinion.

CHAP. IV.

Of the two chief Trees in Paradise.

§. 1. THAT the two Trees of Life and Knowledge, were natural Trees, the most learned and religious Writers doubt not of; though they were Figures of the Law and Gospel; yet some would have them only allegorical, because of *Solomon's* Speech *Pro.* 3. 18. But *Augustine* answers, that one excludes not the other, as Paradise was terrestrial, and yet it signified a Celestial one; as *Sarah* and *Hagar* were Women, yet figures of the Old and New Testament; the word also of the Text joins these Trees with the rest that God produced. Touching the Tree of Life, it is hard to think that Bodies nourished by corruptible means should be immortal, yet if *Adam* had not disobey'd God's commandment, he and his might have lived a healthful ungrieved Life, four times longer than the first Fathers, and then have been translated as *Enoch* was; for God's infinite Wisdom foresaw the Earth would not have contain'd a perpetual Increase, or Millions of Souls must have been ungenerated. The Immortality then of Man, if he had not fallen, must be understood of Bodies translated and glorified.

§. 2. Touching the Tree of Knowledge *Goropius Becanus* will have the honour to have found it to be the *Indian* Figg-Tree, but however that opinion be valued, and that never Man thought better of his own than he, yet herein he usurpeth upon *Moses Barcephas* who fastned on this Conjecture 600 Years before, referring it to *Philoxenus*, and others, long before him. *Becanus*, upon a conceit this Tree is found upon the Banks of *Acesines*, which runneth into *Indus*, will therefore fix Paradise there; but I my self have seen 20000 of them in a Vally of *America*, not far from *Paria*, as also in *Trinidado*. The largeness of this Tree in *Pliny* and others I am ashamed to relate. The Stem is as straight as may be, without Branches for 20 or 30 Foot, where spreading abroad, there issueth out from the head Branches, a Gum which hangeth downwards, and by increasing a few Months, as a Cord, reacheth the Ground, taketh Root, and becometh a Tree; which also by the like Gum maketh others, and in a short time such a Grove ariseth as doth not consist of any other Trees: If a Branch hang over the Water, the Gum will pierce the Water and take root, so that falling sometimes into a Bed of Oysters they are so intangled, that plucking up

one of those Cords, I have seen 500 Oysters hanging thereat. The Leaves largeness, and Fruits pleasantness, which is not bigger than a Pease, I find not according to report, yet I have travelled 12 Miles under them. In short, though *Becanus* count it impudent obstinacy to dare to think this is not the Tree, yet I incline to *Philo*'s opinion, that the Earth never brought forth that Tree since.

§. 3. Allowing however *Becanus* his Supposition to be true, his witty Allegory of this *Indian Figg-Tree* is not unworthy of the commendation given it.

§. 4. Touching the name of the Tree, *Barcephas*, translated by *Masius*, saith, it was so called from the Event; for after eating thereof he should know by experience the Happiness they had lost, and the Misery their Disobedience would bring them into. *Junius* follows this Exposition; *Adam* by excellency of Creation could not be ignorant how good Obedience was, and the evil of Disobedience: As Men in Sickness better know the good of Health and the evil of Sickness, than they conceived before; so was it then with *Adam*, for looking into the Glass of his Guilty Conscience, which Evil he never knew before, he saw the Horror of God's Judgment, and feelingly knew the loss of the Good which could not be valued, and purchased Evil not to be expressed; then he saw himself naked both in Body and Mind, that is, deprived of God's Grace and former Felicity. Hereupon it was called the *Tree of Knowledge*, and not from any Operation it had by a peculiar quality; for the same Phrase is used in Scripture, and names are given to Signs and Sacraments, as to Acts and Things performed and done. But *Adam* being betray'd and over-ruled by his own Affection and Ambition of further Knowledge, and the Glory which would follow it, and slightly looking on what God had threatned, was transported with the gentle Winds of pleasing Persuasion unawares, Satan at the same time strengthening his Progression, and poisoning the Root of Mankind, which he moistned by the Liquor of Ambition, by which himself perished for ever. The means the Devil used was his Wife, given to have been a Comforter not a Counsellor; she desiring to know what was unfit for her, as doth all that Sex ever since, and he unwilling to grieve and discontent her, as all his Sex do at this day, yielded to her Incantations: Which if it befell him in his Perfection, not yet acquainted with bewitching Embracements; and if *Solomon* the wise, could not escape the Snares of feminine Enticements, it's not so strange as 'tis lamentable that others perish at that Rock.

CHAP. V.

Of memorable things from the Creation to the Flood.

§. 1. **C**AIN inheriting his Father's Pride, and disdaining his Brother, who was more acceptable than himself, became the first Murderer, and his Brother the first Martyr. The revenge of this Sin, upon *Cain's* complaint, though God mitigated, yet for the Sins of Cruelty and Unjustice he destroyed the World.

§. 2. *Cain's* dwelling in the Land of *Nod*, or *Agitation*, as *Junius* expounds it, is not as *Jerom* and others hold, that he settled in no certain Country; but that from his distracted thoughts and disquiet Conscience the Country was so called. This Country wherein he settled, and in which, for fear of wandring, he built a City, *Junius* supposeth to be *Arabia* the Desert, but the Text boundeth it on the East of *Eden*, whereas *Arabia* is West. As for the *Nomades*, which lived upon Pasturage without Tillage, they were not any particular Nation, but that was a common Name to all that so lived, such as the *Northern Tartars*, *Getulians*, *Numidians*, ancient *Brittans*, and *Northern Irish*. Beside the World being yet unpeopled, and *Adam's* Family small, and that also on the East side of *Eden*, in that part of *Assyria* which *Ptolomy* calls *Calena*, it is unlikely that *Cain* would go so far West to *Arabia*. As for the City *Enoch* built, either for his Security, or to oppress others, as *Josephus* judged, probably it was very famous in the Days of *Noah*, when mighty Oppressors carried all the Glory. It may be also some Monuments of it remain'd, as they say of *Foppa* after the Flood, which might induce some of *Noah's* Posterity, being of the like violent Disposition, either to rebuild the same, or some of that name: Hence it might be, that in time Colonies scatter'd from thence, which carried the name of *Henochians*, from *Bactria* *Sogdiana*, East from *Eden*, (where *Pliny* and *Stephanus* find the Name, South from *Oxus*) unto *Iberia*, *Albania*, and *Colchis* near *Pontus*.

§. 3. *Cain's* Issue was lightly touched by *Moses*, being utterly to be destroy'd, yet the long Lives of that Age, and *Liberty* his Children took in marrying, may well argue he might in one quarter of his Life people a whole City; which his Issue were more ingenious to supply with the Inventions ascribed to them; while the Issue of *Seth* is commended for their care of Religion and Heavenly things.

§. 4. The Patriarchs Ages when they began to generate, is not found in them that are named, for *Moses's* purpose was not to record a Genealogy of the first begotten, but of the Ancestors of *Noah* before the Flood, and of *Abraham* after: So that having the Age of these

these that succeed one another in that Line, it was sufficient; whether they were elder or younger Brethren. *Cain* was the eldest of *Adam's* Sons, yet *Adam's* Age, when he begot him, is not expressed, as it is of *Seth*; neither can any say directly *Adam* had but *Cain* and *Abel* before; nor that *Enoch* was *Seth's* eldest. *Mahalalel* begat *Jared* at 65. who begat *Enoch* at 162. A like or greater difference there is in the rest, which cannot be ascribed to a long Abstinence from Marriage upon religious accounts, as we see in holy *Enoch*. *Noah's* Brethren perished in the Flood, so might some unnamed Children, begotten before the three named Children of 500 Years old. See *Aug. De Civitate Dei*.

§. 5. The Patriarchs Years have been questioned, some holding them lunar or *Egyptian* ones, but that cannot be, for then some should have begot Children at 6, 7, or 8 Years old, and the eldest should not live 100 Years, which is short of many after the Flood; yea long since *Pliny* witnesseth, that under *Vespasian*, upon an enquiry made, many were found above 120, and some 140 Years old. Simple Diet, and a temperate Life, made the *Esseans*, *Egyptian* Priests, *Persian* Magicians, *Indians* and *Brachmans* live long, (saith *Josephus*.) *Pliny* reports *Nestor's* three Ages, *Tiresias's* 6; *Sibyl's* 300 Years, and *Endymion's* little less. *Ant. Fume*, a good Historian, mentions an *Indian* of above 300 Years old. I my self knew the old Countess of *Desmond*, Anno 1589. and she lived many Years after, who had been married in the Reign of *Ed. 4.* To conclude, there are 3 things (not to speak of Constellations) which are natural Causes of long and healthful Life; strong Parents, a healthful Air, and temperate use of Diet, Pleasure and Rest, all which excelled in the first Ages. And though the Flood infused an impure quality into the Earth, to hurt the means of Man's Life; yet Time hath more consumed Nature's Vigour, as that which hath made the Heavens wax old like a Garment: Thereto add our strange Education of Children, upon an unnatural Curiosity, nourished by a strong Breast; and hasty Marriage, before Nature's Seed be ripe, or Stock well rooted to yield a Branch fit to replant. But above all the Luxury of latter Ages, which wilfully oppresseth Nature, and then thinks to relieve her with Strong-waters, hot Spices, Sawces, &c.

§. 6. The Patriarchs knowledge of the Creation might well come by Tradition, from *Adam* to *Moses*, seeing *Methusala* lived with *Adam* 243 Years, and with *Noah* 500 Years, and he with *Abram* 58 Years, from whom it was not hard to pass by *Isaac*, *Jacob*, and his Posterity, to *Moses*; yet for the more certainty of the Truth, it was undoubtedly deliver'd by the immediate Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, as his many Miracles do prove. Questionless also Letters were in use from the infancy of the World, as *Enoch's* Pillar and his Prophecy witness; of which part was found in *Saba*, saith *Origen*,

Origen, *Tertullian*, and others; neither can it be denyed there was such, saith *Augustine*.

§. 7. The Patriarchs Lives were slightly passed over 'till *Enoch*, whose Piety is commended, and his leaving the World not by Death; whether his change were such as shall be at the last Day, let Divines Judge. *Lamech's* Prophecy of his Son *Noah* is touched; but *Noah's* Life is handled more amply. The Wisdom, Policy, Wars, &c. of that World were great, as may be gathered, *Gen. 5. 4.* But the universal Impiety, which brought the universal Destruction, deserved that the Memory of their Victories should be drowned with their Bodies. It were madness to imagine the Sons of God, spoken of *Gen. 5. 24.* were good Angels, which begat Giants on Women, as *Josephus* dreamt, and deceived *Lactantius*, which Opinion is confuted by *Augustine* and *Chrysostome*.

§. 8. As for the Giants spoken of *Gen. 5.* *Becanus* strains his Wit to prove they were not such properly, but so called for their Oppression. But *Moses* calling them mighty Men, which argueth extraordinary Strength, and Men of Renown, and great undertaking, there is more reason to hold them Giants in a proper sense, especially considering what the Scripture reporteth of such in the days of *Abram*, *Moses*, *Joshua*, *David*, &c. yea of whole Kindreds and Countries. If such were found in the third and fourth Ages of the World's decay, there is no reason to doubt thereof in the first and second flourishing Ages. From this Story grew the conceit that Gyants were the Sons of Heaven and Earth; and from *Nimrod* grew the Fable of Gyants casting up Mountains to reach Heaven.

CHAP. VI.

The Original of Idolatry, and Relicks of Antiquity in Fables.

§. 1. THE *Greeks* and others, corrupting the Story of the Creation, and mingling their Fables with them, supposed that after-Ages would take those Discourses of God and Nature for inventions of Philosophers and Poets: But as skilful Chymists can extract healthful Medicines out of Poyson, and Poyson out of wholesome Herbs, &c. So may much Truth be found out of those Fables.

§. 2. The Antiquity of Corruption was even from *Noah's* Family; for the liberal Grace of God being withdrawn after Man's fall, such a perpetual Eclipse of spiritual things followed, and produced

duced such effects, that the general Deluge could not cleanse them, even in that choice Family of Noah, wherein were found those that renewed the defection from God, for which they had seen the World's destruction. Hence the *Caldeans*, *Egyptians*, and *Phenicians* soon after became Idolaters, and the *Greeks* received their twelve Gods from *Egypt*, and erected to them Images, Altars, and Temples, saith *Herodotus*.

§. 3. As Men departing out of the way of Truth stray in unknown Vices to their eternal Perdition, so these blind Idolaters being fallen from the God of Heaven to seek Gods on Earth to Worship, beginning with Men, they proceed to Beasts, Fowls, Fishes, Trees, Herbs, the four Elements, Winds, Morning and Evening Stars; yea to Affections and Passions of the Mind, such as Sorrow and Sickness; besides Spirits infernal; and among Terrestrials, even the basest wanted not Divine Honours, as Dogs, Cats, Swine, Leeks, Onions; which barbarous Blasphemy Juvenal thus derideth.

O happy Nation, which of their own Sowing,
Have store of Gods in every Garden growing.

§. 4. Of Jupiter and other Gods. That *Egypt* had knowledge of the first Age by *Misraim* the Son of *Cham*, who had lived 100 Years in it, we doubt not. Having therefore learned that *Cain* did first build Cities, they made him ancient *Jupiter*, whom the *Athenians* afterwards called *Polyeus* and *Herceios*, the founder and fortifier of Cities. This their *Jupiter* married his own Sister, as did *Cain* his. His Father *Adam* they made *Saturn*, and his Sons *Jubal*, *Tubal*, and *Tubal-Cain*, were made to be *Mercury*, *Vulcan*, and *Apollo*, being Inventers of Pasturage, Smithing, and Musick. *Naome* is expounded by *Venusta*, which was *Venus*, *Vulcan's* Wife, as *Eva* was *Rhea*. The Dragon which kept the Golden Apple, was the Serpent that beguiled *Eva*. *Paradise* was the Garden of *Hesperides*: So *Saturn's* dividing the World between his three Sons, came from *Noah* and his Sons. *Nimrod's* Tower was the attempt of the Giants against Heaven. The *Egyptians* also worshiped *Seth*, as their most ancient Parent, of whom they called their chief Province *Sethetica*; and in *Bitinia* we find the City *Sethia*. See *Strabo*, Lib. 7.

§. 5. Of the three chief Jupiters: The first was the Son of *Aether* and *Dies*; the second the Son of *Calum* an *Arcadian*, and King of *Athens*; the third famous in the Grecian Fables, was of *Creet*, or *Candia*, as some say; but there is no certainty, &c.

§. 6. *Jupiter Chammon*, more ancient than all the Grecian Jupiters, was *Cham*, the Father of *Misraim* in *Egypt*, and before Ju-

Jupiter Belus the Son of *Saturnus Babilonicus*, or *Nimrod*. As for the latter *Jupiter*, he was a little before the Wars of *Troy*.

§. 7. The Philosophers Opinions of God. *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, *Orpheus*, &c. believed not the Fooleries of their times, though they mingled their Inventions with Scripture. *Pythagoras* hung *Homer* and *Hesiod* in Hell for ever, to be stung with Serpents for their Fictions; yet *Homer* had seen *Moses*, as *Justin Martyr* sheweth in a Treatise translated by *Mirandula*. *Plato* dissembled his Knowledge for fear of the *Areopagite's* Inquisition, yet *Augustine* excused him. He delighted much in the Doctrine of one God, though he durst not be known to do it, or to mention *Moses* the Author of it, as may be gathered out of *Justin Martyr*, *Origen*, *Eusebius*, and *Cyril*: Though he had of *Moses* what he writ concerning God and of Divinity; as *Ambrose* also judged of *Pythagoras*: *Justin Martyr* observed, that as *Moses* described God to be *I am*, *Plato* saith, That which is. It's hard to find out the Creator of the World, as it is impossible if he were found to speak of him worthily, said *Plato*. He also said, God is absolutely good, and so the cause of all that is good, but no cause at all of any thing that is evil. The love of God is the cause of the World's Creation and original of all things. *Aurelius* saith, The most high God is Infinite, not only by exclusion of Place, but also by dignity of Nature; neither is any thing more like or acceptable to God, than a Man of a perfect Heart. *Thales* said, God comprehended all things, because he never had a beginning; and he beholdeth all the Thoughts of Men, saith *Zeno*. Therefore, saith *Thenodorus*, All Men ought to be careful of their Actions, because God was every where present, and beholdeth all things. *Eurip.* tells out the Creation thus.

Heaven and Earth conjoined were,
Till in the Light, which is so clear,
Trees, Birds, Beasts, Fishes did appear,
With Man, and what else we have here.

Orpheus calls Men to behold the King of the World, describes him to be one begotten of himself, from whom all things spring, who is in all, beholdeth all, but is beheld of none; who is the First and Last, Head and Middle, from whom all things exist; the foundation of the Earth and Skie, Male and Female, which never dieth. He is the Spirit of all, of Sun, Moon, &c. The original and end of all; in whom all things were hidden, till he brought them forth to light. *Cleanthus* calls God, Good, Just, Holy, possessing himself, always doing good, and Charity it self. *Pindarus* saith, he is one God and Father, most high Creator and best Artificer, who giveth to all things divers Processions, &c. *Antisthenes* saith, God cannot be resembled to any thing.

thing, and therefore not any where to be known, but only in that everlasting Country of whom thou hast no Image. God, saith Xenophon, shaketh and setteth all things at rest, is great and mighty, as is manifest to all, but of what Form he is, none knoweth but himself; who illuminateth all things with his Light. God, saith Plato, is the Ground, Cause, Original of the whole Nature of Things, the most high Father of the Soul, the eternal preserver of living Creatures, and continual framer of the World, a begetter without Propagation, comprehended neither in Place nor Time, whom few can conceive, but none can express him. Thus, as Jerom said, we find among the Heathen part of the Vessels of God. But of them all, none have with more reverence acknowledged, or more learnedly expressed one true God and everlasting Being, all ever-causing and sustaining, than Hermes the Egyptian. But of all these see Justin Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus, Lactantius, Eusebius, Eusebius, Bucur, Plessis, and Damaeus.

§. 8. *Heathenism and Judaism when confounded.* Touching the Religion of the Heathen, the same being the Inventions of mortal Men, they are no less mortal than themselves. The Chaldean fire is quenched; and as the Bodies of Jupiter and the rest were by Death devoured, so were their Images and lasting Marble Temples by Time. The trade of Riddles for Oracles, and Predictions by Apollo's Priests, is now taken up by counterfeit Egyptians and cozening Astrologers; yet was it long before the Devil gave way. For after six several spoilings and sackings of his Temple at Delphos, and as many reparings thereof, at last, when Julian fought unto it, God from Heaven consumed all with Fire. So when the same Apostate set on the Jews to rebuild a Temple, God by Earthquakes overthrew all, and slew many thousands.

§. 9. Satan's last Refuge to uphold his Kingdom, he being driven off the open Stage of the World, was to creep into the Minds of Men, and there set up the high and shining Idol of Glory, and all-commanding Image of Gold. He tells Men, that Truth is the Goddess of Danger and Oppression, Chastity an enemy to Nature, and all Virtue is without taste; but Pleasure delighteth every Sense, and true Wisdom gets Power and Riches to fulfil all our Desires. And if this arch Politician find remorse in any of his People, or any fear of future Judgment, he perswadeth them that God hath such need of Souls to replenish Heaven, that he will accept them at any time and upon any condition; and to interrupt their return to God, he layeth those great Blocks of rugged Poverty and despised Contempt in the narrow Way which leadeth to his divine Presence; neither was he ever more industrious and diligent than now, when the long Day of Mankind draweth fast towards the Evening, and the Worlds Tragedy and Time near to an end.

C H A P. VII.

Of Noah's Flood, the universality of it, and Noah's Memory in Antiquity.

§. 1. **M**OSES'S Divine Testimony of Noah's Flood, natural Men regard no farther than Reason can reach, and therefore many have disputed the universality of it: And Josephus citeth Nichol. Damascen, who reports, that many were saved on the Mountain Baris in Armenia: And the Thalmudists held the same, saith Annus.

§. 2. Ogyges's Flood, the Greeks, the corrupters of all Truth (saith Lactantius) make the most ancient: When yet Ogyges was 67 Years after Jacob, and his Flood short of Noah by 500 Years. Neither do any Authors report it overflowed any part of Syria; as Mela, Pliny, and Solinus do of Noah's, speaking of Joppa's Ruins, &c. As for this Flood, as it exceeded not Peloponesus, so it was foreseen by a concurrence of Causes which Noah's was not. Touching Varro's report out of Castor, of the strange colour, quantity, and shape of Venus, the Foggs which then rise might cause such appearances; for Galileus, a modern worthy Astronomer, by a Perspective Glass, observed many undiscovered things in the Stars, as that Venus is horned like a New-Moon.

§. 3. Deucalion's Flood is more certain for time, being in the Reign of Cranaus King of Athens, according to Varro, cited by Augustine, or under Cecrops (after Eusebius and Jerom) in whose latter times Israel came out of Egypt, which, after Fundius was 753, or 789 Years, according to Mercator, after Noah's Flood. But following the better Account, which giveth Abraham 60 Years more after the Flood, I reckon the Flood thus. The general Flood, was Anno Mundi, 1656, Jacob's Birth 2169, which is 513 after the Flood; Ogyges Flood 100 Years after Jacob: Now Deucalion was born in 2356, and his Flood hapned when he was 82 Years old, which is Anno 2438, after Noah 782; whereunto Xenophon in Annus agreeth. This Flood over-flowed most of Italy, when Egypt also was oppressed with Water; and the Italians which escaped it were called Umbri.

§. 4. Noah's Flood (as Berofus reports) was heard of among the Chaldeans, and Nichol. Damascen maketh particular mention of it. Eusebius also reports out of an ancient History of Abidenus, of one Siffithous, being forewarned by Saturn of a Flood, fled to the Armenian Hills in a Ship, who after the fall of the Water, sent out seven Birds three times to discover, &c. Cyril cites Polihistor mentioning

ing a general Flood. *Plato* also produceth an *Egyptian Priest*, reporting to *Solon* out of their holy Books, of an universal Flood long before *Ogyges* in *Attica*, and calleth *Noah* old *Ogyges*. He also speaks of a Flood of *Nilus* before that in *Attica*, which afflicted the lower *Egypt* under King *Prometheus*, till by *Hercules* direction the *Nile* was reduced within her Banks; whereof grew the Tale of an Eagle, which feeding on *Prometheus's* Liver, was slain by *Hercules*. *Xenophon*, cited by *Annius*, speaks of the universal Flood under the first *Ogyges*, of nine Months continuance: A second of the *Nile* under *Prometheus*, of one Month: A third under *Ogyges Atticus*, of two Months: A fourth under *Deucalion*, of three Months: A fifth under *Proteus of Egypt*, in *Helen's* Rape. *Diodorus Siculus* remembers another in lesser *Asia*, before *Deucalion*. There was one in the *Venetian Territories*, Anno 590. In *Friesland* a Flood drowned 100000 People, Anno 1238. In *Dort in Holland*, 10000 perished, Anno 1448. Others also are mentioned by *Strozius*.

§. 5. *Noah's* Flood was extraordinary, not upon natural causes as the others, but by God's special Power strengthening the Influence of Stars, to fill all the Cisterns of Waters in Fountains and Clouds. And tho' *Hen. of Machlin*, a Scholar of *Albertus*, observed a Conjunction of *Saturn* and *Jupiter* in the last Degree of *Cancer*, a watery Sign, and the House of the Moon, over-against the Constellation the Ship *Argos*, whereby the Flood might have been foreseen, and was also by *Noah*, as *Petrus Deabiacco* judgeth: Yet however God used second Causes; he added supernatural Force to the Clouds and Fountains, to empty their whole Treasuries of Waters.

§. 6. There needed not new created Waters in this Flood, not to dispute whether God had restrained himself from creating: For when he brake up the Fountains of the Deep, and opened the Windows or Sluces of Heaven, he shewed no new Creation, but used his old Store, contained in the vast Concavities of the Earth, and in the Clouds, wherewith he had encompassed the Earth after an extraordinary manner: Besides his condensating the Air to convert it into Rain, which is so ordinary; and thus might the Waters grow to exceed the Mountains fifteen Cubits. As for the Constellation they speak of, *Lod. Vives* reports from a great Astrologer, that the like was observed Anno 1524, after which it was exceeding fair. To conclude, I find no other Mystery in the Word *Cataract*, signifying the Windows or Flood-gates of Heaven, but the violent casting down of Waters, not scatteringly after the natural manner, but as when it is empty'd out of a Vessel in a whole body, as it is sometimes in *India*, which are called *Spouts of Water*. Thus God loosed the retentive Power in the upper Air and the Clouds, in which at other times he shutteth up the Waters, to carry them to a place appointed.

§. 7. *Noah's*

§. 7. *Noah's* Memory remained among the Heathen, who for divers respects gave him divers Names, as *Ogyges* the first, for that his Flood was before the *Grecian Ogyges*: *Saturn*, for that he was father of Nations: *Prometheus*, for his Foresight: *Janus bifrons*, as seeing what went before and came after the Flood. *Chaos*, and seed of the World, *Cælum*; *Saturn*, *Vertumnus*, *Bacchus*, and *Liber Pater*, before him of *Greece*: But the word of old was *Noachus* of *Noachus*, he was also called *Nisus* of Mount *Nisa* in *India*, joyning to *Paropanyfus* and other Eastern Mountains where the Ark rested, and where the *Greek Bacchus* never came. His Posterity also named Cities, Mountains, and Rivers, according to his Name; as a City by the red Sea, the River *Noachus* in *Thracia*, &c. See *Strabo*.

§. 8. As for *Noah's* Ark, touching its Name, *Epiphanius* in *Anchyrius*, calls it *Aren*, which properly signifies the Ark in the Sanctuary; as *Thebell*, a Vessel which swimmeth, is called *Larnax* in *Greek*. The certain place where it was framed cannot be defined; yet *Becanus* conceives it was near *Caucasus*, where grew goodly Cedars, not far from the *Niceans*, with whom *Alexander* warred. In all probability, the place was not far from where it landed, it being so large, heavy laden, wanting Sails, of Form not apt to move, and in a Calm, as it is in all down-right Rains. It was thought to have a flat Bottom, and a crested Roof, and the Wood Gopher, of which it was made, very probably was Cedar, being light, easy to cut, sweet, and lasting; and abounding in the Eastern Mountains: The Pitch was like to be a *Bitumen*, which melteth only by Fire, as is that found by the dead Sea and *Babylon*.

§. 9. Of the Ark's Capaciousness. Its Measure, as God prescribed, and the Proportion, saith *Augustine*, answered the shape of Man's Body, whose Length containeth the Breadth six times, and the Depth ten, being a Figure of God's City and Church in this World, &c. In the Measure, the Cubit is questioned, whether it were common with that from the Elbow to the Top of the middle Finger, of a Foot and a half; or the Palm Cubit, which is an Handful more, or the King's and *Persian*, which is three Inches more than the common, or the sacred one, double the common wanting a quarter; or the Geometrical, which is six common Cubits, and was embraced by *Origen*, as also by *Augustine*, who yet changed his Mind because Fishes were not cursed: What Cubit soever it were, the difference of Men's Statures then and now alter the Cubit. And though Man's mischievous Ignorance seeketh many Impossibilities in this Work, yet no monstrous thing is found in it; for the number of Kinds to be stored in it was not so great (excluding such as sprung from unnatural Copulations, or diversity of

of Countries) but that the common Cubit of those times may serve; for add half a Cubit to the common Cubit of our times, which is a Foot and a half, and the Length riseth to be 600 Foot, the Breadth 100, and the Depth 60. As for the Geometrical Cubit, it was not in use then, as we see in the measure of Giants, and the height of the Altar, which might have no Steps, *Exod. 20. 26.* *Buteo* hath proved that the Number of Creatures might well be placed in the Ark, which contained 450000 cubical Cubits, which is sufficient for an hundred kinds of Beasts, and their Meat, in the lower and second Stories; and 280 Fowls, with *Noah* and his Family in the third.

§. 10. Of the Ark resting on Mount Taurus, or Caucasus, between East-India and Scythia. Passing by many needless Disputes, I will seek to satisfy my self and others in the Place of the Ark's resting for the second Plantation of the World, as I have done in respect to the place of the terrestrial Paradise, for Man's first Plantation.

The common Opinion is, the Ark rested on *Ararat* in great *Armenia*; the *Caldee* calls it *Kardu*, meaning the Hills *Cordicei*; which *Curtius* names *Cordei*; and *Pliny*, *Gordei*. *Annius* finds the Mount *Ocyla* adjoining to the place where the Ark rested, but I find no such. *Strabo* found such a Promontory in *Arabia Felix*; *Pliny* a Sea-port Town, which *Ptolomy* calls *Ocytes*; *Pintus*, *Acyla*, *Niger Kidon*. To the *Gordei*, *Damascen* adjoyns *Nyniada*, perhaps for *Minni*, which word is used for *Armenia minor*, and *Armenia* seemeth compounded of *Minni* and *Aram*, that is *Minni* of *Syria*, for *Armenia* was part of *Syria*. See *Pliny*. These Mountains stand apart from all others, on the North side of that Ridge of Mountains called *Taurus* or *Niphrates*, in the Plain of *Armenia* the Great, near the Lake *Thospitis*, whence *Tigris* floweth in 75 Degrees Longitude, and 41, 42 Latitude. One of these *Gordei*, *Epiphanius* calls *Lubar*, which in the *Armenian* Tongue signifies Descent, alluding to *Noah's* coming down, saith *Junius*; but any Hill of easy descent may be called so, as himself confesseth, correcting the word *Kubaris* in *Josephus*. From whence came *Lubra* for a Synagogue, as being commonly on Hills, and the *Latin* word *Delubria*.

My first Argument against the common Opinion is taken from the space of 130 Years, which most, who follow *Berosus*, give for *Nimrod's* coming to *Shinar*, which by easy Journeys might be travelled in 20 Days, from the *Gordei* in *Armenia*; they having only *Mesopotamia* between, and *Tigris* to help them. This makes it improbable they should be so many Years before they planted such a Country, so near them, which could not be to them so long unknown, being certainly increased to a great Multitude long before those 130 Years.

My

My second Argument I take from the Civility and Multitude of the Eastern People, who had the use of Artillery and Printing long before the Western Inhabitants. It was thought a Fable in *Philostratus*, that the wise Men which inhabited between *Hispahis* and *Ganges* did drive away their Enemies with Thunder and Lightning, whereby they defeated *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, and made *Hercules* cast away his golden Shield. *John Cuthemberge* brought Printing from the East. *Conrade* from him brought it to *Rome*; and *Gerson* bettered it; all in about a hundred Years past. *Alexander* the *Macedonian* found more Cities and Magnificence in the little Kingdom of *Porus*, which lay close to *India*, than in all his Travels; *Italy* being esteemed by him barbarous, and *Rome* a Village. But *Babylon*, which was in his Eye, and the Fame of the East pierced his Ears: *Japan*, now *Zippingari*, was exceeding religious, and addicted to Letters, Philosophy, Prayers, and worshipping but of one God.

My third Argument is deduced from the resistance which *Semiramis* found in *East-India*, though her Army exceeded three Millions, as *Diodorus Siculus*, out of *Ctesias*, reports; besides 500000 Horse, and 100000 Wagons; of all which admit but a third part true. *Nimrod's* Greatness is not doubted, nor that his People grew into such Multitudes by *Semiramis* time, the Wife of *Ninus*, Son of *Belus*, Son of *Nimrod*. But that a Colony sent from *Babel* into the East should so increase, is improbable: Yet those Authors report that *Staurobathes*, King of *East-India*, exceeded her in numbers, which could not be, if the East grew of a Colony from *Babel*.

My fourth Argument is, First from *Noah's* Person, who being at *Babylon's* Confusion 731 Years old, was not like to be unsettled, and to seek a Seat. (2.) The Text saith he became a Husbandman, which argueth his settled Course of Life, and not a wandering one from *Armenia* to *Babylon*, then to *Arabia Felix*, then to *Africa*, so to *Spain*, *Italy*, &c. as they do report; not considering his Years, and the difficulty of Travelling in an over-grown wide World, which had lain waste 140 Years. (3.) Besides the place of his Landing, being East from *Babylon*, rich, and pleasant, the wise Fathers could not neglect the Planting of it, and go seek out less pleasing Parts with such difficulties. (4.) Neither is it to be thought the Reverend Father was at that presumptuous Work of *Babel*, and restrained it not. (5.) We find *Joctan*, *Havila*, and *Ophir*, planted in *India*, which were not like to have turned back from *Shinaar*. (6.) Lastly, the Scriptures silence of *Noah*, after his departure from the East to *Shinaar*, argueth him to be left there, and so out of all occasions which might touch the History of the Jews, which *Moses* was to prosecute.

Annius

Annius on *Berosus* lands the Ark on the *Caspian Mountains* of *Armenia*; to which purpose he confounds the *Caspian* and *Gordæan Hills*, which *Ptolomy* sets far asunder, and *Mercator* sets them 3 Degrees, and *Vilanovanus*, much more Ancient, sets them 7 Degrees, or 420 Miles one from the other. And though I grant, that Mankind was renewed in *Scythia Saga*, 250 Years before *Ninus* (as *Portius Cato* records) yet was not this *Scythia* in *Armenia*, but under the Mountains of *Parapanisus* in a 130 Degrees Longitude, after *Ptolomy*; whereas the supposed *Armenia Araxea* is in 78. Neither hath he any *Scythia* nearer *Armenia Araxea*; though he sets out 100 several Nations of *Scythians* within *Imaus*, and beyond *Marius*; *Niger* also bounds *Scythia* within *Imaus* by the *Asian Sarmatia* on the West, *Imaus* on the East; the *Saccæ*, *Sogdians* and *Margians* on the South; and the Mouth of *Oxus* and unknown Countries on the North. He also maketh the *Asian Sarmatia* to comprehend many Nations, and a great part between *Armenia* and *Scythia*, besides *Colchis*, *Iberia* and *Albania*. Neither do *Paulus Venetus*, *John Plancharpio*, *Haitonius*, the *Armenian*, writing of *Scythia* or *Tartaria*, speak a word of *Armenia*; nor *Mathias a Micon*, a *Sarmatian Canon* of *Cracovia*, who travelled a great part of *Sarmatia Asiatica*; yet he observed that *Tauais*, or *Don*, and the *Volga* or *Edel*, spring out of Lakes or Marshes, and not out of the *Rhiphean* or *Hiperborean Mountains* in *Scythia*. He also sheweth, that the *European Sarmatia* contains *Russia*, *Lithuania*, and *Moscho*, and is bounded on the West with the *Vissa* or *Vistula*, parting it from *Germany*; and that the *Scythians* in the *Asian Sarmatia*, came hither above 300 Years past out of the East, where the Ark rested; and that the *Sacæ-Scythians* were North of *Taurus* or *Ararat*. As for the *Ariacan Scythians* between *Axartus* and *Fæctus* in the East of the *Caspian*, they are no *Armenians*.

My fifth Argument I take from the place where *Noah* planted a Vine, which could not be in *Armenia*, that is much colder than *Italy* and *France*, where yet Vines grow not naturally as they did where *Noah* planted, as his Husbandry witnesseth.

Objection 1. The Text saith, *From thence God scattered them, &c.*
Answer. That is, the Builders of the Tower, which were not all, but some of them, which were increased after the Flood.

Obj. 2. *Ararat* signifies *Armenia*, which the *Chaldean* Paraphrase calls *Kardu*. See before. I Answer, Writers agree not about *Ararat*; *Sybill's* Book places it in *Phrygia*, near where *Celeus* was built, whereabout the River *Marsyas* joineth with *Meander*; but this is far from the *Gordæian* Mountains. *Josephus*, out of *Berosus*, places *Ararat* between *Armenia* and *Parthia*, towards

Albidene; where they vaunt to have pieces of the Ark, but he erreth: For *Albidene* whereon *Armenia* bordereth, is part of *Assyria*, and hath all *Media* between it and *Parthia*. As for the Reliques of the Ark, they make it but a *Report*, which is an infamous Historian. The *Armenian Mountains*, or the *Moschisi* in *Ptolomy*, or *Pariedri* in *Pliny*, stretch to the upper part of *Cappadocia*, in 43 and 44 Degrees North of the *Gordeans Hills*, which are in 39 Degree and $\frac{1}{2}$. From the *Northermost* part whereof the *Georgian Christians* are denominated, and preserved from the *Infidels*, which encompass them.

Neither was it necessary that the Ark should stand upon the highest Mountains, seeing, *Noah* came not out till the Vallies were uncovered ; yet other Mountains were higher than the *Armenian*, as *Athos*, or *Olympus*, between *Macedon* and *Thrace*, whose Shadows are above 37 Miles, being now call'd *Lucas*, saith *Castaldus* ; *Olympus* also in *Theffaly* over-tops Wind, Rain, and Clouds : *Antandrus* in *Misia*, is seen at *Constantinople*, whence *Scamandrus* floweth, running through *Troy* : *Atlas* in *Mauritania*, no Man's Eye can reach the Top : *Caucasus* is enlightned after Mid-night at the first Cock-crowing, saith *Aristotle*, which I believe not, seeing *Tenerif* in the *Canaries*, which is known to be the highest Hill in the World, is not light so soon.

These Incongruities arise from setting *Ararat* in *Armenia*. 1. *Sybil* placeth it in *Phrygia*, contrary to *Berosus*. 2. *Baris* is not the higheft, and if it were, yet the Ark might reft elfewhere. 3. *Baris* fignifies *high-towered*, which may be any Hill; eſpecially *Caucasus*, whence *Indus* ariſeth. 4. Authors agree not where the *Gordiei* ſtand.

The truth requires us to find an *Ararat* East of *Shinaar*, and warmer than *Armenia* in the North. Let us therefore understand that *Ararat* in *Moses* is not one Hill, but a common Name to many, as the *Alps* and *Pireneans*; so that the long Ridge which *Ptolomy* calls *Taurus*, *Niphates*, *Contras*, *Coronus*, *Sariphi*, and *Pliny* names *Taurus*, till they cross *Imaus*; are called *Ararat* or *Armenia*, for that they seem to begin there. Thus *Ptolomy* calls all the Hills between the *Caspian* and the *Pontus Euxinus*, by one Name, *Caucasus*, which *Pliny* calls by the Name of *Hercanus*, *Armenian Coraxis*, *Caspian*, *Moschian*, *Henochian*, *Scythian* and *Amazon Mountains*; so all the Ridge of Hills in *America*, from new *Granada* to the *Magellanick Streights*, is called *Andes*. The Mountain *Ararat* runs *East* and *West*, as *Imaus* does *North* and *South*. As for *Ptolomy*, he used the Names fittest to distinguish the Countries, which the Hills bounded on the *North*, or the *South* side. For all the *Asian Mountains* have three general Names, *Taurus*, *Imaus*, and *Caucasus*, which receive other Titles, as they divide particular Regions; as *Taurus* in *Cilicia*, is *Imaus* in *Comogena*, and so to *Euphrates*, on whose *East* it is sometime named *Taurus*.

sometime *Niphates*, which is the only Name on the *East* of *Tygris*, till they part *Affyria* and *Media*, and are called *Coatras*; and in the middle of *East-Media*, they are called *Orontes*, and on the *East* side *Coronus*; beyond *Parthia*, they are call'd *Sariphi*; on the *South* of *Bactria*, *Paropanifus*; and lastly, *Caucasus*, where *Indus* springeth with the *Hydaspis* and *Zarardrus*, where *Caucasus* encounters the *Seythian Imaus*, in 140 Degree Longitude, and 35, 36, 37, Latitude, where properly they are called *Caucasus*.

In this part of the World, the Mountain and River *Janus*; and the Mountain *Nifeus* (so called of *Bacchus Nifeus*, or *Noah*) are found; on which the Ark rested, as *Goropius Becanus* conceived; where also are the best Vines: as they are in the same Degree of Latitude throughout the World; as in *Judea*, *Candia*, part of *Greece*, *Margiana*, &c. Under the *South* of these Hills the Clusters of Grapes are two Cubits long (saith *Strabo*) like those of *Eschol*; and in *Margiana*, *Alexander* found most delicate Wine, saith *Curtius*.

To conclude, *Ararat* passeth through *Armenia* which is sometime call'd *Ararat*; but it is a common Name to all that Ridge which runneth *East* and *West* from *Cilicia* to *Caucasus*; as are the *Alps Pirenees*, and *Andes* in *America*, which last runneth 3000 Miles, &c. So the *Mediterranean Sea* is a common Name, which yet upon divers Coasts, beareth proper Names, as do other Seas. Let us then appeal unto the Word of Truth, and take it literally, seeing the plain Sense carrieth no inconveniency, and let us fancy no strange Exposition from it.

The Reverend respect we owe to Holy Scriptures, that every Word hath its full weight in God's Book, shews it is not to be taken otherwise than as we read; as *Augustin* saith of the Gospel. *Moses's* Words are, *And as they went from the East they found a Plain*. Which proves, without Controversie, the Ark rested *Eastward* from *Shinaar*. For *Moses* is every where precise in setting out the Coasts and Quarters of Countries; as *Nod Eastward* from *Eden*. *Sephor* in the *East*, *Gen.* 4. 16. and 10. 30. and 12. 8. and elsewhere, *Ezek.* 38. 6. So *Mat.* 2. 1. and 12. 42. Now *Armenia* is so far from being to the *East* of *Babylon*, that it is *West* of the *North* of it. The *Gordiean Hills* for Latitude are 41. *Babylon* 35 for Longitude, which makes the difference of *East* and *West*. The *Gordiean* are 75. and *Babylon* 79 and 80, which make 5 Degrees from the *North* to the *West*; besides a Quarter of the Compass from the *East*. But in Scripture, the least difference may not be admitted, every Point and Accident being replenish'd with Sense, The *Eastern* parts then from *Shinaar* were those where *Noah* rested, the same being first Planted and Civiliz'd, which over-matched *Semiramis* for Multitudes, and was most fruitful, and a fit Coun-

try for *Noah* to follow his Husbandry; as the Name *Ish-Adamah*, or, a Man exercised in Earth, saith *Arius Montanus* doth signifie, and not a Wanderer.

C H A P. VIII.

The Planting of Nations; Noah's Sons, and which was Eldest.

§. 1. *SHEM*, in *Augustine's* Judgment, was Eldest, but the *Septuagint*, *Junius*, &c. prefer, *Japheth*, from *Gen.* 10. 21. The Hebrew putting the word *Elder* after *Japheth*, which the *Latin* sets before. God's Blessings are not tied to the Elder in Blood, but to Piety: Otherwise *Japhet* was two years Older than *Shem*, being begotten in *Noah's* 500th Year, when *Shem* in *Noah's* 600th Year was but 98. Compare *Gen.* 5. 32. with 10. 10. and 9. 24.

§. 2. In this Plantation it is to be presumed, so far as the Scripture has treated of the Story of Nations, Prophane Authors want Authority in Questions of Antiquity, whose Record hath been borrow'd from thence only. For *Moses* is found more Ancient than *Homer*. *Hesiod*, or any *Grecian*, saith *Eusebius*, *Præm.* in *Chron.* 2. We are to consider, that *Noah*, who knew the World long before, sent not his Sons at a Venture as Discoverers, but allotted them the Quarters of their Habitation. This could not be suddenly, considering what Woods, Thickets, Pools, Lakes, Marshes, Fens and Boggs, 130 Years desolation had bred in those fruitful parts. This made travelling difficult and slow, and their removal to be late both from the *East*, and *Shinaar*, till increase of Issue forced them on further.

§. 3. *Japheth*, with whom *Moses* beginneth, planted the Isles of the *Gentiles*, *Europe*, and the Isles about it, besides a Portion in *Asia*. *Gomer*, his Eldest, is ridiculously placed in *Italy*, by *Berosus*, *Functius*, &c. in the Tenth Year of *Nimrod*; and *Tubal* in *Austria*, or *Biscay* in *Spain*, the Twelfth of *Nimrod*, *Ann.* 142 after the Flood: For before *Babel's* Confusion, the Company were not dispers'd: Consider then the time of Building such a City and Tower, to equallize Mountains, saith *Berosus*, or reach to Heaven, saith *Nimrod*; which took an exceeding Compass, and whose Foundation in Marshy Ground, was full of Labour: As for Materials, the want was great, and the Work-men unexperienced. This time *Glicas* judgeth to take up Forty Years; so

that Gomer and Tubal could not plant so soon, besides the tedious conveying of Wives, Children, and Cattle from Shinaar to Italy and Spain, 4140 Miles: through Countries now, much more then, of difficult passage. Diana's Temple took up 400 Years the Building (but suppose half of it) in a better time, it's much. Nimrod spent many Years in a shorter and a more easie Country, to go to Shinaar. And why did Tubal leave so many rich Countries, to plant in Biscay, one of the barrenest Countries of the World? To say they had the help of Navigation, sheweth Men know not what it meaneth, to carry multitudes by Sea, with Cattle, on which only they liv'd; if Navigation were then in use, which is doubted, considering how long it was before Men durst cross the Seas, and that the Invention was ascribed to the Tyrians long after by Tibullus.

§. 4. Gog and Magog, Tubal and Mesech, settled first about the lesser Asia, where Beroaldus (whom I find most judicious in this Plantation) out of Ezekiel 38. and 39. findeth the Gomerians, Tubalins, and Togarmians. Josephus, in this Plantation, led Eusebius, Epiphanius, and Arianus Montanus, into many Errors; and Gog and Magog have troubled many: But this Gog, the Prince of the Magegians, or Cælo-Syrians, must needs be the Successor of Seleucius Nicanor, who sought to extinguish the Jews Religion, and force them to Idolatry. Hermolaus Barborus, maketh them to be the Turks that came out of Scythia, &c. Junius makes it a National Name, from Gyges that slew Candaulus of Lydia, where Strabo finds the Stygian Lake; and in the South Border, Junius finds Gygarta, or Gog-carta in Syriac, Gog's City in Cælo-Syria, where Pliny placeth Bambice, or Hierapolis, which the Syrians call Magog; tho' Strabo makes both to be Edessa in Mesopotamia: But Ortellius is dubious whether one or the other of these Authors mistake not the situation of the two fore-said Places, tho' it may well be, that the Name be common, but certainly both were North of Israel. Magog might be Father of the Scythians, who wasted much of the lesser Asia, possessed Cælo-Syria, built Scythopolis, and Hierapolis; which the Syrians call Magog, which is North from Judea, and which Bellenius makes to be Aleppo, where the Mer-Maid was worshipped, called Atargatis, and by the Greeks, Derceto. Thus we see the Ancient Gomerians and Tubalins, were no Italians or Spaniards, tho', long after, they might send Colonies thither. The Iberians of old were called Thobelos, of Tubal, who, from thence, passed to Spain to search for Mines, saith Justine: But it is more probable, it was peopled out of Africa. Mesech is also Neighbour to Tubal, of whom came the Miceans, dwelling from Mount Abidas to Pontus, after called Capadocia, which is the Town Mazica, and is Magog's Chief Country.

try. See *Functius ex Berofo*. Gomer was Neighbour to Togarma, bordering on Syria and Cilicia: whose Posterity peopled Germany, and the Borders of the Earth, as Gomer signifies. But wanting room to exonerate their swelling Multitude, they returned back upon their Neighbours; whereof they were called Cimbri, which signifies Robbers, in Cambden's judgment. And tho' in Ancient times, the Gauls us'd to beat them, as Caesar reports, yet after they grew War-like, they pursued rich Conquests, even in lesser Asia, the Seat of their Progenitors. Samothres is by Annius, made to be the Brother of Gomer, and surnamed Dis. But *Functius* and *Vignier* do justly disclaim him, seeing Moses knew him not.

§. 5. Noah also by Annius, is brought out of the East into Italy, to build Genoa, and there to live 92 Years; But Moses's silence is to me a sufficient Argument to disprove this Report, seeing he did so carefully Record Nimrod's Cities. As for Berofo and others, on whom he fathers it, those Fragments are manifestly proved to be counterfeit; neither could Noah be that Italian Janus, their first King, who dyed but 150 Years before Æneas, according to Eusebius, and lived in the Days of Ruth, 704 Years after Noah. Let the Italians content themselves with a Janus from Greece, who planted them there 150 Years before the Destruction of Troy, from whence they had their Idolatry; as their Vestal Virgins, and Holy Fire, from Vesta his Wife, which no Man will believe to proceed from Noah. There succeeded him Saturnus, Picus, Faunus, Latinus, before Æneas, in the Days of Sampson.

§. 6. Nimrod seating himself in Babylon, Reason and Necessity taught the rest, in removing, to take the benefit of those far extended Rivers, which ran along Shinaar, as well for their help in their Travels, as to provide for mutual intercourse for the time to come. Thus, Cush the Father settled near his Son Nimrod, in the South of Caldea, along Gehon, which Tract Moses calls the Land of Cush, Gen. 2. 13. Havila, the other Son of Cush took down the Tigris, on both sides, especially the East, which is also called the Land of Havila, Gen. 2. 11. after, Susiana: Cush, in process of time, spread into Arabia the Desert, and stony, where was the City of Cusea, after, called Cusidia by Ptolemy. So Seba, and the rest, planted Arabia the Happy, towards the Persian Gulf, from whence, after the stoppage of the Euphrates, they traded to Babylon by Tygris. Gomel, Magog, and other Sons of Japhet, took the lesser Asia, the better to disperse themselves West and North. The Tubalins ascended into Ceria, the Magegians to Sarmatia; the Gomerians in Asia, were called Cimerians, saith Herodotus. And their Country was after called Gallatia, by

the Gallo-Greeks, whom the Scythians drove into *Albania*, and some into *Phrygia*, both call'd *Cymerians*, as was *Bosphorus*, and a City near it.

Togarma, Gomer's Son, dwelt near to *Sidon*, and over-spread the lesser *Armenia*, whose Kings were called *Tigranes*. *Mesech*, *Japhet's* Son, settled in *Syracena*, in *Armenia*, between the Mountains *Moschisi* and *Piriades*; out of whose North-East part springs the *Araxis*; and the *Euphrates* out of the South: Of whom came the *Muscovites* in the Judgment of *Melancton*. *Madai*, the Third Son of *Japheth*, Planted *Media*.

§. 7. *Javan*, the Fourth Son of *Japheth*, from the West parts of the lesser *Asia*, sent Colonies into *Greece*, whose Inhabitants were called *Iones*, that is, *Athenians*. See *Plutarch* in *Thesea*. *Strabo*, out of *Hercatius*, saith the *Iones* came out of *Asia*, where the Name also remain'd. *Mesech*, the Sixth Son of *Japheth*, we have spoken of before, §. 4. which Name differs little from *Aram's* Son, *Gen.* 10. 23. which 1 *Chron.* 1. 17. is the very same. They dwelt North from *Fury*, and were Enemies to the *Jews*; and it may be were under one Prince. But this is the *Mesech*, commonly join'd with *Tubal*. If therefore he were planted first near *Judea*; yet his posterity might pass into *Capadocia*, and so into *Hircania*. Those which came of *Aram*, nearer the *Jews*, might be those *David* fled to in his Persecution, *Psal.* 120. 5. *Tyrus* is Father of the *Thracians*, as is generally held, and was *Japheth's* Seventh Son.

§. 8. *Aschanex*, the Son of *Gomer*, *Eusebius* makes to be the Father of the *Goths*: *Pliny* finds *Ascania*, and the River *Ascanius*, and a Lake called *Askanex*, between *Prusia* and *Nice* in *Phrygia*. *Junius* takes them for Inhabitants of *Pontus* and *Bythinia*, wherein *Ptolomy* hath such a Lake. *Strabo* finds such a City, River, and Lake in *Messia* near *Gio*, as *Pliny* does. But *Fer.* 51. 27. determines it to be North of *Asia* near *Ararat* and *Minni*, Mountains of *Armenia*. *Reiphat*, Gomer's Second Son, was Father of the *Rephei*, or *Paphlagonians*, that were famous in the North and *Sarmatia*, being after called *Henites*; of whom *Poland*, *Russia*, and *Lithuania* were peopled. *Melancton* thinks they spread themselves from the *Baltick* to the *Adriatick* Sea, and findeth a *Venetian* Gulf in *Russia*, call'd *Heneti*, being the same with *Veneti*.

§. 9. *Elisa*, the eldest Son of *Javan*, was Father of the *Eoles*, of whom the *Greeks* were called *Helenes*, saith *Montanus*; and *Ezek.* 17. 7. mentions the Isles of *Elisa*, that is, of *Greece*.

Tharsis his Second Son Planted *Cilicia*, where stands the City *Tharsis*. This Word is often put for the Sea, because the greatest Ships were there; and they were called Sea-men, and the first *Iones*. *Montanus* and the *Cald.* Paraphrase mistake it for *Carthage*.

Cittim, his Third Son was Father of the *Macedonians*, not *Italians*.

lians, see *Esai.* 23. with *Mal.* 1. 1. Yet it may be he first Planted *Cyprus*, where *Josephus* found the City *Cittum*, which was in *Be- ing* in *Ferom's* days, saith *Pintus*: But this Isle proving too narrow, they sent and Peopled *Macedonia*, whose Plantation, *Melancton* ascribes to him. *Dadonim*, his Fourth Son sat down at *Rhodes*; *Dodanim* and *Rhodanim* being easily confounded: He also sent Colonies to *Epirus*, where was the City *Dodana*.

§. 10. *Cush*, the eldest Son of *Cham*, with his Associates, peopled *Babylonia*, *Chaldea*, and all the *Arabia's*. *Ethiopia* was not his, as *Josephus*, the *Septuagint*, and others misled by them, Judged. For, in the first place, it appears from *Numb.* 12. 2. that *Moses* his Wife was a *Cushite*, not an *Ethiopian*, as *Josephus* reports; who tells us, that *Moses* leading an *Egyptian* Army against the *Ethiopians*, the King's Daughter fell in love with him, and betrayed the City *Saba* to him, which was called *Meroe*. Secondly, On the contrary, *Strabo*, and all Geographers, place *Saba* in *Arabia*, whence the Queen came to visit *Solomon*. *Damianus a Goes*, tells us, that *Prester John*, King of the *Abissines*, comes of that Queen by *Solomon*, but without Scripture or probability, seeing her supposed Bastard assisted not his Brother *Rehoboam*, against *Shishac* King of *Egypt*. But *Moses* cleareth his Wives Kindred against *Josephus*, in his making her to be a *Madian*, not far from *Horeb*. So does *Jethro's* coming to *Moses*, &c. *Chrisamensis* also proveth, *Madian* cannot be *Ethiopia*. Thirdly, So *Ezek.* 29. 10. sets out *Nebuchadnezzar's* Conquest of *Egypt*, by the Bounds *Seveneth*, which is next *Ethiopia*; and the *Cushites* are ill Translated *Black-Moors*, for *Arabians*, the other next Neighbours; whereas the *Moors* were beyond *Seveneth*, or *Syene*, as *Scotland* is beyond *Berwick*. Fourthly, by *Ezek.* 39. 9. *Cush* cannot be *Ethiopia*, but *Arabia*: Whereto *Nebuchadnezzar* (having Conquered *Egypt*, even the Tower of *Syene* in *Thebaida*, bordering upon *Ethiopia*) sent Ships over the *Red-Sea*; which to the *Ethiopians* adjoining to *Syene*, he needed not to have done, neither would the fall of the *Nilus* suffer it; neither was his invading that part of *Arabia* so fit by Land, all the length of *Egypt* being between, and all the tedious Desarts of *Paran*. Lastly, His placing a Family of *Cush* from all the rest, to go and come through *Misraim*, would make a confusion in the Plantation. Besides, there never was any thing between the *Jews* and the *Ethiopians*, as there was between them and the *Cushites*. Fifthly, *Esai.* 18. 1. by rendring *Cush*, *Ethiopia*, for *Arabia*, puts one Kingdom for another, and confounds the Story: For what Kingdom beyond the River *Ethiopia* can be found, which *Asar* was to waste, as an Enemy to the *Jews*, who were never wronged by the *Ethiopians*, much less by any beyond them. But all acknowledge,

that here *Egypt*, which threatned *Israel*, is threatned, and *Arabia* with it, *Esa.* 19. 20. The like Error is committed in 1 *Kings* 19. 9. by making *Tirbaka* an *Aethiopian*, for a *Cushite* or *Arabian*, as is *Zera* also 2 *Chron.* 14. 9. For how should he bring such an Army through such a Kingdom as *Egypt* was?

§. 11. *Misraim*, *Cham's* Second Son, took into *Egypt* along the *Nilus* to *Syene*, bordering upon *Aethiopia* to the South, from the *Mediterranean Sea*, which was his North Border. *Phut*, the Third Son, went to the West, beyond him along the Sea, and inhabited *Mauritania*. *Egypt* was known to *Moses* and the Prophets by the Name of *Misraim*, but was called *Egypt* by a King of that Name; otherwise called *Ramases* the Son of *Belus*, who chased his Brother *Danaus* into *Greece*, where he settled in the *Morea* after the Flood 877 Years. Many are the Fancies of the *Egyptian* Antiquities of Three Hundred and Thirty Kings, before *Amasis*, who was Contemporary with *Cyrus*; and of their Story of 13000 Years, &c. And *Mercator* pleads their Antiquity from their *Dynasties*, of which their Sixteenth began with the Flood, so that the First much reach to the Creation. But *Eusebius* begins the Sixteenth with *Abraham*, 292 Years after the Flood. *Annius* begins the First *Dynasty* 131 Years after the Flood, forgetting he had said, that *Nimrod* came but that Year to *Shinaar*; so that the *Dynasty* could not begin 'till after the Confusion. But where *Pererius* holds it impossible, that *Egypt* could be peopled 200 Years after *Adam*; and suppose it not replenish'd at all before the Flood, I find no force in the Assertion. For we have no Reason to give less increase to the Sons of *Adam* than to those of *Noah*, the Age of the one being double, and after a while, treble to the other, which argueth strength to beget many, a long time. This appeared in *Cain*, who replenished a City with his own Issue. And if *Noah* and his Children had in 130 Years such Multitudes; *Adam* and his, especially considering *Cain's* liberty in Wiving, were not like to come short of them. *Nimrod's* Troops at *Shinaar*, were great, no doubt. Yet it is probable all came not hither, as may be gathered by the Multitudes which encountred *Semiramis* in the *East-Indian Wars*. As for *Egypt's* being an established Kingdom in the days of *Abraham*, this argueth its having been inhabited long before: And contrary to *Pererius*, we may rather wonder how the World could contain the Posterity of those long-living healthful Fathers, than doubt the peopling of it. For, in our short lives, wherein scarce one of ten liveth to fifty Years; the World wants no People, and if Wars and Pestilence did not cut them off by Thousands, the World could not contain them. What would it do if none dyed before 50 or 100 Years? Then conceive the Millions

Millions, that must be when Men lived 8, yea 900 Years, &c. *Pererius* is likewise deceived in the occasion of their dispersing at *Babel*; for, had not that occasion happen'd, their increase would in short time have forced them to seek new Habitations, &c. That therefore the World was all over-peopl'd with Offenders, appears by the universality of the Flood. As for *Egypt's* Antiquities, it is like, that *Misraim's* Sons found some Monuments in Pillars, Altars, or other Stones, or Mettals, touching some former Governours there, which the *Egyptians* added to the Lives of their Kings after the Flood, and which succeeding Times in Vain-glory amplifi'd. So *Berosus* and *Epigenes* tell us of the like Antiquity of the *Caldees*, where the *Babylonians* knew Letters and Astronomy 3634. Years before *Alexander* the Great. *Egypt* was divided into the Upper, call'd *Thebaida*, from *Syene*, and to *Memphis*; and the Nether from *Memphis* to the *Mediterranean Sea*, making the form of Δ by *Memphis*, *Pelusium* and *Alexandria*. *Thebes* had 100 Gates, called *Diospolis* of the *Greeks*, and *Noe-hamon* in Scripture, from the incredible number of its Inhabitants. *Phut*, the Third Son of *Cham*, Planted *Lybia*, whose Ancient Inhabitants were called *Phuts*, said *Josephus*; and *Pliny* found the River *Phut* in *Mauritania*, running from Mount *Athos* 200 Miles. *Phut*, *Cush*, and *Lud* associated *Egypt*, *Ezek.* 30.

§. 12. *Canaan*, the fourth Son of *Cham*, possessed *Palestine*, from *Sidon* to *Gerar* in length, *Gen.* 10. *Sidon* his Eldest built a City of his own Name in *Phenicia*. See chap. 7. §. 3. *Heth*, his second Son, Father of the *Hittites* settled in the South about *Beersheba*, near *Param*. *Jebuseus*, his third Son, Father of the *Jebusites*, fixt about *Jebus*, or *Hierusalem* won by *David*. *Armoeus*, the fourth, Planted *East* of *Jordan* from *Arnon*, past the Sea of *Galilee*, containing two Kingdoms. His Posterity also Inhabited the Mounts of *Juda*, part of *Idumea* near *Lybania*. *Gergefeus*, the fifth settled, *East* from the *Galilean Sea*; where was *Gerese*; he also Built *Geris*, after called *Beritus*, three Miles from the River *Adonis* in *Phenicia*. *Hevius*, the sixth, was under *Libanus*, near *Emath*: The *Caphtorims* expelled many of them. *Archius*, the seventh, between *Libanus* and the Sea over-gainst *Tripolis*: He built *Archas*. As for *Sinius*, the eighth, *Fumius* placeth him South of *Jebus*; but its more likely he built *Sin*, which *Jerom* calls *Sein*, or *Semyra* by *Ptolomy*, or *Synochis* by *Archos*, after *Brochardus*. *Aradius*, the ninth built *Arados* in the Island against *Phenice*, opposite to *Antarados* on the main Land. As to *Zemeri* the tenth, its uncertain whether he settled in *Celofyria*, or was the Father of the *Perizites*, or of the *Emiffani*, or of *Samaria*, which neither the *Hebrews* nor *Kings* 16. 28. will bear. *Hamath*, the eleventh, was founder of *Emath* in *Iturya*, *East* of *Hermon*, joining to *Libanon*, not of *Emath*, which

Josephus and *Jerom* confound with *Antioch*, or *Epiphania*, &c.

§. 13. *Saba*, or *Seba*, the eldest Son of *Chush*, settled in the West of *Arabia* the Happy, East of the Red Sea. *Rogina* or *Raama*, the fourth Brother, and *Sheba* his Son took the West side of the Persian Gulf. *Pliny* saith, the *Sabeans* dwelt along the Persian and Arabian Seas, where *Ptolomy* places the City *Saba* towards the Red Sea, and *Regina* towards the Persian; where also *Sabta*, another Brother, is found by *Montanus* out of *Ptolomy*. *Beroaldus* thinks it strange, that any of these *Sabeans* could go 1200 Miles to *Rob Job* in *Trachonitis*, between *Palestine* and *Cælosyria*: But *Guilandinus Melchior* findeth the *Sabeans* nearer in *Arabia* the Desert, whom *Ptolomy* calls *Save*, now *Semiscasac*, from whence the *Magi* came to Worship Christ, as he judgeth. The Queen of *Saba*, which came to *Solomon*, *Beroaldus* and *Pererius* bring from East *Arabia*; I rather think it the West next *Midian* and *Exion Gaber*, then under the command of *Solomon*. *Sabta*, hath there left his Name in the City *Sabatha* or *Sabota*. Of which see *Pliny*, lib. 12. 14. and *Ptolomy* in his tab. Asia, 6.

Josephus's fancies that *Saba* was Father of the *Ethiopians* about *Meroe*, and *Sabta* of the *Astaberis*, is confuted by the Names. For in *Arabia* the Desert are the Cities of *Saba*, or *Save*, and *Rhegana*, or *Regma* had People called *Raabenis*, of *Ribana*; and the City *Sapta*; in the South of *Arabia*, is *Sabatta* the Metropolis, and the great City of *Saba* towards the Red Sea, and the Region *Sabe* is more Southern. *Dedan* the second Son of *Raamah*, whom *Josephus* and *Jerom* carry to West *Ethiopia*; is by *Ezekiel* joyned with Father and Brother, in a way of Trade to *Tyre* with precious Cloaths, which Naked *Black-Moors* never knew, till the Portuguese Traded with them. But *Jeremiah* and *Ezekiel* will shew us a *Dedan* near *Idumea*, which will remove all Scruples.

§. 14. *Luddim* the eldest Son of *Misraim*, the Father of the *Libians* in *Africa*, associated with Father and Uncles, *Ezek.* 30. 5. *Fer.* 4. 6. 9. where the *Lydians* are also adjoyned as a Nation of *Africa*: For in 2 *Chron.* 12. 3. *Lubim*, or *Lubei* is the same with *Ludim* in Hebrew, saith *Montanus*, with some difference in writing from *Libios*. To *Misraim's* other Sons is assign'd no certain place in holy Scripture, only the *Philistins* are said to come of *Cashtubim* and *Caphthorim*, at the entrance into *Egypt*, by the Lake *Serbonis*, and the Hill *Cassius*: *Caphthorim*, between that and *Pelusiam*, is a Tract called *Sithroitis*, where *Pliny* and *Stephanus* place the City *Sethron*, which *Ortelius* takes to be *Hercules parva* in *Ptolomy*. The *Philistins* Inhabited the South of *Canaan*, driving out the *Avins* and *Hivites*, saith *Junius* on *Gen.* 20. 14.

Deut.

Deut. 2. 23. where their Bounds are set forth, and their five Principalities.

§. 15. *Sem's* Posterity *Moses* reckoneth last, that he might proceed with the Genealogy of the Hebrews to *Abraham*, for which *Arphaxad's* Age only is expressed, and his Children, and that of *Aram*. The common Opinion made him possess what was beyond *Tigris* to the Indian-Sea, saith *Jerom*, saving *India*, which I believe *Noah* held; to whom came afterwards *Jostan*, *Ophir* and *Havilah*, and planted there, of whom hereafter. *Elam*, was Father of the *Elamites*, the Princes of *Persia*, whose Seat was *Susan*, by the River *Ulai*, which *Ptolomy* calls *Euleus*, that runneth into *Hiddechel*. *Ashur* the second Son of *Shem*, Father of the *Assirians*, disdaining *Nimrod's* Pride, left *Babel*, and built *Ninive*, after the common Opinion, and contended for the Empire. See chap. 10. §. 3. *Arphaxad* was Father of the *Caldeans* that were about *Ur*; *Cush* possessed the rest, *Lud Sem's* fourth Son is by *Josephus* and *Jerom*, placed in the lesser *Asia*, but I doubt it. *Aram*, his fifth Son was Father of the *Sirians*, as well about *Mesopotamia* as *Damascus*, being called *Padam Aram*, or *Aram Nebaraim*, that is, *Syria* between two Rivers, which were the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*: *Strabo* reports it was anciently called *Aramenia*, or *Aramia*; and the name *Aram* was changed into *Siria* by *Syrus*, before *Moses*, saith *Eusebius*. Part of it is called *Anchabartitis*, by *Ptolomy*, it being divided by the River *Caboras*, saith *Junius*. *Uz* or *Hus*, *Aram's* eldest Son built *Damascus*, say's *Josephus*, *Jerom*, and *Lycra*. It hath *Jordan* on the West, Mount *Seir* on the East, *Edrai* on the South, and *Damascus* to the North, being situated in the East part of *Trachonitis*, and adjoyning to *Basan*, where *Job* the Son of *Hus*, the Son of *Nahor* dwelt; the same being full of petty Kings in the Days of *Jeremiah*. *Hal*, *Aram's* second Son was Father of the *Armenians*, saith *Jerom*; but *Junius* placeth him in the *Palmerian* Deserts, by *Euphrates*; where *Ptolomy* places the City *Cholle*. *Gether*, the third, seated himself in *Cassiolis* and *Selucis* of *Syria*, where *Ptolomy* seats the City *Sindarus*. *Josephus* doth not so rightly fix him in *Bactria*. *Mesech*, the fourth, settled in the North of *Syria*, between *Cilicia* and *Mesopotamia*, near the Mount *Massinus*. These Plantations can no other way be known, but by this probability, the Fathers having large Regions, planted their own Children in them for mutual Comfort, till Ambition bred an expulsion of Natives; and that every Man desir'd a distinct place, and disliked to live in Common. It was in *Phaleg*, the Son of *Heber's* Days, that the Division of Tongues fell out, which the Hebrews refer to his Death, Anno 340 after the Flood; for at his Birth, Anno 101, there could be no multitude to divide.

They

They say further, that *Heber* gave *Phaleg* his name by Prophecy, as foreseeing the division to come. But *Heber* without Prophecy, might foresee that division of Families would grow upon an increase of the World; besides, *Phaleg* might change his name upon that occasion, as *Jacob* did into *Israel*, long before he died. For his death fell in *Ninus* his days, but 12 Years before *Abraham*, whereas the division had been long before, and the Multitudes were infinite in *Ninus* his days. *Joctan*, *Heber*'s other Son, had thirteen Sons all Inhabiting from *Cophe*, or *Coas*, a Branch of *Indus* into the East, saith *Ferom*: But their particular places are uncertain. *Sheba*, or *Seba*, one of them may be he of whom *Dionysius Apher*, writing of East India, saith, The *Sabei* and *Taxili* do dwell in the midst of them. As for the *Sabeans* which sprang from *Cush*, we found them in *Arabia*; and may well place *Shaba*, *Abraham*'s Grand-Child there, in *Arabia Deserta*, where *Ptolomy* places a City of his Name, whose People spoiled *Job*, chap. 1. 15. *Opher*, another of *Joctan*'s Sons, *Ferom* places in an Island of the East Indies; and indeed *Opher* is found among the *Moluccas*: *Ar. Montanus* and *Plessis* seek it in *Peru* a Country of *America*; and *Juni* taketh *Barbatia* of *Characene*, a Province in *Susiana*, to be it, corrupted from *Parvaim* to *Barbutia*. As for *Peru*, *Jocatan*, &c. in *America*, they are late mistaken Names. *Havila*, and others of *Joctan*'s Sons, is thought to Inhabit the Continent of East East-India, watered by *Ganges*; as the Country of *Havila* the Son of *Cush*, was watered by *Pison*, West of *Tigris*, or rather to *Shur*. But if the common Opinion of *Ferom* be good, *Joctan* and his Posterity settled about *Mesech*, or the Hill *Masius*; between *Cilicia* and *Mesopotamia*: And these three Sons, or their issue went after into the East-Indies. As for *Gepher*, a Mountain of the East, as *Ferom* looks for it in East-India, so *Montanus* in the West make it to be *Andes* in *Africa*: But for *Moses* his *Gepher*, we find *Sippora*, placed by *Ptolomy*, on the East-side of *Masius*, neither is it strange to say, *Mesopotamia* is in the East, Numb. 23. 7. This Order of Plantation which I have followed, doth best agree with Scripture, Reason, and Probabilities; which Guides I follow, little esteeming Mens private Opinions herein.

CHAP. IX.

Of the beginning and establishment of Government.

§. 1. GOVERNMENT hitherto in the World, was only Paternity and Eldership, from which the word Elder was used as well for Governours as the Aged; to shew that the Wisdom of Years should be in Governours; the first Government being from the Father to the Elder Son. Hence grew *Seignieur* and *Seignourie*, for Lordship and Dominion, which is Puissance in Property and Power; Power having command over Subjects, as Property hath the Mastership of Servants. *Cesar* hath power to Command whatever a Man possesseth, but Property only in his own. When Paternal persuasions grew too weak to resist Inclination to Evil, and to Correct it when it grew habitual: Necessity (which bindeth all Mortals) made the Wife and Foolish at once to understand, that the Estate of Men would prove more miserable than Beasts, if a general Obedience to Order and Dominion did not prevent it; and that licentious Disorder promising Liberty, upon Tryal, would prove no less dangerous to all, than intolerable Bondage. Necessity propounds, and Reason confirms this Argument: All Nations were persuaded to submit to a Master or Magistrate in some degree; which Change was pleasing in regard of former Mischiefs for want of Government. Yet Time brought out therein some Inconveniency, which Necessity also sought to avoid, and thereupon thought of some equal Rules to limit Dominion, which before was lawless. Laws being then set for Government, acquired the Title of Regal Power or Government; and the want thereof was known to be Tyrannical; the one being ordained by God for his People's good, the other permitted to afflict them. In this Infancy of Regal Authority, Just and Religious Princes were esteemed Gods, saith *Fabius Pictor*. And though Necessity and Reason seem to be the Authors of Government, yet God kindled this Light in the Minds of Men, and set them a Pattern in the Law of Nature, wherein they see Bees, Cranes, Deer, &c. to follow a Leader; and God, in his Word, taketh upon him to appoint Government, as in *Prov.* 8. 15. and elsewhere.

§. 2. What the Government before the Flood was more than Paternal, is uncertain; or from what better kind of publick Government the Tyranny of that Age did grow. After the Flood, three sorts of Governments are found approved. 1. The Govern-
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ment of one ruling by just Laws, called Monarchy, opposed by Tyranny. 2. Government by divers principal Persons, Establish'd by Order, and Ruling by Laws, call'd *Aristocracy*, opposed to an *Oligarchy*, which is the Usurpation of a few. 3. The Government of the People, called *Democracy*, opposed to *Ochlocracy*, which is a tumultuous Will of a confused Multitude without Law. The Eldest of every Family at the first, set Order to his Issue, and upon increase, planted them about him in one Field, of which grew Villages: then followed Society, composed of divers Villages, called *Pagus*, of the Greek, Πῡγῆ, a Fountain; because all those Villages drank of one Fountain, like our Hundreds. And when Malice, Pride, and Emulation, set one Race against another, Men joined divers Villages within divers Banks and Ditches for defence, calling it *Oppidum*, as opposed to their Enemies, or *Urbs*, *ab Orbe*, a Circle first made with a Plough, saith *Varro*; which word was first used for the Walls and Buildings, as *Civitas* was for the Inhabitants, but were after confounded; yet every Inhabitant is not properly a Citizen, but he which hath the Freedom and Privilege of it, and is capable of bearing Rule therein. Princes and Magistrates are preservers of Right and Equity, saith *Aristotle*; but *St. Paul* is the best Teacher hereof; and though they prove unjust, yet Subjects may not resist, for God useth such for the punishment of People, and for other purposes; therefore the Prophets, Apostles, yea Christ himself submitted, and taught Subjection without distinction; and a Tyrant or bad Prince is better than none. And as Cities grew by Association of Villages, so did Common-wealths by Association of Cities.

§. 3. The first Age after the Flood was called a Golden one, while Ambition, Covetousness, &c. was in the Blade, Men being then more plain, simple, and contented; yet in respect of Government, they were the same as in succeeding Ages; in which, as good Kings made Golden times, so to the contrary; yea, Princes Beginnings are commonly Golden, wherein they play their Prizes, but Time shrinks their Hearts, and small Errors at first breed greater; as it is also in every Man's Life: Young years are Golden, which when Time hath eaten up, and bred alteration, we praise what is past. It's the Vice of our malignant Nature to extol the past, and loath the present; *Such enquire not wisely*, saith *Ecclesiastes*. Our Ancestors have, we do, and our Children will make the same Complaint; and what is new shall be old, saith *Arnobius*. The Virtue of Kings (next after God) gave them Crowns, and the Peoples Love so purchas'd, held them on their Heads.

§. 4. From this beginning of Regality grew Nobility; Princes chusing by the same Rule of Virtue, Men to assist them; which Honour succeeded not by Blood, but by Virtue, which is true

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Nobility, the note of one excelling another in Virtue; and should bind Nobility not to degenerate. As for Riches, Power, Glory, &c. they do no more define Nobility, than bare living defines a Man. Honour is the Witness of Virtue and well-doing, and true Nobility is the continuance thereof in a Family: so that where Virtue is extinguish'd, they are like painted Puppets worshipped by the Ignorant, for Christ, our Lady, and other Saints: Flowers not manured, turn to Weeds, and the purest Fountain running through a filthy Soil is corrupted. Race and Linage is but the Matter, Virtue and well deserving of a Common-wealth is the Form of true Nobility, which being found in Posterity, over-weigheth our proper Honour acquir'd by our own Virtue; but if Virtue be wanting to Nobility by descent, then Personal acquired Nobility is to be preferred without comparison, for that by descent may be a very Villain. There is a third Nobility, which is in Parchment, purchased by Silver, or Favours, being Badges of Affection, which when Princes change, they could wish were blotted out: But if we had as much Sense of our degenerating in Worthiness, as we have of Vanity in deriving our selves from such Parents, we should perceive such Nobility to be our Shame. This Vanity of esteeming Honour from Birth, *Solomon* the wise complained of.

CHAP. X.

Of Nimrod, Belus, and Ninus.

§. 1. **NIMROD**, the first Sovereign after the Flood, was generally esteemed a Tyrant: But *Melancton*, and *Onimasticum Theologicum* judge otherwise. And it seemeth, that his leading this Troop to *Shinaar*, was rather given him, than usurped, seeing it is not recorded that *Noah*, or any of the Sons of his Body came with him, or were engaged in that presumptuous Action. Some of the Ancients conceive *Suphne* and *Foetan* were also Leaders, but joined not in that unbelieving Attempt, and therefore lost not their Language.

§. 2. *Nimrod*, *Belus*, and *Ninus*, were different Persons, though *Eusebius* and *Jerom* confound the two first; and *Augustin* makes *Belus* to be King of *Babylon*, which argueth him to be *Nimrod*. *Mercator*, with less probability, confounds *Nimrod* and *Ninus*, out of *Clemens*. *Diodorus Siculus* reports, that *Ninus* subdued *Babylon*, which peradventure had Rebelled upon his setting his Empire at *Ninive*, which was also in *Shinaar*.

§. 3. Nim-

§. 3. *Nimrod*, not *Affur*, built *Ninive*, as *Junius* hath rendered *Moses* his Text agreeable to Reason and Sense, though Writers differ. That *Affur* built it, agreeth not with *Moses*'s Order, who being intent upon the Story of the *Hebrews*, first handleth the Birth of *Noah*'s other Sons, beginning with *Japhet*, proceedeth with *Cham*, and lastly with *Shem*, not intermingling one with another, till he had set down a brief Account of all three. In the Narration of *Cham* he makes a distinct Discourse of *Nimrod* from his Brethren, being to speak after at large of *Babel*'s Confusion by it self, to shew the Founder of the place, and the Empire which first over-ruled all the rest. As for the *Affyrian Kingdom*, it arose from the *Babylonian*, according to *Junius*: So *Calvin* before him, following *Epiphanius*. *Jerom*, *Cyril*, *Methodius*, and *Comestor*, with *Cedrenus*, took *Affur*, Gen. 10. 11. to be *Nimrod*'s Son, as doth *Fornellus* of late: But *Rabi Maurus* understood it as *Junius* does. Yet *Calvin* contrary to *Junius* and himself, objecteth Es. 23. 13. (than which no place hath more difficulty) to prove *Affur* founded the *Caldean*, much more the *Affyrian Empire*. But the City of the *Caldeans* founded, and after destroyed by the *Affyrians*, may with good probability be understood of *Ur*, called *Urea* by *Plotom*, *Chaldeopolis* by the *Greeks*, and *Camera* by *Hecateus*. This *Ur* stood upon the chief stream of *Euphrates*; by which it passed into the *Persian Gulf*, though now it be stopped, and run into the *Tigris*, of which stop *Niger* and *Pliny* speak. This City then had Trade with *Tyris*, and was a Port Town, by which the *Sabeans* sent Commodities into *Babel*, and so to *Tyris*. This *Ur* founded by *Shem*'s Son *Affur*, was after destroyed by the *Affyrians*, which God fore-seeing, sent away *Abraham*. Thus that *Affur* the Founder is different from *Affur* the Destroyer, is agreeable to the truth and circumstances of times. For thus *Sem*'s Posterity which followed *Affur*, being planted at *Ur*, were separated from the Idolatrous *Cushites*. Where also to make the Son of *Sem* Founder of *Ninive* (where began the greatest Idolatry) were to make him come of an Idolatrous Race. And if *Sem*'s Son *Affur* founded *Ninive*, how left he it to *Ninus* the Son of *Belus*, and the Husband of *Semiramis*.

§. 4. *Nimrod*, called *Saturn* by *Julius Africanus*, established the *Babylonian Monarchy*, which he extended into *Affyria*; where he founded *Ninive* and other Cities, which his Son *Belus* finished, who after *Nimrod*'s 114 Years Reign succeeded, and spent much time in draining the Marshes of *Babylon*, and began Wars with *Sabatius* in *Armenia*, and in *Scythia Saga*, which *Ninus* finished.

§. 5. *Ninus*'s days might well afford many Kingdoms, if we consider the order of their departure from *Babel*, according to their

their Kindreds, every family following the Chief thereof whom Nature and Necessity taught the rest to submit unto, and who took opportunity from time, and *Nimrod*'s Example, to exercise Regal Authority. *Belus*, who succeeded *Nimrod*, found *Sabatius*, King of *Armenia*, able to resist him, whom I take to be *Tanais* in *Justin*. As for his *Vexoris*, *Reinoceus* hath judiciously taken him to be *Sesostris* the Great. who lived some Ages after *Ninus*. *Belus*, according to common Account, reigned 65 Years.

§. 6. *Belus* I judge to be a Name rather given by *Ninus*, in Honour to his Father, than taken by him: *Cyrill* calls him *Arbelus*, and saith he was the first that would be called God. *Bel*, say the Learned, signifies the Sun in *Caldec*, and there it was worshipped for a God; and many words in Scripture grew from it, as *Bel*, *Baal*, *Belzebub*, *Baalim*, which Name was given to God, 'till upon the abuse of it he forbad it, *Hos.* 2. 26. The first Idolatry grew from hence, &c. Of old, the Ancientest of every Family, and Kings which founded Cities, were called *Saturns*; their Sons *Jupiters*; their valiant Nephews, *Hercules*.

§. 7. Image-worshipping began from *Belus* in *Babel*, &c. The School-men shift off this fearful Custom strangely; for, seeing the very Workmanship is forbidden, how can the Heart of a Wise Christian satisfy it self with a distinction of *Dowlia* and *Latria*, and *Hyperdulia*? which can but imply a difference of worshipping; and it is most strange, that Learned Men do strain their Wits to defend, what Scripture oftentimes expressly forbids, and curses the Practisers. And where they say the Prophets condemn the Heathen Idols only, it is manifest, *Moses* spake of the living God; saying, you saw no Image when the Lord spake unto you in *Horeb*. *Basil* forbids us to imagin any form of God, lest we limit him in our Minds. What presumption then is it to put him under the greasie Penfil of a Painter, or rusty Tool of a Carver. *Rome*, for 170 Years, by *Numa* his Law, held it an impy, 'till *Tarquinius*, *Priscus* and *Varro*, condemned it, as *Augustine* sheweth. So *Seneca*, *Sibil*, and *Sophocles*. And tho' the Papists say, with Heathens, That Images are instead of Letters; yet as Heathen Pictures proved notorious Idols, so those Stocks, Stones, &c. called Pictures of Christ and our Lady, &c. were by ignorant Men not only worshipped, but thought to live. It is safest then for Christians to believe God's Commandments directly against Images, and that which the Prophets and *St. Paul* speak plainly and convincingly therein.

§. 8. *Ninus* the first Idolater was an Invader of others, and a public Adulterer, of whom nothing is certain that is written for *Berosus*, who is chiefly followed in the *Affyrian Succession* from *Nimrod* to *Ascatades* in the days of *Jospua*, is disproved by many.

ny. *Ctesias*, who lived in the time of *Cyrus* the younger, a gross Flatterer of Princes, speaks of incredible Numbers in *Ninus* and *Semiramis's* Wars. He, with the help of *Aricus* King of *Arabia*, subdued *Syria*, *Barzanes* of *Armenia*, and *Soroaster* of *Bactria*, at his second Expedition, by the valour of *Semiramis*, whom he took from *Menon* her Husband, who for Grief drowned himself.

CHAP. XI.

Of Natural Magick.

§. 1. *Soroaster* King of *Bactria*, is supposed to be *Cham* (an unprobable Fancy) and the Inventer of Magick, saith *Cassian*, out of *Serenus*; but I doubt he was not that excellent Naturalist, whom *Ctesias* calls *Oxiartes*, that lived of later times in *Pliny's* Judgment.

§. 2. Magick understood of few, and reprehended of many, saith *Mirandula*, in the *Persian* Tongue, signifieth one employed in Divine Things, which *Plato* calls the Art of Worshipping God. *Appolonius* saith, the Word signifieth either one which by Nature is God, or one occupied in God's Service, whom the *Greeks* call Philosophers; the *Indians*, *Brackmans*; the *Egyptians*, Priests; the *Hebrews*, Cabalists; and the *Babylonians* the *Caldeans*. King *James* knowledge the *Persian* Word signifies a Contemplator of Divine Essences, but unjustly to call'd, being ignorant of true Divinity; but under that Name, all unlawful Arts are comprehended. *Dan.* c. 2. names four kinds. A second kind of Magick was that of Astronomy, which respected all kinds of Agriculture, and was the knowledge of the motions and influence of Stars in the lower Elements; of which sort, they say, *Abraham* was one, and taught the *Caldeans*, *Phenicians*, and *Egyptians*. A third kind contained the Philosophy of Nature, not *Aristotle's* brawling, but that which bringeth out of Nature's Bosom, her most inward Vertues to Human Use; of which sort were of late, *Albert*, *Arnold*, *Reymond*, *Bacon*; as of old, besides others, *Soroaster*, who seemeth to have excelled in Divine Magick, by confessing God to be the Creator of the Universe, and that the Trinity shineth in all the World, &c. speaking of Angels, Paradise, Immortality of the Soul, of Truth, Faith, Hope and Love, &c. and that God is incorruptible, everlasting, unbegotten, without Parts, most like himself, Giver of all Good, expecting no Reward;

ward; the Best, the Wisest, Father of Right, Just without teaching, perfectly Wise by Nature, and only Inventor thereof.

The Magick which he and others professed, is a connexion of natural Agents and Patients, answerable each to other, wrought by a Wise Man, to the bringing forth of such Effects as are wonderful to them which know not their Causes. *Senensis* distinguishes those Wise Men into five sorts, but in defence of *Origen*, only into two, of which one worketh by Covenant with the Devil, truly or seemingly; the other pertaining to the practick part of Natural Philosophy, teaches to work admirable things by the mutual application of natural Virrues in Agent and Patient reciprocally: *Hierom* also embraceth this Partition; so that tho' the word Magick be now wholly condemned for the abuse, yet was it not so from the Beginning. The true Art of Magick is the Wisdom of Nature; others act under that Name, and are of the Devil. The Ancients, said *Peter Martir*, by *Magi*, understood Good and Wise Men. Natural Magick's Slander, came from the Devil's fitting Nature to their working, it produceth marvellous things, which tho' they be natural, yet the ignorant ascribe them to the Devil. By understanding the utmost activity of Natural Agents, we are assisted to know the Divinity of Christ, by perceiving his Miracles to have no natural Means.

§. 3. Magick Natural is grown to be condemned by the Ignorant, because the Devil, more skilful in Nature than Men, teacheth Witches and Poisoners the harmful parts of Nature; but so might Physick be condemned, seeing the Devil hath also taught the use of many Herbs and Drugs for Diseases. He thrusts himself into all Professions, even unto Prophecy; hath corrupted Astrology, the observation of Creatures, Instincts, and uses which God made sometimes of Dreams.

§. 4. The Magicians Practices are not justified by *Daniel's* intercession, yet may be some were but Naturalists; and had all been of the worst sort, their Condemnation was unjust, not upon the matter of being such, but because they could not do that which no Art good or bad could do.

§. 5. The Abuse which may be found in all things, may not condemn the right use, as Sacrifices to Idols, &c. The Abuse of Astrology, condemns not the observation of the motions and influence of the Stars; abuse of sympathetical and antipathetical Working of Creatures, condemns not the use of Physick: neither doth the Prohibition in *Deuteronomy*, 18. 20. condemn the observation of any natural instinct in the Creature.

§. 6. Magick, by abuse, comprehends divers unlawful kinds,

as *Necromantia* or *Goetia*, invoking the Dead at Graves, as if Souls inhabited the Dust. 2dly. Conjuring or raising the Devil by certain Words, themselves being in a Circle. 3dly. *Theurgia*, or White Magick, by Sacrifice and Invocation, drawing Angels to a conference. But however these Men please themselves with purity of Lives, Vows, Fastings, Ministry of Infants, &c. yet are they Men of Evil Faith, and in the Power of Satan. 4thly. Divination by Fire, Water, Air, &c. 5thly, Fascination or Witchcraft, using the Devil immediately, or by Poysons. 6thly. Charming of Birds, Serpents &c.

§. 7. The Devil seemeth to work Wonders divers ways. 1. By moving Cogitations and Affections. 2. By skill in Nature. 3. By Illusions and false Resemblances; what natural Causes can produce he can do, if God restrain not; what Wisdom and long Experience can gather, he foreseeth, and can foretel; and is skilful in Riddles.

§. 8. Never was any raised from the dead by the Devil, as *Justin Martir* and *Augustin* held, but after, corrected that Opinion about *Samuel's* raising, which *Ambrose*, *Lyra*, and *Burgensis* held, as did *Ecclesiasticus*, and the *Apocripha*. God refused to Answer *Saul* by *Urim* and *Thummim*, or by Prophet, and prohibited consulting with the Dead; and would he raise him a Prophet by a Witch?

CHAP. XII.

Of Ninus, Semiramis, and Belus.

§. 1. **N**inus finished *Ninive*, as *Semiramis* did *Babylon*, begun by *Nimrod*; *Ninive* was 440 Furlongs in circumference; the Wall 100 Foot high, and had 1500 Towers; yet *Semiramis* exceeded him in *Babylon*.

§. 2. *Ninus* died after 52 Years Reign, *An. Mundi*, 2019. *Plutarch* reports, he gave *Semiramis* one Days absolute Rule, as she desired, in which she commanded him to be put to Death. She (saith *Justin*) was so like *Ninias* her Son, that she took upon her to be him; but it is improbable, considering she reign'd Forty two Years, and used her own Name.

§. 3. *Semi-*

§. 3. *Semiramis's* Parentage and Education are variously reported, but not determin'd by any Author.

§. 4. The *Indian Expedition*, if *Ctesias* were worth Credit, would yet burden any Man's Faith to believe. She had Three Millions of Foot, one of Horse, and 200000 Chariots; Camels 200000, all which Power perished with her by the Hand of *Stamrobates*.

§. 5. *Belus's* Temple was built by her, being Four Square, a Mile high by Eight Ascents, each a Furlong high, and of lesser Circuits, on whose top the *Chaldean* Priests observed the Stars. Many take the Ruins of it, the same having been levelled by *Xerxes*, for *Nimrod's* Tower, &c. See the Pyramids of *Egypt*.

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Sir *Walter Raleigh's*
HISTORY
 OF THE
WORLD.

BOOK II.

From Abraham's Birth to the Destruction of Solomon's Temple, which was One Thousand five Hundred Twenty and five Years.

CHAP. I.

Of the time of Abraham's Birth, and order of the Assyrian Empire.

§. 1. **N**INIAS, or *Zameis*, succeeded *Semiramis* in the Empire; being a very effeminate Prince, and unlike to Conquer *Bactria*, as *Berosus*, contrary to *Diodorus*, *Iustinus*, *Orosius*, and all others, reports; He changed his Governours yearly, out of jealousy of them. *Arrius* succeeded, whom *Suidas* calls *Thuras*: He only reduced the revolted *Bactrians*. *Aralius* came next, he was sumptuous in Jewels,

and the Inventor of some Warlike Engines. *Balanus* or *Xerxes* came next. The Date and Term of these *Assyrian* Kings Reigns, are best found out by the times of *Abraham*, and his Posterity, set down in the Scriptures, which are only void of Errors, whereto all other Writings are subject: No marvel then, if in Ancient Affairs, History wants assurance, said *Plutarch*.

Abraham's Birth-Year is therefore first to be ascertain'd; All agree it was in the 42d year of *Ninus*; but the Disagreement between *Chronologers* is about the Year after the Flood, wherein he was Born. *Archilecus de Temporibus* in *Annius*, maketh but 250 Years from the Flood to *Ninus*, whereto add 53, it amounts to 303 Years at *Abraham's* Birth: Others do account 352 from the Flood to *Abraham*. In this Labyrinth and unresolved Question I chuse rather to undergo the scandal of Novelty, than to go on sleepily in that easie way of Ancient mistaking, seeing there is but little difference between being learned in many Errors, and to be ignorant in all things.

§. 2. *Arguments for the first Date of 293.* §. First, They Argue from Scripture 2dly. From the Authority of *Josephus*, *Augustine*, *Beza*, *Isidore*, and others. The Scripture Text is, *Gen. 11. 26.* where *Abraham* is first named the Worthiest, and Son of the Promise; therefore First-born. 2dly. *Moses* respected the History of *Abraham*, not *Nabor*. 3dly. If *Abraham* were not the First-born, his Birth is uncertain. 4thly. It's improbable *Terah* had a Child at 130 Years of Age.

§. 3. *Answer to the Objections.* Passing over what Learned Divines have Answered; To scan this Question, we are to consider whether *Abraham* made two Journeys from *Charran* to *Canaan* the former before, the latter after his Father's Death, as some conceive, upon what is said, *Heb. 11. 8.* Against this Fancy, the Martyr *Stephen* witnesseth, that God brought him into the Land, after his Father was Dead. This can be no other than that which *Moses* writ, *Gen. 12.* As *Beza* proveth on *Acts 27, &c.* For as *Stephen* had none to learn the Story of *Abraham's* Life from, but *Moses*; so he must have given great Offence to the *Jews* therein, to depart from *Moses*. Secondly, Consider the Journey from *Charran* to *Canaan*, for the space of 300 English Miles unknown to him, and tedious over Mountains and Desarts, which he must pass three times in two Journeys, and so make 900 Miles, besides his travel to *Ur* from *Charran*, as much more. And consider the Train he had with him, *Gen. 12. 5.* which admits no inclinations of returning to dwell at *Charran* till his Father's Death, as it is plain, *Acts 7. 4.* When also by their Account, *Abraham* must be 135 Years Old, and *Isaac* also must be 35: When he might well have married him, and not

not send five Years after one about it, on such a Journey; neither can this Conceit agree with that which *Abraham's* Servant reported to *Laban* touching his Master, which he could not be ignorant of, if he had been so lately there. *Moses* hath carefully set down all *Abraham's* Journey's, most of them are of less importance than this, neither can a Reason be given why *Abraham* should return this second time to *Charran*, but only to support their Opinions.

§. 4. As for the Objection of *Terah's* Age unfit to beget a Child, as *Abraham* was at 100, *Gen. 18. 11.* it is hardly worth an Answer. But if they consider *Sarah's*, the Wonder was in her own disability, not in that of *Abraham's*, who had divers Sons 37 years after: Yea, many Ages after that, *Boaz*, *Obed*, and *Jesse*, begat Sons at 100 Years Old, or thereabouts.

§. 5. To the Objection of making *Abraham's* Age uncertain, and so the succeeding times: I Answer, *Abraham's* Age is as certain as any other from his Father's Death, as if his Birth had been dated. For as *Stephen* tells us his departure followed his Father's Death. So *Moses* recordeth his Age to be 75 Years, and his Father's 205 at his Death. To the Objection that *Moses* respected not *Nabor* and *Haran*, to set out their Age as he did *Abraham's*: I Answer, there were great Reasons to respect them also, considering the Church of God was to grow out of them, by *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob's* Marrying with them; and though they had worshipped strange Gods, as *Terah* himself did, *Jos. 24.* yet, after *Abraham's* calling, their willing departure with him from their Country, and ordinary reverent Speeches of *Je-hovah*, prove they were not Infidels, and without Faith, *Gen. 24. 31, 50.* I dare not therefore pronounce them out of the Church, who I am sure were in the Faith.

§. 6. That *Abraham's* being first named, proves him not the Eldest. §. If in Scripture it appear not that God made special choice of the First-born, as it is in *Seth*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Judah*, *David*, &c. The being first named can prove no Birth-Right. *Shem* is first named among the Sons of *Noah*, whereof (saith *Augustin*) the Order of Nativity is not here respected, but signification of future Dignities, in *Gen. 25.* And he rather judged *Abraham* the Youngest of the three. Piety, faith he, or rather, Divine Election, which draweth with it Piety and the Fear of God, gave precedency to *Shem* amongst the Sons of *Noah*, and to *Abraham* among the Sons of *Terah*. Again, *Moses* testifieth, *Abraham* was 75 Years old when he left *Charran*. *Stephen* says, it was after *Terah's* Death; at 83 he rescued *Lot*; at 86 *Ishmael* was Born, and *Isaac* at 100, and all in *Canaan*. But if he begat *Abraham* at 70, *Abraham* must be 135 when he entred *Canaan*, &c.

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Moreover by this Account *Isaac* must be 35 Years Old, and *Ismael* 49 at *Terah's* Death and born in *Mesopotamia*, contrary to the Scripture. Thirdly, By this reckoning, *Terah* should be about 145 Years old at his Death, when *Abraham* was 75. Fourthly, *Sarah* being within 10 Years of *Abraham* her Uncle, *Haran* her Father, being his younger Brother, must beget her at Nine Years old; which Argument *Lyra* useth. The like Reason is taken from the Age of *Lot*, the Son of *Haran*, called an Old Man at *Abraham's* Eighty Third Year.

§. 7. The Conclusion, noting the Authors on both sides. §. It agreeth therefore with Scripture, Nature, Time, and Reason, that *Haran* was *Terah's* Eldest Son. *Augustine* was herein uncertain, and what he saith in his City of God, *Lib. 16. c. 15*, is Answer'd in his Twentieth fifth Question on *Genesis*; and as he follow'd *Josephus*, so *Isidore* and *Beda* follow'd him. The *Hebrews*, and generally the *Romanists*, following the First Opinion, allow but 292 Years From the Flood to *Abraham*. But *Theodoret* and divers latter Authors, as *Beroaldus*, *Codoman*, *Peucer*, *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Junius*, &c. hold *Abraham* begotten in the 130th Year of *Terah*; but *Scaliger*, *Seth Calviti*, &c. to the contrary, call it *Hearsay* in Chronology. *Bucholcerus*, *Chittreus*, *Fumetius*, and others, follow them, yet *Torniellus* in his Annals confutes them. But if we advisedly consider the state of the World in *Abraham's* Days, we shall rather increase the time from the Flood to *Abraham*, as the *Septuagint* did to 1072, than shorten it to 292 years; for such paring of time to the quick, draws Blood from the Story, if Scripture Testimony were not supream. Seeing then we know the World was so Peopl'd, and Kingdoms so furnish'd with Cities of State, and Strength, more regard is to be had thereto than many imagin.

§. 8. The Assyrians Times order'd by *Abraham's* History. §. Thus *Abraham's* Birth being 352 Years after the Flood, and so the 2009th Year of the World, bringeth *Ninus's* 43d to the same Date of the 352 Years. We must consider what time probably was spent before the coming to *Shinaar*, admitting *Cush* was born the Year after the Flood. His youngest Son *Nimrod*, the Founder of the Empire, born after *Dedan* Son of *Raamah*, the Fourth Son of *Cush*, could not, according to the ordinary course of those Times, be esteemed Born till 65 Years after *Cush*, allowing 30 Years to *Cush* before his First Son, and 30 Years to *Raamah*, the Father of *Dedan*, Born before *Nimrod*; and 5 Years for his Elder Brethren. Allow 60 Years after for two Generations before their setting forth towards *Shinaar*, and six Years for their Travel with Wives, Children, and Cattle out of the East, through over-grown Countries and Mountains. Thus 131 Years were spent before *Babel* is taken in Hand; the 221 Years which remain of

of 352, are divided, to *Ninus* 42 before *Abraham's* Birth, 63 to *Belus*, and 114 to *Nimrod*. Yet this maketh *Nimrod* in all not above 180 Years Old, which was not much for that Generation, *Gen. 11.* in which they lived 3, yea 400 Years. *Ninus* lived Nine Years after, and *Semiramis* succeeded 42 Years. when *Abraham* was 52 Years Old. *Ninias*, or *Zameis*, succeeded 38; in whose 23d Year, *Abraham*, at 75 Years Old, came to *Canaan*; and 10 Year after, *Abraham* overthrew *Amraphel* King of *Shinaar*, which may seem to have been *Ninias*, in whose 33d Year it happened: Tho' the Reasons to the contrary are not easily answer'd.

§. 9. *Amraphel*, King of *Shinaar*, probably was *Ninias*. §. *Ninias* was King of *Babylon* at that time, in the 85th year of *Abraham*. It is objected, that *Cedorlaomer* was greater now than *Amraphel*, who therefore was not like to be *Ninias*. To this it may be Answer'd, Under *Ninias*, the *Babylonian* Power was decay'd, and the *Persian*, his Neighbour, the King of *Elam*, was advancing in Power.

§. 10. As for *Arioch*, King of *Elasar*. §. This Country can neither be *Pontus*, nor *Helespontus*, as some think, being so far out of the way, to be drawn by the *Persian*, who little needed to seek such Aid against such petty Kings, which had not in all so much Ground as *Middlesex*, of which sort *Canaan* had 33 destroyed by *Joshua*; and the whole Country these 4 Kings subdued, was no more than the two little Provinces of *Traconitis*, or *Basan*, and the Region of the *Moabites*. *Stephanus*, a *Grecian* Cosmographer in his Book *de Urbibus*, findeth *Ellas* in the Border of *Cælosyria*; *Ferom* calls it the City *Arioch*. This City was also in the Border of *Arabia*, of which *Arioch* indeed was King, and a Confederate with the *Assyrian* Kings, as in *Ninus* his Life, &c.

§. 11. Tidal King of the Nations. §. There were divers petty Kingdoms adjoining to *Phœnicia* and *Palestine*, as *Palmirena*, *Battanea*, *Laodice*, *Apamena*, *Chalcidice*, *Cassiotis*, and *Calibonitis*, all having *Mesopotamia* on the North, and *Arabia* on the East. It's probable these joined together under *Tidal*.

§. 12. *Cedorlaomer* the Chief of the Four. §. He was not King of *Assur*, and the other Three Viceroy, as *Pererius* judgeth: for *Moses* never useth *Elam* for *Assyria* or *Babylon*. Neither do I believe that the *Assyrian* or *Babylonian* Kingdoms were at the height at this time. 1. From Example; things hastily set up with violence, last not long, as *Alexander's* Conquests, and *Tamberlain's*, whose Empires dyed with them; neither had they time to overlook what they had done; God adjoineth short Life to prevalent fury; and Nature cares least for what she does in haste. *Ninus* pursued to attain a boundless Dominion with violence, *Semiramis* exceeded him, &c. 2. *Ninias* having changed Nature and Condition with his

his Mother, as preferring Pleasure and Ease before Honour and Greatness; as he endur'd his Mother's Reign, so wanted he Spirit to maintain what she left him against neighbouring Princes, whose Wounds and Wrongs from his Parents, put them in mind to cure the one, and revenge the other. 3. It was God's Will, when he was to impose that long tedious Journey upon *Abraham*; that the Countries should be in Peace, through which he wandered: to which end those Millions of Warriors and Engines perished with *Semiramis*, to make the recovery of lost Liberty the more easie. Lastly, History reports, that *Arrius*, who succeeded *Ninias*, recovered *Bactria*, and *Caspia*; and *Balamius*, or *Xerxes* reduced the rest, even to *Egypt*; which argueth their former revolt.

§. 13. The Consent of Writers almost constrains us to think as I have deliver'd, touching the Four Kings. Yet if we take them rather for Four Petty Kings, which in that sluggish Reign of *Ninias*, had gathered Colonies out of these Four Countries, and Planted themselves elsewhere, we shall remove some difficulties. For if *Cedorlaomer* were King of *Persia* it self, beyond *Babylon*, what a Journey were it to come so far, and gather such Forces, which must pass such vast Countries, as *Assyria*, *Caldæa*, *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, and part of *Arabia*, to Conquer Five small Cities, and leave all the rest of *Canaan*; yea, and to come in Person, and that the second time? But the Scripture maketh this Invasion to be no great matter, but as matching Four Kings to Five, as if the Five were not so unequally matched, though petty Kings, as of Necessity they had been, if these Four had been absolute Kings of the Kingdoms whose Names they bear. If then the former Conjectures cannot agree with the Text, to the Authority whereof all Human Reason must subscribe; let the received Opinion stand, That *Amraphel* was *Ninias*, who was become inferiour to *Cedorlaomer* of *Persia*. From the *Assyrian*, the History of *Abraham*, leadeth us to the *Egyptian* Kingdom, then also flourishing.

C H A P.

C H A P. II.

Of the Kings of Egypt, from Cham to the Deliverance of the Israelites.

THE Kings of Egypt, 'till Israel's Deliverance; and the causes of the uncertainty of the History. Cham, after Babel's Confusion, having known Egypt's Fertility, Planted it, Anno 191 after the Flood. *Osiris* succeeded Anno 352. *Typhon*, or *Hercules* succeeded, Anno 603. *Orus*, 620. *Sesostris* the great, 735. *Sesostris* the Blind, 768. *Busiris*, or *Oris*, Ann. 782. *Acenchere*, or *Thermutis*, or *Meris*, 820. *Rathoris* 832. *Chencrese* 841, who was drowned. *Augustin*, a diligent searcher of Antiquities, omitted the Succession of the *Egyptian* Kings, finding no certainty thereof, through the Ambition of their Priests, who, to magnifie their Antiquities, which they also kept, filled the Records with Romances and Names of Kings, which never Reigned. Other good Authors, over-credulous of what they found so Recorded, Published the same in their own Names. Of these, *Annius* finding some Fragments, and adding what himself pleased, is no farther to be Credited, than when approved Writers Confirm his Assertion. Herein the Old Christian Writers follow *Eusebius*; but the Modern, *Annius*, as Prophane Authors do *Diodorus*, *Herodotus*, &c.

§. 2. Cham began his Reign in Egypt, after the Flood, An. 191. §. This is gathered from the Dynasties of Egypt, whose 16th began in the 43d Year of *Ninus*: The Twelve first under their Twelve great Gods, lasted 84 Years, seven a-piece; the Thirteenth endured 14 Years; the Fourteenth lasted 26 Years; the Fifteenth was 37 Years; which Three last were under Three younger Gods: All the Fifteen added together, make 161 Years; which being deducted out of 352, the remainder is 191, the beginning of Government there, after *Cham*'s arrival. The same also is probable from their coming to *Babel*, which being after the Flood, Anno 131. and Forty years, according to *Glicas*, spent in Building, we can allow no less than Twenty years, for the slow passing of such a Company through so difficult and tedious a way; which Sums being added, make up 191 Years, when the first Dynasty began; for to begin them sooner, were either to Plant Egypt as soon as *Babylon*; or, with *Mercator*, to make them before the Flood; which their number, exceeding the Number of those long-liv'd Fathers, will not admit.

§. 3. The Dynasts of Egypt were not absolute Kings, but Vice-Roys under Kings. §. The probability of this appeareth by the Customs of Kings governing by Great Men, as of Old the Kings of France did by the Mayor of the Palace; and the Turks by a Grand Visier; the Philistin Kings which came out of Egypt had a Captain, as Abimelech had Phicol; the Kings of Israel, as Saul had Abner; David had Joab. And Cham's leud disposition to follow Pleasure, might breed that Custom, which continued even to the days of Joseph, advanced to the place by Pharaoh; from which Example, William, Arch Bishop of Tyre, affirmeth the same Form of Government continued in Egypt in his days, when the Sultans govern'd under the Caliphs, as Lieutenants under a King. How these Dynasties succeeded, and how long they continued, is also uncertain.

§. 4. Cham and Mizraim or Osiris. §. Of Cham, the Scripture calls that Country the Land of Ham, not for being Peopled by his Sons, for so were other Countries, which yet are never so called, but for that himself Planted it. Osiris called himself the Eldest Son of Saturn, as you have it in Diodorus, lib. 1. which Saturn of Egypt, was Grand-father of Ninus; as appeared by his Monument. Of Cham came the Temple of Hammon near Egypt: And in Jerom's days the Egyptians called their Country Ham; so Ortelius saith out of Plutarch, that Egypt was called Chenia. That Cham reigned 161 years, is not strange, considering Sem his Brother lived 600 years. Mizraim or Osiris, according to Diodorus, succeeded, of whom also the Land took its Name, and by the Natives, is yet called Mezre, as Reineccius sheweth. How long he Reigned, is hard to determine; but that he began at Abraham's Birth is probable, when the Dynastie of the Thebæi began, according to Eusebius.

§. 5. Osiris's Reign is guessed by his Son Lehabim, or Hercules Lybeus his Warring with Typhon, and the Giants his Associates, in revenge of his Father's Death. His Egyptian Wars he ended, and he began his Italian in the 41st year of Balus King of Assyria, according to Berosus, when he left the Kingdom to Orus. To his Egyptian, and many other Wars before that in Italy Krentzhemius alloweth but six years, which draweth Osiris's Death to the Thirty fourth year of Belus, and so makes his Reign 297 years, and so should end Seven Years after Israel came into Egypt. But this cannot be, for the King under whom Israel came out-lived Jacob, and had Reigned from before Joseph's standing before Pharaoh; yea, we may allow Thirteen years more of Joseph's Bondage unto him. This King then could not be Osiris, who lived not so long as Jacob; nor Typhon, nor Hercules; but Orus, the Son of Osiris, advanced by Hercules.

§. 6. Typhon, and Hercules, their Reigns are not distinctly defined; only Orus is placed Seven Years after Osiris by Krentzhemius, and his Reign seemeth to last 115 Years, and from whose Death, to the Israelites Departure, are 122 Years. Sesostris, or Sesonchosis, succeeded according to the Authority of Apollonius: He was a great Conquerour in Asia, even unto India, and into Europe: Whom Justin erroneously taketh to be Vexoris, saith Reineccius, that lived some Ages before Ninus. This Sesostris, some think to be Sefac, but it is not so, as various differences in setting out their Wars do shew. Whereas next to Orus, Menas is Reported by Herodotus and Diodorus to succeed. Reineccius noteth, that Osiris was so called by way of Dignity. Krentzhemius probably gathers that Menas was Mercurius, Ter-maximus, a Conquerour, Philosopher, and Benefactor to Mankind, giving good Laws, and teaching profitable Arts to his Conquer'd People. After 33 Years he fell Blind, as did Pherones his Son, whom Fourteen Years after Orus the Second, or Busiris succeeded, 75 Years before Israel's Departure out of Egypt.

§. 7. Busiris, or Orus the Second, whom Reineccius judgeth to have been a new Family, yet, (according to all Mens computation) began his Reign Five Years after Moses's Birth; tho' he might be the first Author of the Israelites Misery, Ruling as Vice-Roy under the blind King, whom he might easily draw to the Oppression of Strangers, so to ease the Subjects, and to win their Favour, to the furtherance of his Ambition to obtain to the Crown, which he attained to, and held 30 Years, according to Eusebius. After him Thermitis, Pharaoh's Daughter, which took Moses out of the Water, succeeded 12 Years. Eusebius calls her Acencris, but placeth Amenophis next before Busiris. Herodotus, and Diodorus, call Sesostris, his Son Pheron; so it may be she was his Daughter, who Married Busiris, she Reigned after him Twelve years.

§. 8. Rathoris, or Athoris, succeeded his Sister Nine years; and after him, Chencres Fifteen; in whose Fifteenth year, Epaphus the Son of Teligonus, Rathoris his Brother, Reigned in lower Egypt, and built Memphis. Epaphus begot Lybia, who had three Sons Agenor, Belus, and Busiris. Belus had Armeus or Danaus who reigned Four years after Chencres, and then by Egyptus or Rameses his Brother was pelled, who reigned 68 years, he had Fifty Sons; as Danaus had Fifty Daughters: He began the Kingdom of Argos in Greece.

CHAP. III.

Of Israel's Delivery out of Egypt.

§. 1. **O**F Israel's Captivity, and Moses's Birth. §. Lu. Vives, on *Augustin*, cites divers Opinions concerning Moses's Birth; but to me it is most probable, he was Born while Saphrus, called Spherus, and Ipherus Govern'd Assyria: Orthopolis, Sycionia, Criafus the Argives, and Sesostris the 2d the Egyptians. For according to *Augustin*, he led Israel out of Egypt, about the end of King Cecrops of Athens Reign, which falls out about the 9th Year of Ascatades of Assyria, who Ruled 41. Sparetus his Predecessor, 40. Manelus, before him, 30. And Saphrus 20 before: So that from the 19th of Saphrus to the 9th of Ascatades, which was the 46th of Cecrops, are 80 years, being Moses's Age when he brought Israel out of Egypt. There being then 64 years between Joseph's Death and Moses's Birth, the Israelites Oppression seemeth to begin some 8 or 9 years before Joseph dyed, Anno Mundi 2270. Moses's 80th year of Age was in the Year of the World, 2514.

§. 2. Of the Cities of Egypt mention'd in Scripture: §. Zoan, Num. 13. 23. called Taphnes, Jer. 2. 34. Ezek. 30. The Septuagint call Tanis, &c. This was near Goshen, and the chief City of the lower Egypt. On, or Heriopolis, in the South of lower Egypt; Gen. 14. 45. after Junius: Here Onias built a Temple for the Jews under Ptolomy Philopater, which stood to Vespasian's Reign. Noph, in Esa 9. 13. is, Hof. 9. 6. called Moph, and Memphis by the Septuagint: Pelusium, the Septuagint call Sais, as Montanus does Lebna; Junius Siri; Tyrius Belbeis. No, the Septuagint call Diospolis, and was after called Alexandria; by Jerom, Bubastus or Phibiseth, &c. Of these and other places, and of Moses's passage out of Egypt, for the better understanding and help of Memory, see a Description here added.

§. 3. Moses's Preservation and Education. §. Pharaoh having, by Oppression, discontented the Israelites; and then doubting what a poor Oppressed People might be provoked to, by the suggestion of the Devil, resolved on the slaughter of the Male Children at their Birth, giving Orders for it to all their Midwives, by two of the chief of them. But being, by their Piety, disappointed, he commanded all his People to perform his Bloody Decree, which yet his beloved Daughter, finding Moses in an Ark of Reeds in the Nile, was so far from executing, that she took him out of the Water, and gave him Princely Education, as her own Child:

whose

Whose excellent Learning is testified by Philo and Josephus, and confirmed by Stephen the Martyr.

§. 4. Leaving Josephus's Fancy of Moses's besieging Saba of Ethiopia, which he won by means of the King's Daughter, whom he Married, &c. Moses in Rescuing an Israelite, having slain an Egyptian, fled into Arabia Petraea, in whose Mountainous Deserts, apart from the Glory of the World, the Glory of God cover'd him over, being from an honourable adopted Son of a King's Daughter, turned into the condition of an humble Shepherd. In this Country, lying between Egypt and Judaea, he liv'd forty Years, and so become skilful in the Wilderness, through which he was to lead Israel; and by the exercise of a Pastoral Life, he was prepared to Principality, and perfected his Learning gotten in Egypt by Meditation in the Wilderness. From the Government of gentle Cattle, Kings are called Shepherds, to teach them to rule Men. Moses being called back into Egypt, is taught a Name, by which to describe God to the Hebrews, setting forth his everlasting Being; there being nothing that hath a Being of it self but that Eternal One, of whose Being all other Things are but shadows. Of all the ten Plagues, the last only brought the Tyrant to an absolute Submission, when he began to fear his own Life. The Paschal Lamb was a Sacrament of our spotless Saviour.

§. 5. Pharaoh seeing the Israelites thus departing, in despite of him, with the Spoils also of the Egyptians, bethought himself, and pursu'd them with all his Power, Exod. 14. 7. and overtook them after three Days march. And though Moses knew he went out with the mighty Hand of God, yet he neglected nothing that became a wise and valiant Conductor. So he departed from Ramases in Goshen, whither the dispersed Hebrews were gathered as the Place of their Rendezvous, and March'd Eastward towards Etham, and Encamped at Succoth, the fifteenth Day of Abid, which henceforth was counted the first Month of the Year, for Religious Occasions; having another for Politick, which they distinguish from Sacred, in Recording Things done.

§. 6 Solary and Lunary Years reconciled: § As for the form of their Years, Nisan or Abid answering to March 2. Far, or Tiar, or Zin, to April 3. Sivan, or Sinan, or Siban, to May 4. Tamuz, to June 5. Ab, to July 6. Elud to August 7. Tisrio, or Ethavin, or Ethanim, to September 8. Marchejuan, or Mechajuan, or Bulto, to October 9. Chislev, or Caslev, to November 10. Tebeth, or Thebeth, to December 11. Sebeth, or Sabath, to January 12. Aar to February, which was the intercalary

lary Month, added some Years to the other twelve, to make the Solary and Lunary Year agree for the due oblation of their Feasts. Other Nations, for the same cause, were forced to make their Years unequal, for the better keeping of their Reckonings, and used several Intercalations, of which, that of *Julius Caesar* came nearest; who making the Year to consist of 365 Days 6 Hours, doth every 4th. Year, at the 24th. of February, add a Day for those Hours. But because the 6 Hours are wanting, so many Minutes as in 400 Years make 3 Days; Pope Gregory the XIII. Anno. 1582, struck off ten Days from October the 4th. to the 15th. to begin the Sun's entrance to the Equinoxial the 21st. of March, as it had been Anno. 324; and decreed at Trent, that every 100 Years the Leap-Year should be omitted. The *Hebrews* had a Cycle of 19 Years, during which time, altho' their common Year had but 354 Days, which came short of the Solar Year, 11 Days and some Scruples, and though they began every Month with the New Moon; yet at the 19 Years end, they brought both Sun and Moon to the same Day of the Year, Month and Week; yea, to the same Hour where they had been 10 Years before. Their Intercalations in the mean time, by every 3 Years, remain'd alike to the end, or else they added a Month every 8 Years; but this is uncertain; though I prefer the last.

§. 7. *Israel* passing from *Succoth*, kept mountainous rough Ground on his left Hand to *Etham*, that *Pharaoh's* Chariots might not compass him. From *Etham* the next Day he Marched Southward eight Miles, and on the third to *Pichacheroth*, between the Mountains of *Etham*, on the North, and *Baalzephon* on the South, and sat down upon the wash of the Sea.

§. 8. *Moses*, who fear'd nothing but God himself, comforting the fearful Multitude, *Exod.* 14. 13. call'd upon God; and putting in practice his Directions, safely pass'd over the Ford which the Lord had made, and left their stupified Enemies to the merciless Waves, which return'd upon them. This Sea, in which *Pharaoh's* Chariots perish'd, in the 16th. Year of his Reign, is commonly called the Red Sea; though it be of the colour of other Waters. It seemeth to me, that Name grew from its Cliffs, Sands, Islands, and much of the bordering Continent, which being red, by reflection, seems to make the Water red also. The *Greeks* call it the *Erythrean* Sea, from King *Erythraeus*; and for that *Erythraeos* signifies red, some think it was so called. The *Portuguese* report, that store of red Stones are found in it, whereon plenty of Coral grows. At *Pichacherollo*, which is from *Rameses*, not above thirty Miles; the Sea is about four Miles broad to *Arabia*, where *Moses* pass'd

pass'd over, and not at *Elana*: For that part of *Egypt* which is opposite to *Elana*, is from *Rameses* eighty Miles, which *Moses* with his Multitude, unfit for such Marches, could not pass in three Days.

§. 9. This Passage prov'd miraculous; and not in an Ebb, as the *Egyptians*, and other Heathens object; for had it been an Ebb, all that Part from *Sues* at the end of that Sea, unto the place of *Moses's* Passage, and farther, which exceeded ten Miles; must have been dry, and so served *Pharaoh* and his Men to have fled from the flowing of the Waters. Neither could an East Wind make an extraordinary Ebb, seeing that Sea lieth North and South. And why should *Moses*, whom they honour'd as a great Captain against the *Ethiopians*, leave this Passage over the Mountains, and venture a Ford upon an Ebb, which he knew not whether *Pharaoh* could prevent him of? And who will think, that the *Egyptians* were so ignorant of their own Sea and Havens, as to be overtaken in the ebbing and flowing thereof? Lastly, If the ordinary flowing had drown'd the *Egyptians*, their Carcasses had been carried up to *Sues*, and not cast upon the *Arabian* Shore, where the *Hebrews* then lay.

C H A P. IV.

The Israelites Journey from the Red Sea to Sinai.

§. 1. **M**OSES having recovered the *Arabian Banks*, proceeded to the Desert of *Arabia Petraea*, called *Sus*: and from thence for want of Water came to *Anarah* in *Etham-Desart* which is also called *Sur*, *Exod.* 15. 22. distant from the Sea 25 Miles, where he made the bitter Water sweet, by casting Branches of Trees thereunto; a plain Type of our Saviour upon the Cross, changing the bitterness of Death into the sweetness of eternal Life. From whence he remov'd to *Elim*; which by all probability, was a City, being it was so well watered; of whose Ruins *William* of Tyre makes mention in *Bello Sacro*. From thence he return'd to the Sea, and so to the Desert of *Zin*, then to *Daphca*, and next to *Alus*, and so to *Raphidim*.

§. 2. Of the *Amalekites*, *Midianites*, and *Kenites*, and of *Jethro*. §. The *Amalakites* at *Raphidim*; setting upon the *Israelites*, are overthrown by the prevalency of *Moses's* Prayers, which were more efficacious than all the resistance of the Bodies of Men. There *Jethro*, *Moses's* Father in Law, came to him with his Wife and Sons. He was a *Kenite*, *Judg.* 4. 11, 17. which was a Nation of the *Midianites*, that came of *Madian* a Son of *Abraham*, by *Ketura*, 1 *Sam.* 5. compared with *Gen.* 25. There were others also which bore the same Name, likely to spring from *Cush*, *Gen.* 15. 19. As for the *Midianites* who come from *Madian* the Son of *Abraham*, they were divided into five Kindreds *Gen.* 25. 4. of which some settled near the Red Sea, with whom *Moses* marches himself, as being not corrupted with Idolatry. Others corrupted with the Idolatry of the *Canaanites*, joyn'd with them, and liv'd near the River *Zered*, being Tributaries to the *Ammonites*, and after their overthrow joyn'd with *Moab*, and were destroyed by *Moses* for their Practices against *Israel*, *Numb.* 21. 31.

§. 3. When the Law was given. §. The twelve Tribes of *Israel* were in the Wilderness of *Sinai*, near the Mountain of *Sinai*, or *Horeb*, which are the same. *Exod.* 3. 1. and 24. 26. though parted at the top in two, of which *Sinai* is highest; but *Horeb* sendeth a curious Spring into the Valley, where now stand two fair Monasteries, furnished with pleasant Gardens, Fruits and Wine. See *Petrus Bellonius*. It was like to be so in *Moses's* days, who continu'd there almost two Years, where

he

Chap. IV. The History of the World.

he had Water, *Exod.* 32. 20. Hither he arriv'd about the forty fifth Day of the first Year, receiv'd the Law the fiftieth Year, and remov'd the twentieth Day of the second Month of the second Year. This space of time comprehends what is written from *Exod.* 19. to *Numb.* 10. 33. of which the delivery of the Law being the principal, I will speak somewhat of the Law, the Foundation and Basis of all Common-wealths. In this God gave *Moses* the most powerful means (except his miraculous Grace) to govern the Multitude, which he conducted to make them Victorious, and to establish their Conquest. For as the North Star is the most constant director of Seamen to their desired Port, so is God's Law to the Haven of Eternal Life. The Law of Nature deduced from God's Eternal Law is the Rule of all Creatures. Humane Law depending on both, is the guard of Kings and vertuous Men; yea, the Spirits and Sinews of every State; a just Law being like a Head without Affection, an Eye without Lust, and a Mind without Passion; a Treasurer which keeps for every Man what he has, and distributes to every Man what he ought to have.

§ 4. The word *Law* largely taken, is any Rule prescribing unnecessary Mean, Order, or Method to attain any End; such are the Rules of any Arts. It's used more specially for the Ordinances of Superiors, private or publick Tyrants, or others. It is also used for the habit of our Minds, commanding our Thoughts, Words, or Deeds. Thus the Moral habit or disposition of the Heart, is called the Imagination of the Heart, *Gen.* 6. 8. which *St. Paul* calls a Law in the Members, *Rom.* 7. Again, the Nature and Inclinations of Creatures are called a Law; so are also Contracts and Covenants of Men. But Law properly taken, is the right Rule prescribing necessary means for the good of Common-wealths; other Commandments which tend not hereunto, are Compulsions rather than Laws. The end of Law, is God and his Worship (saith *Plato*) *Dial.* 1. *de Lege*, and is called *Lex a legendo*, or *ligando*; for as Laws were published to be read of all, so they bound all, from which they are called Yokes and Bonds, *Jer.* 5. 5. *Psal.* 2. And because of God's conditional Promises, and the Peoples voluntary submission to the Laws, it is called the Covenant, *Heb.* 9. 7. a Testament which only the death of the Testator made effectual. The *Hebrews* call it *Thorah*, from teaching; the *Greeks* *Nomos*, from distributing. The power of the Law is the power of God; Justice being his proper Attribute, and is defined to be the Rule of Life, commanding what to follow or to shun. It's the Wisdom of Nature, the understanding of the

Prudent, and the Rule of right and wrong. *Jus*, or Right, is sometimes taken for Common Right, the Master of the Law, and sometimes for the Law it self. *Jus* has reference to Men, *Fas* to God, see *Isidor. Etymol.* *Jus* comes from *Jussus*, a Commandment, an old Substantive, or of *Jeus Jupiter*; according to Scripture the Judgment is God's; *Deut. 3. 17. 2 Cor. 19. 6.* As *Jus Jurandum* is *Jovis Jurandum*, the Oath of *Jehovah*, *Ex. 22. 11.* and *1 Kings 2. 43.*

§ 5. The Definitions of Laws according to their special differences, which are three, are these, *viz.* Laws Eternal, Natural (which is Natural and Internal) and Positive, which explicates the Natural, and is either Divine, written or unwritten; or Humane, written or unwritten. The Eternal Law is the eternal conception of God's Wisdom, as it is referred to the government of Things foreknown by himself; see *Thomas, p. 2. q. 9. Art. 1.* This Wisdom as it directs all Things to their proper Ends, is call'd *Providence*, but as it imposes a necessity, it is called a *Decree*, or *Law*. That perfect Reason which stirr'd up Men to rectifie their Actions, and call'd them back from Evil, and did not then begin to be a Law when it was written, saies *Cicero, de Lege*, but when it had a *Being*, which it had together with the Divine Understanding. And therefore a true Law and a fit Princess to command and forbid, is that right Reason of the most High God. This Law directs all Things to their proper Ends, as an universal Rule from which all Laws are derived. They differ from Divine Laws, as directing all Things to their Ends, natural or supernatural; whereas Divine Laws direct only to supernatural Ends. From this as natural, are humane Laws derived, having the form of right Reason, which what wants is a wicked Proposition. All Creatures are subject to this, and therefore commanded to praise their Creator; *Psal. 148.* As reasonable Creatures are bound to this Law by the felicity proposed unto them, so all other Creatures are, without intention or known cause, by a formal obedience; as sensitive Creatures by Instinct, the unsensitive by their created form in the same manner as Fire to Heat. The School-men are curious in Discourses of the benefit, matter and object of this eternal Law. But as the benefit is manifest in the good of all Creatures, who have from it either Reason, Sense, Vegetation, or Appetite to conduct them; so the whole Creature is the object and matter. The dispute whether this Law be unchangeable is resolved in the affirmative. *Moses's* Law which had a time prefixed, and that was during the Pedagogy of the *Jews*, expir'd at *Christ's* death, I mean the Ceremonial Law, and so much of the Judicial as was proper to the *Jews*.

§. 6. Of the Law of Nature. §. In general, it is that Disposition, Instinct and formal Quality which God, by his eternal Providence, endu'd every Nature with, as a Divine Light in Men, inlightning our formal Reason. In Beasts it is more than Sense, as when a Hare or Deer fears the least Dog at first sight; but fears not a Horse or Bull; its not Sense alone that teaches Beasts to provide for Winter, and Birds to make Nests, so variously to the greatest Security of themselves and young ones, of which the *Indian* Birds may serve, as anorable Example, building upon small Twigs, which hang over Water to be safe from Monkeys, and the like among many other instances may serve. In vegetables also, the Female *Palmetto*, will not bear except the Male grow near it. Thus every Created Nature has some such Laws set it by the infinite, unsearchable Wisdom of God from all Eternity. In Man this Law of Nature is double, corrupt and incorrupt; corrupt where Reason is become a vassal to the Passions and brutal Affections, which by time and custome breed a new Nature, as when of old, the *Germans* allow'd Theft. *Lycurgus* allow'd Wives to chuse whom they pleas'd, to get them with Child. The *Indians* bury the best beloved Wife with her Husband; these and the like By-customs in Nature extremely corrupted are as Laws, if they may be so called; for properly according to the Definition of the Law of Nature which is an impression of the Divine Light they cannot be. By this Impression of Divine Light, as a Law in Nature (which is the Eye of the Mind) Men have knowledge of Good and Evil without the Law written. *Rom. 2. 14, 15.* And whosoever is not a Law to himself, thinking to abuse the World by Hypocrisy, does nothing else but betray his own Soul, by being subtil in Unrighteousness, and thereby purchasing to himself eternal Damnation; seeing we cannot hide our corrupt Hearts from that infinite Eye. Some Garlands we may gather in this May-game of the World, but the Flowers wither while we Discourse of their Colours. Do nothing therefore that is dishonest before others, nor to be known of thine own Heart, but above all Men *Reverence* thine own Conscience, said *Pythagoras*. This may be a Precept of Nature and right Reason, that all Creatures incline to those Operations which answer their own Form's, so that the reasonable Mind being the form of Man, his transgressing the Rules of Reason becomes inexcusable, seeing all things else obey the Law, imposed upon their Nature at their Creation, as the Earth, and Summer, &c. Which if they were as rebellious as Man to break the Law of their Creation; the World would in an Instant return into its old *Chaos*. *Cain* by the Law of Nature and Reason knew another might kill him, as he had his Brother and there-

therefore fear'd it; for it was a Law in Nature which the Lord put him in mind of; if thou dost well, &c. *Gen.* 4. 7. Of the Laws of Nature some need no demonstration as others do; the first Part of it is, that Good is to be followed and Evil to be eschewed. Again Nature's Law is considered according to her three Appetites. The (1.) is a desire to be, that which we are, which comprehends a desire to live, and preserve Life; under which also is contained a desire of Issue and providence for them; these Laws need no demonstration. The (2.) Appetites concerning us, as having Sense; whence by the Law of Nature, we desire the delight of the Senses in such a measure as may benefit Life, for which Sense was given. These second are common to all Creatures which have Sense, and are not called Laws; but *Rights* of Nature by the School-men. The third is proper to Man as he is a reasonable Creature, having Relation to God, our Neighbours, and our Selves, and the Laws of this Appetite are the Commandments of our Religion, and that in *Rom.* 1. 28. is no light warrant of this Law.

§. 7. *Of God's written Law.* §. The Positive Law is next in order, being but the explication of the former and is either Divine or Humane, and the Divine old or new. The old was given by *Moses* in *Horeb*, *An. Mundi*, 2513. and 67 Days; when *Aschades* govern'd *Assyria*, *Marathus* the *Lycaonians*, *Troopius* the *Argives*, *Cecrops* *Attica*, and *Achernes*, *Egypt*, 431 Years after the Promise to *Abraham*, and 335 Years before the destruction of *Troy*. It appears, that God himself was pleased to engrave the first written Law, in a Stone to remain a lasting Book of his express'd Will for Priests and People to meditate till Christ's coming, to render the *Israelites* Plea of Ignorance, inexcusable who had lived among Idolaters. While the Father's liv'd long and the People were few, the Elders of Families might without a written Law instruct their Children. But as God gave the Fathers many Precepts besides Nature's Law, as Times requir'd: So as Nature's Law could not define things so particularly, as was needful for Posterity, who grew also to give less Authority thereunto; God's Wisdom thought it necessary to set his Law in writing before all Men's Eye. *This is the unfeigned Law, converting the Soul*, says *David*, reaching to internal Motions of the Heart, as well as external Actions, and gives Wisdom to the simple to discern the truth and diversity of Opinions in the World.

§. 8. *Of God's unwritten Law given by tradition to the Patriarchs.* §. The Patriarchs before *Moses* besides the Law of Nature, receiv'd many directions from God, not to be reserved to themselves, after the manner of the *Jewish Cabala*, which shuts up the

the mystical meaning of the Law in the Priests Breast, but to be imparted to all: God taught *Adam* by his own Name to give significant Names to the Creatures, to his Wife and Children. The perfection of *Adam's* Understanding made him able to give Names to the Creatures, according to their Natures, and how himself should walk and please God; so that when he had received his Wife from God, he knew from whence she came, and understood the Law of Marriage, of keeping close to his Wife before all others, how dear forever. After the fall, God gave the Patriarch divers particular Laws as the necessity of their present Condition did require, besides what remain'd still in Nature of a general Conformity to Piety and Righteousness, by which Men knew, That cruelty, a contempt of Parents, Adultery, Rapes, &c. were Odious and Cursed. Yet for all these and the like Laws remaining in the Natural Conscience, God was fain to deliver them by Promises and Threatnings, to prevent or suppress the malice of Humane Corruption. So in matters of Piety, whereas all knew God was to be worshipped, and sought unto, but knew not the way; God taught them the use of Sacrifices, distinction of clean and unclean Beasts. There was therefore a Law written in Men's Hearts which the Lord explain'd, and reinforc'd by Tradition, before his Tables of Stone, or his commenting thereon came by *Moses*. It's true all Creatures of God were directed by some kind of unwritten Law, Angels intuitively, Men by Reason, Beasts by Sense, and natural Instinct without discourse, Plants by Vegetation, and Things immediate by the necessity of their Motion.

§. 9. *Of the Law Moral Judicial and Ceremonial.* §. Law is taken for every Doctrine which prescribes or restrains. The Law of *Moses* is taken in particular after a various manner. (1.) For the old Testament, *Rom.* 3. 19. Sometimes for *Moses's* five Books only, *Luk.* 24. 44. (3.) In opposition to the Gospel, *Rom.* 3. 28. Sometimes again in opposition to Grace, *Rom.* 6. 4. This Law of *Moses* is that Doctrine which was first put into the Heart of Man by God, and after written down by *Moses*, commanding Holiness and Justice, upon condition of eternal Life; and threatening Death upon the least disobedience. This Law is either Moral, Ceremonial. or Judicial. The Moral commands what is absolutely and perpetually good and prohibits the contrary Evil. The Ceremonial teaches Rites and outward Observations, added to the Moral; especially concerning God, and external Worship. The Judicial sets forth the particular Government of the Jewish Common-Wealth, prescribes a Method of Justice and Equity, and serves for the Maintenance and support of both the other, having many Things in it peculiar to

to the same. All and every part is Holy, Just, and Good as St. Paul witnesses. All the three Parts of Moses's Law in some respects remain yet of use; the Moral lives still, save in an ability of Justifying or Condemning: Our Love to God and our Neighbour shall be required of us for ever, and we are bound to follow the Directions of it; though under the Gospel more for Love, as under the Law God's Fear was most: The Ceremonial Law, survives in those things it fore-signify'd, the *Boddy* which is represented; it lives also to give Testimony of Christ and in the external Observation of the new Testament: And for the Judicial Law, it lives in us to substance, in respect to the end and universal equity thereof.

§. 10. Of 9 Things considered in the written Law. (1.) The Dignity, *Rom.* 7. 14. (2.) The Majesty of the Law-giver which is approved in all his Creatures, and in the service of his Angels imployed, at the publishing of the Law. (3.) The Condition of the People unto whom it was given, being such as knew God, which others did not; God's chosen People, and Children of the Promise made to *Abraham*. (4.) The convenience of the time between that of Nature and Grace, wherein it was given *viz.* *An.* 2514. Which continu'd unto the Baptism of *John*. (5.) The efficacy of this Law by and in Christ condemning Sin, tho' weak in us to justify through us our Infirmities. *Gal.* 2. 4. *Heb.* 9. 13.

§. 11. Of six Considerations in respect to the difference of the old and new Testament. §. They differ in Time as the old went before the new, but agree in the remote End, *Man's Salvation*: They differ in the manner of the delivering of God's Will; the old did it more darkly, the other more plainly. The old fore-shew'd what was to come; the other related what was come, so the new abrogated the old. The old is called the Law, which is the chief Part of it, in which the Gospel was hidden; the new is called the Gospel, as that which is the chief therein, wherein the glad tydings of Salvation are clearly published, and therefore by excellency it is called *Gospel*, which by a Figure also denotes the *History of Christ*. The two Testaments agree in the Author, who is God, and therefore in substance of Doctrine, the same Christ, and way of Salvation. For the Fathers by those earthly Promises learn'd to expect the heavenly *Jerusalem*: And in the Covenant (*I am and will be thy God*) they knew God would save their Souls which live for ever, as well as their dying Bodies. They agree in effect to wit, *the salvation of Man*, to which the Law is an Introduction, preparing Men by the sight of Sin to embrace Mercy offered in the Gospel. But if the Law be considered without the Gospel, the effects

effects are as contrary as Life and Death, or to Kill and quicken *Heb.* 2. 19.

§. 12. The seventh Consideration is the end and use of the Law. §. This was to bring us to Christ as the last end, but the immediate use was by prescribing and exacting from us an absolute Righteousness, to render us unexcusable before God; so driving us out of our selves to Christ. The last end was to keep the Church distinct from all other People, till Christ's coming. The end of the Ceremonial Law was to fore-shew Christ, and to confirm the new Testament. The end of the Judicial Law was to frame Men's Minds to be conformable to a Natural Equity and Right. The eighth Consideration is about the Sense of the Law which is Literal and Spiritual in Mysteries. The ninth Consideration is the Duration thereof, all to the Passion of our Saviour; when the Vail of the Temple rent in twain, in token, the Ceremonies now ceas'd from binding the Conscience, and the Moral Part had no Power to Condemn; otherwise the Moral Law stands in full Force, to be delighted in above Riches and so to be obeyed, as we love Christ. *This is the love of God that we keep his Commandments*, where our negligence is unexcusable; the Law being so at hand on all occasions. He then certainly is but a Lye, who professes to love God and neglects to keep his Law with all his might. And though Man is not able without the special grace of God, to fulfill the Law (which Christ only as Man hath done) yet if we rightly consider the merciful care which God had of his People in those Commandments; we shall find how voluntarily, we let slip our Affections and loosen them from the Chains of Obedience, to which the Word of God and Divine Reason has fastned them; neither can we excuse our selves, from those Difficulties which our Minds desirous of Liberty, propose to themselves; for as this is the Love of God to keep his Commandments so his Commandments are not grievous.

§. 13. Of the ten Commandments, that are not difficult but by our own defaults. §. In the first, we are commanded to acknowledge, serve and Love one God: What can induce us to break this Precept, seeing every reasonable Man knows, That the infinite Power cannot be divided into many Infinites, and that of necessity it does follow, that this Almighty Unity is the cause of all Things? And did brute Beasts, but know their Creator who also gives them their Food, they would no doubt serve and Love him only. The second Precept is against the worshipping of Images, whose first making no doubt, arose from a Commemoration of Men excelling in Verrue; but as all Examples sprang

sprung from good Beginnings, so the Devil working upon ignorant and weak Souls, chang'd that good Beginning into Idolatry; wherein none but such as were forsaken of God, would call upon such dead Stocks, the care more worthless than the basest of Beasts; so that *David* doubted, whether the block or the blockish Worshipper were more senseless. The third Commandment is such, that its breach has neither worldly pleasure nor profit in it, which are the two Great Inchanters: We cannot be allured to this horrible disdain of God, unless hatred of good Men and God's curse be accounted an advantage; for the corruptest Nature gives nothing towards it, neither can it satisfy any Appetite, except everlasting sorrow and Hell dwell in our desire. In this strange Custome therefore has the Devil, taken the most spiteful advantage over us, by drawing us to a contemptible abuse of God's Name, which the most Savage People do not commit.

The fourth Precept requires neither Pain, Burden, nor inconvenience to keep it, and is beneficial to Man and Beast: giving the one Rest, and the other Consolation. The fifth, or the first, of the second Table is Gratitude in nature towards them, who after God gave us Life, Cherish'd us in our helpless Infancy, and bestow'd on us the Harvest of their Labours and Care, whose contempt and reproach was punished with Death. The sixth forbids all Actions flowing from hatred which distinguishes Murder from Man-slaughter that is casual, or the Effect of sudden Fury; for thy Affections, says *Bracton* give Name to thy Works. As for the seventh, the thousands that have died Virgins prove this Law to be no burden, considering also that Marriage is allowed to all that affect it; so that this Evil might be forborn, if thou thy self cherish not warmth to heat thee, to proceed to Fire and then to a Flame. The eighth, had our great robbing in *England*, wherein we exceed all Christian Nations been used in *Moses's* days, no doubt he would have censured it with Death: I speak not of poor Souls inforced thereto by necessity, but of those wretched Thieves, who care not whom they spoil, to supply their most inordinate Excesses. Princes Resolutions for some Years to pardon none, do prove this Commandment not hard.

The 9th is the security of Life and Estate, for which God ordain'd, especially in all criminal Matters, false Accusers should have the same Punishment they intended for others.

The 10th which seems of hardest observation, yet may be doubted, whether it extends to all inconsiderate Thoughts; whose sudden Passion, tho' it be not easie to master, yet may we restrain the increase thereof, if we please to exert our strength

strength and seek for Grace. They who think that Concupiscence, which is an urging Inclination, whereto no assent is given, does us no hurt; these Men seem to judge, nothing is prohibited here, more than in the former Commandments, which forbid assent to Evil, tho' not acted. But if we will observe the true difference between this and the other Commandments, we must say, Evil Desires, tho' bridled, are forbidden. The continent Man who bridleth ill Affections, doth well (says *Aristotle*) yet he doth not all, seeing he ought not to have any such. True Divinity declares unto us not much more, than he who calls that sin, for which, he says, a Man cannot be call'd Vertuous; only by Divinity we can give the reason of it; that every one sinneth that does not love God with all his Heart. But seeing it pleases God to teach us, that our faithful endeavours to seek his Commandments, are acceptable testimonies of our Love; we are not to give liberty to our Vanities, and retort upon God that he has given us Commandments that are impossible to be kept. For as God commands us to keep his Laws, and yet shews us our weakness, 1 *Kings* 8. 46. *Psal.* 143. and elsewhere. So if we betray not our selves with Evasions, our unfeigned Desires will be accepted of God; wherein let every Man's Conscience judge of his Endeavours to restrain himself.

§. 14. If there were neither Religion nor Judgment to come, yet it were most necessary to keep the Decalogue: as without the Observation whereof, all Society, all Endeavours, all Happiness and Comfort would fail: Therefore these Laws were imposed, not as a Burden, but as a Blessing to defend the Innocent; that every Man might enjoy the Fruit of his own Labour: that by Justice, Order and Peace, we might live the Lives of rational Men, and not as Beasts; of free Men, not Slaves; civil Men, not Savages: Let even Humane Reason judge, what Confusion and Blood-shed would follow upon a multiplicity of Gods, seeing what a difference in Ceremonies and Interpretations, effects among Christians; worshipping of Images were an idle fruitless spending of time and expence; idle and false Swearing takes away all useful Swearing. Nature her self requires an intermission of Labour; dishonouring of Parents teaches our own dishonour; liberty to murder would be our own destruction: Adultery overthrows comfort in Prosperity, and Honour in Ancestors; and even all vertuous Endeavours after Honour; breeds Diseases, Bestiality and Murders. Stealth would produce savageness; false Witnesses overthrow all Right; Covetousness distracts, feeds vain Hopes, and breeds wicked Purposes and Attempts.

§. 15. Of Humane Laws, written and unwritten. §. The unwritten Law consists of Usages or Customs, approved by Time or Custom, which *Isidore* calls *Mores*, and grow into a Law: But where the Written Law is defective, the general Customs of Nations are some Written, others unwritten; but the petty Customs of particular Places are seldom witnessed, but by Testimony of the Inhabitants. All Customs used for Law, must be reasonable, and grounded upon a just Right; and course of Time cannot amend that which was naught from the first, said *Ulpian*; they must neither be contrary to the Divine Law, nor to that of Nations, and the reason of them must be strong: What was contrary thereunto, was but a toleration, which, without his Will who has Power to make a new Law, cannot grow into a Law. Humane Written Law is the Decree of practical Reason, governing Humane Actions; or, with *Isidore*, a written Constitution agreeing with *Religion*, and the fittest in the Government for the publick Benefit. But more strictly, Law is a righteous Decree, agreeing with the Natural and Eternal Law, made by the rational Discourse of Men in publick Authority, prescribing necessary Things to be observed by Subjects: Wherein note, that the same must be righteous, by rational Discourse, and from a lawful Magistracy, else it is a wicked Decree. The Law of Nations, which is less properly taken, is that which arises from the Principles of the Scriptures and Divine Revelations, common to all; such as Religion and the worship of God: More properly, 'tis a Determination drawn from evident Principles, but so probable, as that all Nations assent thereunto; such as a free Passage granted to Ambassadors between Enemies. The Civil Law is not the same in all Commonwealths, nor does immediately derive from the Law of Nature, as the former; but arises from other Principles which all Nations concur not with; depending upon particular Circumstances, and not suiting all Estates: It does neither wholly differ from, nor agree with the Law of Nature or of Nations, but either adds or takes from them, saies *Ulpian*. The present Civil Law came from *Rome*, being first written by the *Decemviri*, after the foundation of the City, 303 Years, and was compounded of the *Athenian*, and other *Greek* Laws, and of the Ancient *Roman* Customs, and Regal or Papyrian Laws, which *Papyras Tarquin* their King Collected; only the Regal Laws made for Kingly Authority, were abrogated: The rest were part of the Twelve Tables, whereunto were added, the Decrees of the Senate, and those of the common People, those also of Lawyers, and the Edicts of the annual Magistrates gathered by *Julian*, and made perpetual by *Adrian* the Emperour.

Emperour. Laws differ from Edicts, in that they are made by a Sovereign Authority, to be common and permanent; when as the Edict ends with the Author, who was but for a Year. *Isidore* extends it to the Constitutions, Published by a King or Emperour. A Humane Law is Secular or Ecclesiastical; the one commands the Temporal, the other the Spiritual Good; the one respects the Law of Nature, the other, that of God. Secular Laws govern'd a great Part of the known World, without any remarkable inconvenience, after the same became familiar. Yet something was yielded to the natural Customs of divers People; among some of whom, by long custom, influence, or temperature of Air, some Vice was grown so common, that it wanted a Name to distinguish it from what we call *just* and *honest*. The Kingdom of *Congo* was unhappily diverted from the Christian Religion, which it willingly embrac'd, but afterwards furiously rejected again; because plurality of Wives was denied them, more contentiously than seasonably. In such Cases it were not amiss, to consider, how the Lord permitted, in the Children of *Israel* for the hardness of their Hearts, that which was not so conformable to the Rules of the Primitive Perfections. What Men generally in the Country condemn, *Moses's* Law is fittest to reform; but where Custom has bred an Habit, that is not intolerable, a wise Legislator, without presumption, may omit some of the rigour of *Moses's* Law, as *Ezekias* did in a matter meer Ecclesiastical, and less to be dispensed with. To this effect, *Dr. Willet* well observ'd, that the *Moral* *Judicials* of *Moses* hold not affirmatively, that we are tied to the same severity of Punishment; but negatively we are bound, not to put to Death those whom *Moses* put not to death; mitigate we may, but not increase *Moses's* Rigour. I will not take upon me to define in a Cause, yet controverted among worthy Divines; yet in honour of the Judicial Law, or rather, him that gave it, the defence of it has been always plausible; and we shall hardly find any other ground whereon the Conscience of a Judge may rest with equal satisfaction, in giving Sentence in doubts; witness the Judge who condemn'd the Woman of Murder at *Salisbury* upon the Servant's Accusation. The Metaphysics yield a Proof for the Principles of all Sciences, much more does *Moses's* Politicks to all others. The subject of that *ens*, *quatenus ens*, is infinitely inferiour to *ens entium*; so that no Man can lay a better foundation than this, said Prince *Edward*.

C H A P. V.

The Story from the receiving the Law to the Death of Moses.

§ 1. **M**OSES having received and published the Law, and finished the Tabernacle of the Ark, he muster'd the Tribes to see what number of Men were therein from 20 Years old and upwards, over whom, by the Lords direction, he set Leaders; constituting the most eminent Men in each Tribe. The whole Army was 603550 able Men for War, &c. and was divided into four Battalions, of which each contain'd three Tribes. The first containing 186400 able Men, consisted of three Regiments. *Juda* 746000, *Issachar* 54400, and *Zebulon* 57400. All under the Standard of *Juda*, who kept the Van-guard, March'd first, and Quarter'd at the general Encamping on the East side of the Army, as being the chief Post. The second containing 151450, consisted of *Reuben* the Leader, and *Simeon* and *Gad*. The 3d contained 108100 under *Ephraim*, whom *Manasseh* and *Benjamin* follow'd. The fourth contain'd 157600, being led by *Dan*, and followed by *Naphthali* and *Asher*. Besides the twelve Princes of the twelve Tribes; they had Captains over Thousands, over Hundreds, over Fifties, and over Tens; as appears by that Insurrection against *Moses*. In the midst of these Four Armies was the Tabernacle, or portable Temple carried; being surrounded by the *Levites*, to the service whereof 22000 Persons were dedicated, of whom, 8580 had a peculiar charge: All these encompass'd within the general Armies, next the Tabernacle in four quarters. *Moses's* reverent care about the least Part of the Tabernacle, did witness his inward humble Zeal towards God. The Industry in framing, curiously in working, charge in Provision, observance in preserving, solemnity in removing, &c. all Ages have in some sort imitated.

§ 2. *The Offering of the Twelve Princes; the Passover, and Jethro's departure.* §. The Twelve Princes offer'd Six cover'd Chariots and 12 Oxen for carrying the Tabernacle which were deliver'd to the Sons of *Gershon* and *Merari*: As for the Sanctuary, the *Kathites* bore it on their Shoulders; when it was taken down, every one of the Princes also offer'd a Charger, and a Bowl of Silver, and an Incense-Cup of Gold, the weight was after the Shekel

Shekel of the Sanctuary, which contain'd Twenty Gerahs, every Gerah being worth three-half-pence Sterling; after which rate, all the Plate came to 420 Pounds Sterling. The common Shekel was but ten Gerahs. This done, the Passover was celebrated the Fourteenth day of the Second Month, of the second Year; and upon the Twentieth, the Host remov'd from *Sinai* to *Param*, marching in their prescribed order. At this time, *Jethro*, *Moses's* his Father-in-Law, called also *Hobab*, left *Moses*, and returned to *Midian*; but it seemeth, either he, after having set his Country in order, or his Children, returned, and became incorporated with *Israel*.

§ 3. *Israel's Journey from Horeb to Kadesh.* §. In this Journey, they murmur for Flesh, and were fed with Quails even to a surfeit, of which great numbers died. Then after the First Month, they came to *Hazareth*, where *Midian* was smitten with a Leprosie, and so to *Richmaneor*, *Kades* and *Barnea*; from whence the Spies were sent; upon whose return, they murmur'd the Tenth time: Which being more Rebellious than all the rest, God punish'd it accordingly; extinguishing every one of those seditious Persons, even the whole Multitude that came out of *Egypt*, he only excepted: And tho' the mildest of all Men was earnest with God for their Pardon, yet not one of them escaped; though he spared them Ten Years, till their Children were grown up, and multiplied, that in them he might perform his Promises, which were never frustrated.

§ 4. *Of their return, and unwillingness thereto.* §. *Moses* having related the Commandment of God touching their return back towards the *Red Sea*, they bewail their Folly too late. And as it is with Men whom God leaveth to themselves, they would needs amend for their former passionate Murmurings, with a second desperate Contempt. For now when God forbids with Threats, they will desperately venture on their own destruction, and were repulsed; were forced to take the way back to the Seas, as God had commanded, and came to *Remmon-parez*, &c. see *Numb.* 33. Their 24th Mansion was at *Parez*, where began that dangerous Insurrection of *Korah*, for which Offence, and contempt of God and his Ministers, as 14700 perished suddenly by Pestilence, and 250 by Fire; so those Lay-men who would usurp Ecclesiastical Authority, were suddenly swallow'd up alive by the Earth. From whence the Thirtieth Station was at *Forabata*, where *Ahricomus* makes a River which runs into the Sea, between *Midian* and *Asion-gaber*. Now, tho' it be probable, there was store of fresh water at *Asion-gaber*, where *Solomon* furnished his Fleets for the *East-Indies*. And tho' *Herodotus* mentions

mentions a great River in *Arabia* the *stony*, which he calls *Corys*; yet is *Adricomius* mistaken in this, as in many other things, for it was at *Panon*, that those chief Springs which are spoken of, which in *Deut.* 10. 7. is called *Jotabata*, a *Land of running Waters*, which in all probability, fall into the River *Zared* next adjoining, whereas that way is very long to *Afion-gaber*. Besides *Bellonius* reports of divers Torrents of fresh Water in those Sandy Ports of *Arabia*, which running a few Miles, are swallow'd up in the Sands. From *Jotabata*, they came to *Hebrona*, and after to *Afion-gaber*, called *Beronice* by *Josephus*, *Essia* by *Ferom*, which as yet, was not under the command of *Edom*, as after in *Selemens* days.

§. 5. From *Afion-gaber* they removed to *Zin*, *Kades* or *Bee-roth*, where *Miriam* dyed. Then they came to Mount *Hor*, where they murmured for Water, and where *Aaron* dyed, and *Eleazer* his Son succeeded. This Mount is called *Mosera*, *Deut.* 10. on the *West* Part, as *Moses* came to *Afion-gaber*; as it is called *Hor* on the *East*. It was the *South-Bound* of *Edom* before *Zades* was added; so that *Moses* being there, his best and nearest way had been through *Edom*, which moved *Moses* to intreat leave for it of the King of *Edom*, who denyed it, and came to withstand them.

§. 6. *Israel* leaving the way by *Edom*, after they had compassed the *South*, they turned to the *North*, towards the *Wilderness* of *Moab*, leaving *Edom* on the *West*. When *Arad*, King of the *South-Canaanites*, thinking they would come by him while they lay at *Hor*; having had his Forces ready upon his Borders, marched out into the *Desart*, before *Israel* was all removed, and set upon such a Part of the Army as lay to his Advantage, and took some Prisoners. It is probable, either this *Arad*, or his Predecessor, had joined before with *Amalek*, and giving those Mutineers the foil, and therefore were encouraged again to this Attempt. As for the overthrow which is reported, *Numb.* 21. to be given them by *Israel*, it is rather to be understood of what was done after by *Joshua*, than now by *Moses*. For had *Moses* given them that overthrow, and destroyed their Cities; he would never have left the *South* of *Canaan*, once entred by him, to wander about *Edom* and *Moab*, and to seek a new Passage: Neither could *Israel* have had cause to Murmur the next day for Bread, or been weary of the Way; if they had so lately taken the Spoil of *Arad's* Cities. Yea, they would rather have mutinied against *Moses*, for leaving such an Entrance into the intended Conquest; and to lead them back into the *Desarts*, which had consumed them. They murmured presently upon their leaving *Hor*, when they came to

Phumoz

Phumoz, crossing the way to *Afion-gaber*, through *Moab* to *Cælosyria*; and here the Brazen Serpent was erected. From thence they proceeded, as 'tis in Holy Writ, and so came to *Delbathaim*, from whence *Moses* sent to *Sehon* King of the *Amorites*, to desire a Passage through his Country, which he denyed.

§. 7. Of the Book of the Lord's Battels, and other lost Books. *Moses* in *Sehon's* Story, refers to a Book of the Lord's Battels. *Junius* understands thereby, no special Book; and *Vatablus* doubts of it. *Siracides* refers it to *Joshua*, who fought the Lord's Battels, *cap.* 46. But it seemeth probable, there was such a Book lost, as many others have been, whereto reference is often made, as *Jos.* 10. 3. and 2 *Sam.* 1. 18. and 2 *Chron.* 33. 18. and 2 *Chron.* 9. 29. and 12. 15. and 20. 24. and 1 *Kings* 4. 32, 53. *Enoch's* Books, &c.

§. 8. Of *Moses* sparing *Lot's* Issue. §. *Moab* at this time, inhabited the *South* of *Arnon*, having lost the best side, which the *Amorites* won from *Vabeb* the Predecessor of *Balak*. What therefore *Moses* found in the Possession of *Moab*, as also of *Ammon*, he might not attempt; but what the *Amorites* had taken from them. The *Emims* and *Zanzummims*, Giantly Nations, had formerly dwelt there, as the *Anakims* did in *Canaan*; but *Moab* and *Ammon* destroyed them. *Sehon*, proud of his Conquest against *Moab*, presumed against *Israel*, and lost all. *Og*, King of *Basan*, or *Traconitis*, an *Amorite*, is also destroyed, and his Sixty walled Towns taken by *Jaer*, a Son of *Manasses*.

§. 9. The *Midianites* with the *Moabites* practise against *Israel*, and draw them to *Idolatri*; for which God destroyed 24000 with the *Pestilence*. Next succeeds the Third numbring of the People, who are found to be 601730, of whom 12000 are sent against the *Midianites*, who slew their Five petty Kings, and destroyed their Cities; after this, *Moses* having divided his Conquest, and blessed the Twelve Tribes, dyed.

§. 10. Observations out of *Moses's* Story, touching God's Providence, working his own purposes ordinarily by Men's Affections.

Pharaoh's Fear bred his ungodly Policies, and savage Cruelties; by this, *Moses* is cast upon the Compassion of *Pharaoh's* Daughter, and so provided of Princely Education. Men's Affections drive him into Exile, procured him a Wife, and so a long stay to know the *Wilderness*, to wean him from Ambition, and so fit him to know God, and to Govern. Thus what Men think most casual, God ordereth to the Effecting of his own purposes many Years after.

C H A P. VI.

*Of the Bordering Nations: Of other Renowned Men;
and of Joshua's Acts.*

§. 1 **H**OW the Bordering Nations were prepared to be Enemies to Israel. §. Though the *Ismaelites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Edomites*, descended from *Abraham* and *Isaac*, as did the *Israelites*, and were not molested by them, and therefore they should not have hinder'd their Conquest of *Canaan*; yet God's all-disposing Providence, had order'd to the contrary, by ordinary means. For first, these Nations having settled there from the beginning, and matched with *Canaanites*, and fallen to their Idolatry; and having had neighbourly Commerce with them, it could not be, but that they should affect them, being also the ancient Inhabitants. Secondly, the *Israelites* by long abode in *Egypt*, were become strangers to them, and the less affected by them because of their difference in Religion, and feared, for being a Potent, United People; whereas the *Canaanites* were divided, and therefore not feared of them so much. Thirdly, both the *Ismaelites* and *Edomites* being Carnal People, might resent the Actions of *Israel* for the old Quarrels between their first Parents; yet none of these directly opposed them in defence of the *Canaanites*. Only the *Amalekites* (such as are commonly taken to be a tribe of *Edom*) offered them violence, which was never forgotten, See cap. 8. Sect. 3.

§. 2. *Of the Kings of the Canaanites and Midianites.* §. In Speaking of *Canaanites*, we understand the seven Nations descended from *Cham* by *Canaan*; whose proper Habitation was bounded by *Jordan* on the East, and the *Mediterranean Sea* on the West. Of these, the first we read of, is *Hamor* the Hittite Lord in *Jacob's* days; of the *Hittites* *Arad* is the Second, who is named King of the *Canaanites*, in the South of *Canaan*, bordering on *Edom* and the Red Sea. *Sehon* King of *Hesbon*, and *Og* King of *Baschan* were next; who had driven out the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* out of all the Valley, East of *Jordan*. *Adonibezeck* is the Fifth, with whom *Joshua* named four other Kings, all *Amorites*. *Jabin* King of *Hazor*, who aforetime was head of those Kingdoms, and *Jobab* King of *Madon*; then *Adonibezeck* that Tyrant of *Bezek*, and *Jabin* the Second, King of *Hazor*, Judg. 4. overthrown by *Barak*.

The

The *Madianites* descended from *Abraham*, by *Madian* the Son of *Keturah*: Some of them dwelt by the Red Sea, where *Raguel*, or *Reuel*, called also *Jethro* or *Ken's*, was King and Priest: Others of them were mixed with the *Moabites*, and dwelt in *Nabothæa*, on the South-East of the Dead Sea, whose Five Princes are named. There are four others named, slain by the *Ephraimites* and *Gideon*: viz. *Oreb* and *Zeb*, *Zeba* and *Zalmunna*.

§. 3. *Of the Amalekites and Ismaelites.* §. *Of Amalek's Original*, See Cap. 8. Sect. 3. Of them and of the *Israelites*, few Kings are named, and though the *Ismaelites* were more in number; yet in *Moses's* days, *Amalek* was more renowned than the rest of the *Ismaelites*, as after in the Days of *Saul*, when they were increased so far, that he pursued them from *Sur* to *Havilah*. It seemeth the *Ismaelites* had left the barren Deserts of *Arabia Petraea*, called *Sur*, *Paran* and *Sin*, to the Issue of *Keturah*, which joined with them, and planted themselves in the better Parts thereof. *Nabaioth* the Eldest of the twelve Princes, Planted that fruitful Part of *Arabia Petraea*, which borders on *Judah* on the East; they also peopled a Province of *Arabia Felix*, call'd *Napothæa*. *Kedar* the second, gave Name to the East Part of *Basan*, or *Batanea*, called *Kedarcus*, or *Cedreans*. *Abdiel* the third, gave Name to *Atudenes*, near the Mountains, and divideth *Arabia Felix* from the Desert. The *Raabens* were of *Mosma*; which joyns to the *Orchen* near the Arabian Gulf of *Lagmais*. *Duma*, is he of whom came the *Dumeans*, between the two former, where was that City of *Dumeth*. *Massa* bred the *Messanians*. *Hadar* or *Chadar* produced the *Athrites* in *Arabia Felix* by the *Napatheans*. *Thema* begat the *Theminians* among the Mountains, where stands the City of *Thema*. *Jetur* was Father of the *Jeturæans*, or *Chamathens*, whose King was *Tohu*, in *David's* Days. *Napish* bred the *Nubeans* in *Syria* *Zoba*, under King *Adadezer* in *David's* Days. *Cahna*, is he of whom came the *Cabmanæans*, or *Asita*, Worshipping the Fire, as did the *Babylonians*. Also the *Amalekites* oppos'd *Israel* from their coming out of *Egypt*, joyning against them with all their Enemies, as with the *Canaanites*, *Moabites* and *Midianites*.

§. 4. *Prometheus, Atlas and Pelægus, flourished in Moses's Days.* §. *Pelægus* was now chosen King of *Arcadia*, for teaching the Inhabitants to Erect Cottages, and to make Meal and Bread of Acorns, who before lived on Roots and Herbs. So long was it before Agriculture and Civility came into *Europe*, from *Egypt* and the East. *Prometheus* also flourished in this Age of the World: Of whom it was Reported, he formed

G 3

Men

Men out of Clay, for his framing Men unto Wisdom. See *Augustine*. His stealing Fire from *Jupiter*, was his skill in the Stars, which with great Study, he got on *Caucasus*, which bred the Fable of his being bound there, &c. *Africanus* makes him within 94 Years of *Ogyges*; *Porphyrus* puts him with *Inachus*. *Atlas* his Brother now flourished, being both the Sons of *Japetus*, who according to *Æscylus* had two others, *Oceanus*, and *Hesperus*, Famous in the *West*. There were others of the same Name, but Mount *Atlas*, South of *Morocco*, came of him; of both these, and of *Cepheus*, and of his Wife, *Cicero* saith, their Divine Knowledge bred those Fables. *Atlas*'s skill in Astronomy, produced the *Pleiades*, and *Hyades*, from his Daughters; see *Augustine*. Some ascribe the finding out of the Course of the Moon to him, but others to *Arcas*, of whom *Arcadia* took its Name; whose People boast they are more Ancient than the Moon, that is before her Motion and Influence was observed, See, *Natalis Comes*. But *Isacius Tzetzes*, a curious Searcher of Antiquities, ascribes it to *Atlas* of *Lybia*, a Person of Incomparable Gifts and Strength, of whom *Thales Milesius* had his first Rudiments.

§. 5. *Deucalion*, King of *Theffaly*, was the Son of *Prometheus*, says *Herodotus*, *Apollonius*, *Hesiod*, and *Strabo*. In his time fell out that great Inundation of *Theffaly*, in which, so few escaped the Vengeance their exceeding Wickedness had drawn upon them: Only *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha* excelling others in Vertue, escaped upon his Father's fore-warning. *Phaeton*'s Conflagration happened in *Ethiopia*, and *Istria*, and the Mountain *Vesuvius*.

§. 6. *Mercurius Trismegistus*, called *Hermes* by the *Greeks*, now flourished, and excelling all the Heathens in Wisdom, *Plato* ascribes the invention of Letters to him, whom *Philo Byblius* calls *Ta-autus*, the *Egyptians* *Thoyth*, and the *Alexandrians* *Thot*. As for the Conjecture, that *Mercury* carried Letters into *Egypt*, it's improbable, seeing all profane Antiquity saith, *Greece* had their Learning out of *Egypt*, and *Phanicia*: And that *Cadmus* brought Letters out of *Egypt* into *Greece*, which was done while *Minos* was King of *Crete*, and *Lyncus* King of the *Argives*, who succeeded *Danaus*, who had Reigned 50 Years, and *Stenclius*, 10 Years before him, and *Crotopus* before him, in whose 10 Years Reign *Moses* dyed. So much difference of time there is between *Hermes* and *Cadmus*'s coming into *Baotia*. Neither did the two *Mercuries* of *Egypt* mentioned by *Augustine*, come from *Greece*. But *Eupolemus*, and *Artapamas*, ascribe that invention to *Moses*, who taught it to the *Hebrews*, of whom the *Phanicians* had it, and *Cadmus* from them. *Ficinus* is deceived

deceived to think that *Mercury*, upon whose Book he Commenteth, was four Descents after *Moses*: So *Lodovicus Vives* thinks the Author of those Books, was Grand-child to *Mercurius Trismegistus*. His long life of 300 Years might give some occasion to find him at one time, to others at another; as they who Collected the grounds of the *Egyptian* Philosophy, make him more Ancient than *Moses*, being Author of the *Egyptian* Wisdom, wherein *Moses* was Skilled. It is true, that *Hermes*'s Divinity is contrary to *Moses* in many things, especially in approving of Images; but the wary Reader may perceive those Books have been corrupted by the *Egyptian* Priests; and were they in all things like themselves, there were no danger with *Eupolemus* to say, that *Hermes* was *Moses*. And that the *Egyptian* Theology was devised by the more Ancient *Hermes*, whom others judge to be *Joseph*. But these are over-curious Opinions: Whoever he was, God knoweth; and *Lactantius* testifies this of him, That he writ many Books of Divine Things, concerning the Majesty of the most High, and one God, calling him by the Name of God; and Father, as we do, &c. And his acknowledgments of God are so contrary to the *Egyptian* and *Grecian* Fictions; that what is found in his Book, inclining thereto was by corruption inserted: For thus he speaketh. God is the Lord and Father of all things; the Fountain, Life, Power, Light, Mind and Spirit; and all things are in, and under him. For his Word out of himself proceeding, being most Perfect, Generative, and Operative, made Nature Fruitful and producing. And saith, *Suidas*, he was called *Trismegistus*, for affirming, there was one God in Trinity. He fore-saw, saith *Ficinus*, the Ruin of the Old (or superstitious) Religion, the Birth of the new Faith, the coming of Christ, future Judgment, Resurrection, Glory of the Blessed, and Punishment of Sinners. Lastly, *Calcidius* the *Platonist*, and *Suidas* cited by *Volaterranus*, Report this to be his Speech. Hitherto, O my Son, being driven out of my Country, I have lived a Stranger and Banished Man; but now I am repairing homeward again in safety: And when after a while, (being loosed from the Bonds of the Body) I shall depart from you; see you do not bewail me as Dead: For I do return to that best and Blessed City, wherunto all her Citizens by the way of Death are to come. For there is the only God, the most High and Chief Prince, who replenishes his Citizens with wonderful Sweetness; in regard whereof this, which many call Life, is rather to be called Death. I therefore admire thee, O Heaven! Thou Wise work of the great God, and thee, O Voice of the Father, which he first uttered when

he framed the whole World; I adjure by his only begotten Word and Spirit, comprehending all things, have Mercy upon me.

§. 7. *Æsculapius* also flourished in this Age, and became the God of Physicians; he was Brother of *Hermes*, as *Vives* on *Augustine* judgeth. *Famæes*, and *Fambres*, those notorious Sorcerers that opposed *Moses*, now lived and made such shew, as if *Moses* and they had used the same Art; as the Spectators of common Capacity judged. Though *Moses* charged them not with familiarity with the Devil, and the *Greeks* call them *Φαρμακοποιοί* *Workers by Drugs*: Yet did they excel in the impious Art, as in dazzling Men's Eyes, whom we call Prestigiators in natural Magick; which is acknowledged to use the Creatures Qualities beyond common Judgment, which discerneth not the best Virtues, that God hath indued them with: This the *Cabalists* called the Wisdom of Nature, used by *Jacob* in the Pied Lambs; as *Moses* did that which is called the Wisdom of Divinity in his Miracles. Hereby God made him excel all that ever were; when (according as the infinite God may appear) he shewed himself so often unto him, and employed him in such Services. *Moses*, is remembered by Profane Authors, such as *Clearchus*, *Megasthenes*, and *Numenius*. The Patriarchs long lives are remembered by *Estius*, *Hieronimus Ægyptius*, *Hecateus*, *Asculaus*, *Ephorus* and *Alexander*, the Historian. The Usage by *Berosus*, and *Nicol Damascenus*. The Confusion of *Babel*, by *Abidenus*, *Estius*, and the Sibyls. *Abraham* Honoured by *Berosus*; written of by *Hecateus*; and his Journey into *Canaan* by *Damascenus*: *Eupolemon* writ of him, beginning from *Babel's* falling to his being out of *Camerian* or *Orien* in *Chalde*. *Eusebius* collects many Passages, which confirm the Books of *Moses*. Lastly, worthy is the Testimony of *Strabo*, saying, *Moses* taught, that the Egyptians thought amiss by Attributing to the Image of Brasts; and the Africans, and Greeks, Eredged gods, by giving unto their Gods the shapes of Men; whereas, *Moses* by is God indeed which containeth both us, Earth and Sea, the Heaven, the World and the Nature of all things; whose Image doubtless, no wise Man will dare to Form to the likeness of any thing. Therefore rejecting all Images, a worthy Temple and Place of Prayer was to be Erected unto him for his Worship, without any Figure at all therein. As for the Egyptian Wisdom wherein *Moses* was learned, as in *Acts* 7. 22. Many have collected the same (I know not how truly) as *Diogenes Laertius*, *Famblicus*, *Philo Judeus* and *Eusebius Cesareus*, into Methematical, Natural, Divine and Moral. The Mathematical was distinguished into Geometry, Astronomy, Arithmetick, and Musick.

This

This natural Part differs little from Peripatetical Philosophy. The Divinity-Part taught Men to believe a beginning, and the destruction of the World, that Men had their Original in *Egypt*, that Souls are Immortal, and pass from Body to Body; that God is one, the Father of all Gods, &c. The Egyptian Divines had three sorts of Writings, Epitolar, and Sacerdotal, for the Priests; Sacred Expressions, or Figurative, &c. And Symbolical; which are Imitative, Tropical, and Enigmatical: Imitative is when the Character is like the thing signified, as ☉ for the Sun; Tropical, when Forms of natural Bodies set out the Qualities, Actions and Conditions of Men; Enigmatical is when Forms are mingled as a Man's Head on a Lion's Body, &c. Moral and Political Wisdom contained special Laws, devised by *Mercurius*, said, *Laertius*. So *Famblicus* in his Egyptian Mysteries, citeth *Seleucus* and *Meneas*, both Ancient Historians, who affirm'd Mercury to be the Author of the Egyptian Wisdom and Writ 36525 Pages. *Clemens Alexandrinus*, saith, thirty six Books of his Egyptian Wisdom, six of Physick, ten of Priests, and four of Mathematicks were then extant.

§. 8. Of *Josua*, and so to *Othoniel*, and his Contemporaries. §. *Josua* entred upon the Government in the first Month, *Nisan*, or *March*, being the 41st Year of their Egression, in the Reign of *Amyntas*, the Eighteenth King of *Assyria*. *Corax*, the Sixteenth of *Sicyonia*, *Danaus* of the *Argives*, and *Eriethonius* of *Athens*, saith *Augustin. de civitate Dei* *Josua* appointeth *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the half Tribe of *Manasses* unto the Vanguard, to lead the Host till the Land was Conquered; as *Juda* had done in the Wilderness: So upon the Tenth Day he led them over *Jordan*, which gave way to them, and Incamped in *Gilgal*, and Circumcised them; and on the fourteenth Day, they Celebrated the Passover the third Time, when the *Manna* ceased. The Wars and Victories of *Josua*, the Miraculous assistance of God, and the Division of the Land are particularly at large set down in God's Book. In the whole Story I observe, First, in those Petty Kings, want of Wisdom (as it is with Governours forsaken of God) to Unite themselves against a strong and common Enemy, before he had broken divers of them. Secondly, *Josua*, though sure of Divine assistance, yet used the uttermost skill of a Wise Leader; as sometimes by Ambuscades, stratagems and shew of flying; so by Surprise, and Night-Marches, and by pursuing his Victories. Thirdly, In the Passage between *Josua* and the *Gibeonites*, the Doctrine of keeping Faith, is expressly taught, by taking a way

way all perfidious cunning Equivocation, or crafty Distinction, It is not possible to meet with a Case affording a better Pre-
 tence to go off: They were *Hittites*, of whose Destruction God
 had given Express Commandment; they Counterfeited in
 Word and Deed deliberately, to Deceive and Lye in the
 Point: Touching the Persons to be Covenanted with, they were
 detestable Idolaters; and as long as they lived, were an In-
 stance of *Israel's* Errour, and *Josua's* oversight to be so over-
 taken, and to be a scandal to *Israel*. *Josua* might say, he
 Covenanted not with the *Gibeonites*, but with Strangers, and
 had no Commission, but a former Express Law to the con-
 trary; yea, and the People Mutinied about it, &c. For all this
Josua durst take no Occasion to recede from the Oath
 of the Lord, wherein he was bound, not to Man so much as
 to God. It were great Iniquity to call God to Witness to a Lye,
 and so make him a Deceiver; but we call him to be our
 Surety: Yea we call him to Judge, and so make him false in
 Witnessing, in underraking our Faith, and corrupt in Judgment;
 the least of which were heinous Crimes in a King; how odi-
 ous then is it to God, to make him break Promises, and to
 pervert Judgment? 400 Years after, *Saul's* violating this Oath
 of his Fore-Fathers, brought Evil unto all *Israel*; which mani-
 fested, That God had not forgotten, that his Name had secu-
 red that Poor People, and he did them Justice on *Saul's* House.
 And certainly if Equivocating may delude an Oath, the strength
 of Subjection is broken; and Truth in all Tryals is driven a-
 way, and honest Men are Intrahled to Villains: No League
 will be available between Kings, no Truce between Armies,
 but the Sword must still be unsheathed. Yet can it not do
 oft-times, what the Powerful Name of God in an Oath can do,
 in making Peace, and procuring Passage; for Men held no
 security like an Oath, no Witness, Surety, or Judge like God;
 neither durst Men who feared him, call him forth to their
 occasions, but with Religious Truth. *Almarick*, the Fifth
 King of Christians in *Palestine*, broke Faith with *Elhadeck*,
Caliph of *Egypt*, who thereupon called the *Turks* to
 his assistance and after he had made *Egypt* his own, beat the
 Christians out of *Palestine*; neither could the Wooden Cross,
 brought into the Field, as the last Refuge, Save them; they
 having for-sworn by him who was Crucified on it. So when
Egenius Commanded the King of *Hungary*, after a great Vi-
 ctory, to break Oath with *Amurath*; he lost himself, and 30000
 Christians. Lastly, Observe how it pleased God, that the un-
 conquered Cities became Thorns in their Eyes, &c. Of which
 Ci-

Cities, See *Josh.* 1. & 2. & 11. & 13. *Josua* Govern-
 ed 18 Years; others hold more, or less; but the necessity of
 480 Years, from their Delivery, to *Solomon's* Temple, admits of
 no more, nor any space between him and *Othoniel*. *Eriethonius*
 King of *Athens*. *Lyncus* King of the *Argives*, *Phoenix*, and *Ca-*
dmus flourished now at this time.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Tribes planted on the Borders of Phœnicia.

§. 1. **T**HE Proem to the Destruction of *Canaan*. §. Before
 we enter upon the Story of *Judges*, I think it perti-
 nent Geographically to describe the Region, on which the
 greatest Part of the Story past, and to follow what was Acted:
 And for a better Light to the Story, to add to the Neigh-
 bouring Countries; I have given every Tribe his proper Por-
 tion, and therein shewed the conquered Cities, by whom
 God scourg'd his ungrateful People; that by Anger and mercif-
 ul Severity in this World, he might prevent their eternal
 Ruin in the World to come. I have added also the Histories
 of other Kingdoms and Common-Wealths, out of the best Au-
 thors; not following their old disagreeing Patterns, but mine
 own Reason. *Syria*, now called *Soria*, comprehends *Canaan*,
 and other Countries, which we are to set out in the largest
 Extent, and embraces all the Regions from the *Euxine*, to the
 red Sea: So that *Cappadocia*, was call'd *Leuco-Syria*, or White
Syria, by *Ptolemy*. But more strictly it reaches from *Cilicia* in
 the North, to *Idumæa* to the South, and from *Tyris* in the
 East, to the *Mediterranean* West; comprehending *Mesopotamia*,
Chaldea, *Arabia* the Desert, and *Petræa*, *Canaan*, &c. *Edeffa*
 called *Rage* of old, was the Mother-City: And many smaller
 Provinces were in *Syria*, as *Cælosyria* in the fruitful Valley be-
 tween *Libanus*, and *Antilibanus*; in which were *Antioch*, *Laodicæa*,
Apamia, &c. Then *Damascena* or *Syria Libanica* of *Liba-*
nus and *Damascus* the City of the first King of *Syria* called
Adades. Next is the Province of *Sophena* or *Syria Soba*, then
Phœnicia,

Phœnicia, Inhabited by the *Syro-phœnicians*, Lastly, *Syria Palestina*, bordering on *Egypt*, with *Judea*, *Edom*, &c.

§. 2. Of *Canaan* and the Promises of it. §. *Canaan* of old extended from *Libanus* to the Desert, towards *Egypt*; being bounded by the Midland-Sea to the West, and *Hermion Galaad*, and *Arnon* East; which Hills *Strabo* calls *Tracœnites*, and *Ptolemy*, *Hippus*: It took its Name from *Canaan* the Son of *Cham*, and the Language also was so called, and after *Hebrew* of the *Hebrews*; who took not their Name of *Heber* the Son of *Sale*, but from their Passage over the *Euphrates*, says, *Arias Montanus*, with whom agrees *Sigonius* and *Eusebius*. This Part contained *Edom*, *Judea*, *Samaria*, and *Galilie*, the upper and lower; both of them in *Phœnicia*, and Bordered by *Jordan*, tho' *Phœnicia*, Stretches a little more Easterly: That Part of *Jordan*; along the Plain anciently belong'd to *Moab* and *Ammon*, but being possess'd by the *Amorites* and won by *Israel*; it became Part of *Canaan*. The rest on the East of *Canaan* are *Moab*, *Midian*, *Ammon*, *Macha*, *Gessuri*, *Argeb*, *Ilus*, all of 'em called *Arabia* in general, and more particularly *Tracœnite*, *Picna*, *Batonia*, &c. *Moses* bounded *Canaan* at first within *Jordan* Eastward, but afterwards extended the Coast of *Israel* to the River *Perah*: Which if it signifies the *Euphrates*, it incloses much more then ever *Israel* enjoyed; which made *Vadian* take it for *Jordan*. Yet God's Promise might extend so far, though for their Sins God might inclose them in a narrower Compass; as he oft gave them over to be oppress'd at Home, and made Slaves abroad: For God made no Promise but upon Condition of their Obedience, which being broken; their claim was lost hereupon; as the *Philistines* were never cast out wholly, so no wonder if other Parts were never brought into Subjection.

§. 3. Of the Tribe of *Asher*. §. *Asher* in *Egypt* Increased to 41500 able Men as appeared at the Muster of *Sinai*, all which perished in the Wilderness; yet of their Children 53400 able Men went over *Arnon*, came into *Canaan* and possess'd Part of *Phœnicia* from *Sydon*, and the fields of *Libanus* to *Ptolemais Acan*, and along the Sea-Coast about 30 English Miles, and about 10 Miles broad. This Part of the Country abounded in Wine, Oyl, Wheat, Balsam, &c. According to the Prophecy, *Sydon* was the first City in the North of *Asher*; being large and strong, founded by *Syden* the Eldest Son of *Canaan*, and was never subdued by *Josua* nor any after him; but continued until Christ's Days, a Government by it self. It stands on the Wash of the Midland-Sea, North from *Tyre*, 200 Furlongs

Furlongs or 25 Miles; *Agenor* is the first King we read of; for *Zeno* the Philosopher's Story of his being born there, is lost. It commanded *Tyre* in *Homer's* Days, as *Strabo* observed, and flourished in Learning and Mathematical Arts and Trades; was strong by Nature and Art, which fortified it with a Castle to the North, maintained by the *Teutonick* Order, after the same became Christian; and another in the South, kept by the *Knights Templers*. *Strabo* and *Pliny* ascribe the Invention of Glass to it: They worshipped *Baal* and *Asheroth* as their peculiar Gods, tho' others also did worship them; or else there were several of the Party, as the Plural Number sheweth. *Augustine* thinks, they were *Jupiter* and *Juno*, whom the *Carthaginians* call *Astarte*, which is *Tully's* Fourth *Venus*, born of *Tyris* and *Syria*. *Jerom* holds, That *Tammaz*, in *Ezekiel* 8.14. was *Adonis*, *Venus's* Husband, whom the *Assyrians* so called. Others take *Tammaz* for *Osiris*, whom the *Egyptians* call'd *Ammuz*, for whom his Wife *Isis* ordained great Mourning in her Sacrifices, saith *Plutarch*. Yet these Idolatrous *Sydonians* receiv'd the Faith of Christ, which the *Jews* rejected, and continued in it 'till the *Saracens* won it. *Baldwin* the second, King of *Jerusalem*, recovered it, and *Lodowic* King of *France*, fortify'd it; but Thirty Nine Years after, it was lost. *Sarepta*, in *Hebrew* *Sarpath*, stands South of *Syden*, towards the River *Narr*, in the way to *Tyre*; it became Christian, and continu'd a City 'till the *Saracens* and *Turks* won it; now 'tis called *Saphet Tyrus*, South from *Sarepta*, of Old called *Zor*, or *Tzor*, from the Rock on which it stood. The *Latins* call'd it *Serra*, the same being built by the *Sydonians*, for which *Esaiab* calls it the Daughter of *Sydon*, and saith it was very Ancient; but not probable to be built by *Tyrus*, a Son of *Japhet*, as *Berosus* would have it, being in the Bosom of *Canaan*: *Agenor*, as it seems removed it Seven hundred Paces into the Island where it grew a Mart of Nations; it excelled in Learning and Manufactory, especially in dying Purple and Scarlet: The first Art was found out by *Hercules's* Dog eating the Fish *Chonchilis*, or *Purpura*, which coloured the Hairs of his Lips. This Place first worshipped the Idols of *Sidon*, and *Hercules* afterwards become their Patron; as appears in *Alexander's* Conquest of it. *Salmanasser* King of *Assyria*, Besieged it Five Years in vain; *Nebuchodonozor*, after Thirteen Years siege, having made a Causey to it with Stone and Cedars, won it; which gave Example to *Alexander* to do the like 200 Years after, the Causey being then demolished. *Tyrus* recovered again Three Hundred Years before Christ, and flourished Six hundred Years in the Christian Faith, having an Archbishop, and Four-

teen Cities with their Bishops, subject only to the Patriarch of *Jerusalem*. The *Saracens* subdued it, *An.* 636, and held it four hundred eighty eight Years. *An.* 1124, it was recover'd under *Baldwin*; the 2d, and held 165 Years. It repuls'd *Saladine*, *An.* 1189, and Two Years after, *Frederick Barbarossa*, was buried there; but one hundred Years after, the *Saracens* recovered it, and it remaineth under the faithless *Turks* unto this Day. *Ptolemais* was so called of one of the *Egyptian* Kings, but of old *Acha*, faith *Ferom*; others call it *Achon*, the Name of *Ptolemy's* Brother. *Pliny* calls it *Ace*, and *Claudius Coloner*. *Zeiglerus* calls it *Haclicos* in his Description. It was in the South Bounds of *Affer*, but not possess'd by that Tribe: It is distant Thirty four Miles from *Jerusalem*, four Miles from *Carmel*, and as many Southward from *Castrum Lamperti*, and thirty two Italian Miles from *Tyre*: It was both beautiful and strong, and had a safe and a large Harbour, and a strong Tower in the midst; sometime *Belzebub's* Temple, and therefore called the Castle of *Flies*, and maintained a perpetual Light on the top for the directing of Ships in the Night: It had a Bishop, subject to *Tyrus*, but *An.* 636. (a fatal Year to the Christians of those Parts) *Hammorus* the *Saracen* forced it: Yet *Baldwin* the 1st recovered it. *An.* 1104; and Eighty three Years after, *Saladine*, King of *Egypt* and *Syria*, became Lord of it, and lost it again four Years after, to King *Richard* of *England*, and *Philip* of *France*. Lastly, it was lost to the *Saracens*. *An.* 1291. and is now under the Turkish Yoak: *St. George's* Castle stands five Miles East from *Ptolemais*, but *Adricomius* placeth it near *Beritus*, between *Zidon* and the River *Adonis*, in *Affer's* Description, who gives a Relation of *St. George's* killing the Dragon there; which I leave every Man to believe as he pleases: And if our King *Edward* the 3d, his founding the *Georgian* Order of the Garter, does not satisfie; make the Story (if you will) Allegorical. *Aczib* is a strong City upon the Coast, between *Ptolemais* and *Tyre*, that defended it self against the *Afferites*: *Belforest* maketh it to be the same with *Sandalum*; I know not how. *Roba* is another unsubdu'd City in the North of *Affer*, as also *Berethus*, 2. *Sam.* 8. 8. *Aphek* was also an unconquer'd City, of which, see 1 *Kings* 20. 26. and that in *Judah*, *Jos.* 15. 13. To this *Aphek* in *Affer*, *Junius* refers the Philistins meeting, 1 *Sam.* 29. 1. and 2 *Kings* 13. 17. he Translates it *fortiter*, which others turn to *Aphek*. *Sandalum* was a Castle built by *Alexander*, upon a point of Land extended into the Sea between *Tyre* and *Acziba*, at his besieging of *Tyre*. *Baldwin* the First rebuilt it at the like Siege; not above a Mile from it is a Spring which by the help of *Thisses* watereth the Plain about *Tyre*, and driveth

driveth Six great Mills within a Bow-shot of the Sea, says *Brocard*. *Thoron*-Castle stands on the Eastermost Hill of *Tyre*, being Built *An.* 1107, to restrain the *Saracens* Excursions while they held *Tyre*: And five others there are in the Territory of *Affer*, as *Castrum Lamperti*, *Mount-Fort*, *Inden*, or *Saron Regium*, and *Belford* which Three last belonged to the *Teutonic* Order, whose Commanders lived in *Acon*. *Rama* was near *Belford* to the East, whereof stands *Achab*, which stood out against *Affer*, as did *Rechab*, on whose out-side they placed *Sabala*, in the Territory of *Chabot*, given to *Uiram*; but others think *Chaba* was without *Affer* to the North. See *Junius* on 1 *Kings* 9. 11. and had been won from the *Syrians* of *Rechab*, which City was in those Parts. *Hofa* stands East of *Aczib* and *Aczaph*, under the Mountains of *Tyre*; *Siscala* stands between *Thoron* and *Belford*. They find also *Chana Major*, and *Cades* in *Affer*, *Mescall* in the South near the Sea; *Besara*, *Bethdagon*, and *Bethemes*, in the Land Bordering on *Zabulon*; on the North of *Syro-phœnicia*, is *Cheblem*, and *Chali*, and *Enoch* towards the Sea. See all the other Cities of *Affer*, in *Josua* 19. 28. and 21. 30. Rivers North of *Affer*, are *Adonis* or *Canis* and *Lycus*, or *Leonus* falling in near *Beritus*. *Tonsfortarum Libani*, the chief River in *Affer*, hath a Branch from the North, called *Naar*, and another from the South-East, called *Chabul*; it cannot be *Euletherius*. *Belus* is a River in *Affer*, or *Pagidos*. The Mountains which bound *Affer* on the North, are *Antilibanus* that is next it, and *Libanus*; beyond which there are two great Ridges that extend from the Sea four hundred Furlongs to the East, according to *Strabo*: Or one Thousand five hundred, according to *Pliny*; bounding the Valley called *Cœlosyria*, beginning at *Theipsophon*, or *facies Dei* near *Tripolis* in the West, and reaching East beyond *Damascus*: Where *Antilibanus* turneth towards the South, and where it Parts *Traconitis* and *Basan*, from *Arabia* the Desert, it is called *Hermon*; by *Moses*, *Syon*; by the *Phœnicians*, *Syrion*; and is *Sanir* of the *Amorites*: And the same continuing Southernly, is called *Gilead*, where being at the highest, *Jeremy* names it the Head of *Libanus*: *Strabo* calls it *Traconite*, and *Pliny* *Hippus*. *Affer* hath other small Hills about *Tyrus*, and *Saron*, which are exceeding fruitful.

§. 4. *Naphthalim's* Portion fell next, having *Affer* on the West, *Jordan* on the East, *Libanus* on the North, in full length from the Spring of *Jordan*, to the Sea of *Galilee*. This Tribe increased in *Egypt* to 53400 Men, able to bear Arms, which were all buried in the Wilderness, and yet 45400 as able Men entred *Canaan*. *Heliopolis* on the North of *Libanus*, was over-shadow'd most part of the Day by the adjoining Hills: *Chaleis* is another City

City in the same Valley towards *Palmeria*, of which that Region is called *Chalcidia*, where *Agrippa* and *Beronice* commanded. *Abila* was another City East of *Hierapolis*, of which *Lyfania* was Tetrarch; it was once a Bishop's See, and may be thought to be the same with *Abel*, 2. Sam. 20. 14. *Hazor*, or *Chatzor*, the City of *Jabin* on the West side of *Affer*, destroy'd by *Jofua*, *Jof*, 11. but after repaired by the *Canaanites*; and one hundred thirty seven Years after, another *Jabin* plagued *Israel*, *Judg*. 4. *Hen-Chatzor*, also is found in this Tribe, as is *Hazor* and *Chatzor* in others, *Jof*. 19. 37. *Luis* or *Laisb*, and after called *Dan*, from its Alliance, (as it seems) with the *Sydonians*, *Judg*. 11. 8. In the flourishing time of the *Romans*, it was called *Pancas*, when *Philip* the Son of *Herod* the Elder, for the glory of his own Name, and to flatter *Tiberius Caesar*, enlarged and fortified it, giving it the Name of *Cæsarea Philippi*, and so became the Head City of *Traconitis*, and one of the First in *Decapolis*. *Agrippa* afterwards called it *Neronia*, but in *Jerom's* Days, it was named again *Pancas*. Here dwelt the Woman that was healed of her Bloody Issue, for which a Monument was erected; but the same was defaced by *Julian*. This City stood near *Jor* and *Dan*, and once was a Bishop's See, 'tis now under the *Turks*. *Capernaum* was honoured with the receiving of our Saviour for three Years, preaching the Doctrine of Salvation to enlighten it. It stood on *Jordan*, where it enters the Sea of *Galilee*, a Principal City of *Decapolis*, and Metropolis of *Galilee*, of a large extent, populous and wealthy; but since reduced to Six poor Fisher-Men's Houses. *Decapolis* is a Region containing Ten Principal Cities, bounded by *Damascus* and *Libanus* on the North, by the Sea from *Sydon*, to *Ptolemais* on the West, by the Hills of *Gilboa* and *Belsham* on the South; and by the Mountains of *Traconites*, which are *Hermon*, *Sanir*, and *Galaad* on the East; the same about Forty Miles square, comprehending *Cæsarea Philippi*, *Hazor*, *Nephtalim*, *Sepher*, *Corazin*, *Capernaum*, *Bethsaida*, *Jotopata*, *Tyberias*, *Scythopolis*, or *Belsham*. The Evangelist maketh it evident, that *Decapolis* was that Tract of Land lying between *Sydon* and the Sea of *Galilee*. *Christ* going from *Sydon* to the Sea of *Galilee*, went through the midst of *Decapolis*; tho' *Pliny* and *Niger* differ from this. *Hamath*, or *Chamath* was a City near *Libanus*, under *Cæsarea* towards the West Sea, so after named, in bounding the Land of *Canaan*, *Luk*. 34. 8. &c. 13. 22. *Ezek*. 47. 16, not far from *Keheb* in *Affer*; it seemeth by the Name to have been founded by *Canaan*, the 11th Son. After many changes, this City was possessed by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and from him called *Epiphania*; but the *Syrians* in *Jeremy's* days called

called it *Amath*. *Chamath* is a great City in *Cælosyria*, beyond the Mountains of *Tracones*, which *Jeremy* calls *Anticch*, of which the whole Territory is called *Chamath* in *Iturea*; and for distinction sake, is named *Chamath Tfoza*, and the other *Chamath Dor*. This City also seemeth to have been built by *Canaan's* Eleventh Son, and had more command than the other, and therefore called *Chamath* the Great. In *David's* days, *Tobu* the King, made his Peace with great Gifts; but *Solomon* pursuing his Right, upon the larger Promise made by God, made himself Master of it, 2 *Chron*. 8. 3. as *David* his Father had done of *Damascus*. But after the falling away of the Ten Tribes from the House of *David*, both *Damascus*, and this *Chamath* were usurped by the Kings of *Israel*, and *Juda* lost the command of them. *Iturea*, was so named of *Itur* the Son of *Ismael*, who Inhabited that part of *Arabia* the Desert, which is the Bounds of *Cælosyria*; so that *Iturea* comprehended both the Mountains of *Traconites*, and the Plains of the Territory of *Iturea*, as well as it bordered on *Cælosyria*. *Reblatha* standeth towards *Jordan*, and was watered by the Fountain *Daphnis*, whither *Zedekiah* was carried to have Sentence past upon him by *Nebuchadnezzar*. *Cedes* was seated on an Hill, and to distinguish it from another of that Name, *Naphtalim* is added. It is also called *Kadesb* in *Galilee*; hence one of the Ten Cities that was a Bishop's See once, but now 'tis under the *Turks*. *Sephet* stands Four Italian Miles towards the South-west from *Cedes*, one of the *Decapolis*, being a Place exceeding strong. *Rama* lies near *Sephet* to the North upon an Hill, as all others of the same Name do, which signifies high. *Bethsenes* was not destroy'd, but fore'd to pay Tribute to *Naphtali* in the West. *Bethanoth* lying from *Sephet* was not Conquer'd. *Kiriathin* was a City of *Levites*. *Magdabel* and *Masaloth*, *Beloth* and *Sebarim* were under *Libanus* *Ezek*. 47. and *Aroseth* of the *Gentiles*, near the Water of *Merom*; and *Edra* was not far off towards the Sea of *Galilee*; besides many others as *Ser* or *Zer*, *Adama*, *Hien*, or *Abion*, *Cinneroth*, or *Genezareth*, a strong City which gave Name to the Lake, after called the Sea of *Tiberias*; *Galgala* in the South Border, *Aikok*, *Horen*, *Azanoth*, *Tabor* to the East, &c. and other Cities in *Jofua*. As for *Nekeb* *Adaim*, which some make to be two Cities; *Junius* makes no more there but a Ditch cast up by the People of *Adamah*, or, at least the custody of the Limits belonging to *Adamath*. *Sephana*, or *Sipmath*, *Numb*. 24. 10. with 1 *Sam*. 30. 21. *Tichon* and *Helon*, *Junius* denyeth to be Cities; *Naphtalim*, and *Naasor*, they make to be two Cities, out of *Job* 7. 7. without any grounds for it,

§. 5. *Zabulon* mustered at *Sinai*, 57400 able Men, who dyed in the Wilderness, and yet 65000 as able, entred *Canaan*, whose Lot was from *Affer* to the River *Chison*, Southward, and from the Sea of *Galilee* to the *Mediterranean*, East and West. *Secaminium* is a City on the Sea-shore; next *Affer* are *Dobaset*, *Jokneham*, and *Saba* a Garrison of *Herod's* Horsemen. Then comes the City of *Zabulon*, on whose East Part is *Cabeth*, on the Border of *Affer*, and *Cana* the lesser of *Galilee*; beyond which, begin the Mountains of *Zabulon*, then *Cethron*, not subdued: *Bersabe* between the Upper and Lower *Galilee*, then *Shamron* of *Meron*, *Dimna*, *Nehn*, *Jof. 19. 13.* *Dothan*, *Amthor*, *Remmon*, *Bethsaida*, one of *Decapolis*, on the *Galilean* Sea. *Magdalum* is a Castle South from *Bethsaida*, by that Sea; and *Jotapata* stands more Southernly, and into the Land, a strong built City, and fortifi'd by *Josephus* against the *Romans*, who took him, and slew many Thousand Citizens in it, besides Twelve Hundred Prisoners. *Tiberias* is the greatest City of this Tribe, standing on the Sea, which also bare that Name, and both in honour of *Tiberius Caesar*: It was built by *Herod* the Tetrarch, in a fruitful Place; full of Sepulchers, which proveth it was not *Cinnereth*, as some would have it, mistaking the Tribe. *Bethulia* is In-land, and West from *Tiberias*; near to which stands *Bethlem* of *Zabulon*, and *Caparath*, and *Japha*, which was taken by force by *Titus*, who slew Fifteen Thousand, and took Two Thousand Prisoners: *Cartha* is on the South side, and *Sabara*, and *Udeala* and *Legio* West from it, the same being a Bishop's See; then *Belma* and *Chelma*: Between *Legio* and *Nazareth*, is *Joph*, then *Sephoris*, after called *Dio Casarea*, which was walled by *Herod*, and made the Head of *Galilee*, and called *Autocratonda*, or *Imperial*; it proved very troublesome to *Vespasian*, but is now reduced to a little Castle called *Zaphel*: Next stands *Nazareth* to the South-west, between Mount *Tabor* and the *Mediterranean* Sea, which once was an Archiepiscopal See: Near to it are the Cities of *Buria*, *Nahalal*, near the Sea; and *Jarid* adjoining to the River *Chison*, rising out of *Tabor*, which is the chief Mountain belonging to this Tribe: The River *Chison* from the Spring or Head, as far as it runneth Southward, they call *Cadumim*, which I take to be *Ptolemy's* *Corfeus*, which others Place at *Casarea Palestina*: A second Torrent ariseth from the Hills of *Bethalia*, and falls into the *Galilean* Sea at *Magdalum*, where a third also falls, that rises from the Fountains of *Capernaum*, passing by *Dothan*, whose Name it taketh, and runneth Eastward to *Bethsaida*; joining with *Jordan* the Lesser, that runs from *Jephtha's* Valley to the Sea.

§. 6. *Isachar*

§. 6. *Isachar* mustered at *Sinai*, Fifty four Thousand four Hundred, who left their Carcasses in the Desert, but sent into *Canaan* Sixty four Thousand three Hundred able Men of their Posterity, whose Lot fell South, and South-west of *Zabulon*, in Lower *Galilee*. The first City near the Sea of *Galilee*, is *Torilea*, Eight Miles from *Tiberias*, which was won by *Vespasian*, when the Streets ran with Blood; *Kishon*, called also *Kedesch*, *Jof. 21. 18.* and *1 Cron. 6. 12.* *Abez*, *Jof. 19. 20.* *Remeth*, or *Ramoth*, *Jof. 19. 21.* and *1 Cron. 6. 73.* *Formuth*, *Jof. 21. 29.* about which the Mountains *Gilboa* begin, ranging themselves Eastward to *Israel*; between which and *Ramoth*, are *Bethphases* and *Henehadda*: And under them *Aphac* and *Suna*, then *Estrelen* towards the Sea, and *Maggedo*, *Casaloth*, *Hengannim*, *Siesima*, or *Shabazim*, from whence upon the Sea-Coast, stands the Castle of Pilgrims; from which, towards the North, lies a great Bay, at whose farther side, is Mount *Carmel*, near *Chison*; at the foot whereof stands the City of *Cajphas*: From the Sea along *Chison*, are *Hephaim*, and the Castles of *Mefra* and *Saba*, and then *Nahim*; then *Sihon* between the Hills of *Hermon* and *Isachar*, and *Endor* beyond it; then *Anaharoth*, *Rabbith*, *Dabarath*, or *Dobratha*: Next to it is *Arbela*, which hath the two former Hills on the one side, and the Valley of *Israel* on the other side; which Valley reacheth from *Bethran* or *Scythopolis*, on the East to the *Mediterranean*.

§. 7. *Manasses*, his whole Number at *Sinai* was Thirty two Thousand two Hundred, who being destroy'd, Fifty two Thousand seven Hundred entred *Canaan*: The half of his Tribe was placed on the West of *Jordan*, having *Isachar* to the North, *Dora* on the *Mediterranean*, West; *Machmala* Southward, and *Jordan* on the East: *Bethsan*, the first City, lay East next *Jordan*, where it leaveth the Sea at *Galilee*. *Pliny* calls it *Nisa*, built by *Bacchus*: *Israel* could not expell the *Canaanites*, and therefore called it *Beth-san*, the House of an Enemy: It standeth in the Valley of *Israel* near to *Jordan*, and was rebuilt by the *Scythians*, and called *Scythopolis*: It's the Capital of *Decapolis*, and had sometime an Archbishop, and Nine Bishops under him, which at length was translated to *Nazareth*, and the City now is become a desolate Village. Keeping along *Jordan*, they find *Salem*, of which Name *Jerom* knew a Town near *Scythopolis*, which if *Gen. 33. 18.* after the Vulgar Translation does not confirm; yet *John 3. 23.* may strengthen it somewhat, except the word be no more than a Contraction of *Shabalim*, a Town in *Benjamin*. *Bezech*, is a City in *Adonibezek*, called *Bala* by *Josephus*, not far from *Salem*, yet it seems *Bezeck* belongeth to

H 2

Jud.

Juda, if you consider *Jud. 3. 1.* If so be the March *Saul* made to relieve *Jabesh*, doth not better agree with this Tribe: *Bethbara* is near thereunto, and *Hophra* toward the *West*; or the Border of *Isachar*, where *Amer* and *Abelmehola* are placed, which latter, *Junius* putteth in *Ephraim*: Then comes *Tabanac* a strong City which held out, *Judg. 1. 27.* Towards the *Mediterranean* Sea, stands *Thersa*, the Regal Seat of the Kings of *Israel* before *Samaria*, then *Thebes* by *Samaria*; and *Arabata*, one of the Ten Toparchies in *Judea*, and the largest Territory: A Tetrarchy is the fourth Part of a Kingdom, or a Province under a President; a Toparchy is a City with some lesser Territories adjoining. To the *South-West* stands *Geth-rimmon*, being the same with *Bilham*, and *Hebleham* in *Junius*, with divers others. *Israel* was a Regal City, at the foot of Mount *Silbo* to the *South-west*, from whence stands *Sabor* toward the Sea called *Aso Gur* by *Ibleam*. *Addradremmon* is next, afterwards called *Maimaionopolis*; next hereunto, was *Maggedo*, which held out long. The River passing through it, may be *Ptolemy's Corseus*, and not in *Zabulon*. Many speak not of it, the same not being named in Scripture. *Moor* lets it down, but makes that which passeth thorough *Maggedo*, but a Branch of it. Others make a great confluence of Waters here, called by the City's Name. But seeing *Ptolemy* assures, *Corseus* to be that which parts *Phœnicia* and *Judea*; this River running *East* and *West*, parallel with *Samaria*, it is like to be it. *Cæsarea Palestina* stands from *Maggedo* Westward near the Sea, first called the Tower of *Stroton*, which *Pliny* calls *Apollonia* and is placed by *Ptolemy* towards *Egypt*, between this and *Joppa*, which *Vespasian* calls *Flavia Colonia*: *Herod* rebuilt it, and sought therein to excell all the Works in that Part of the World; erecting here a Theater, and Amphitheater of polished Marble, from whence he over-looked the Sea; he also made a very large Harbour, which was a Work of that Charge and Labour, as the like, in that kind, was never seen. *Josephus* reports, he inclosed a Bay in the Sea Twenty Fathom deep, by casting in Stones, of which some were Fifty Foot Long, Eighteen Broad, and Nine Thick, some more, some less: To this he added a Causey Two Hundred Foot long; the rest he strengthen'd with a Stone-Wall, with divers stately Towers, of which the most magnificent was called *Drusus*, after the Name of *Cæsar's* Son-in-Law; as the City was named *Cæsarea Palestina*, all finish'd in Twelve Years time. It was a Bishop's See, and after an Archbishop's, having Twenty Suffragans under it. *Dor* stands North from *Cæsarea*, being a strong and potent City, and one of *Solomon's*

Twenty

twenty *Sitorchys* which *Junius* placeth between *Carmel* and the Mouth of the *Corseus*; it hath a Bishop who is under him of *Cæsarea*. To the South of *Cæsarea* they place another *Caphernaum*, named *Sabe* by *Jerom* and another *Silgal* whose King was slain by *Josua*. *Antipatris* was so call'd by *Herod* in Honour of his Father, but formerly the name of it was *Chaphor Salama*: It was attempted in vain by *Godfrey* of *Bul-loigne*, but taken by *Baldwin*; it had a Bishop but now its only Village call'd *Affur*. *Nabarta* is an inland City near unto which is Mount *Obadian* and the Caves.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Phœnician Kingdom and of the Invention of Letters.

§. 1. **T**HE five former Tribes possess'd the better Part of this Kingdom: I have Collected a short account of those Kings, of whom Time hath left any record to Posterity. The Limits of this Kingdom, on the South are uncertain, *Strabo* extends it to *Pelusium* the first Port of *Egypt*: *Corvinus*, and *Budeus*, to *Gaza*; *Pliny* takes in but *Joppe*; *Ptolemy*, who but seldom failed in his Art, stops at *Chorseus*, which seemeth to be the River at *Mageddo*; he also beginneth it in the North at *Eleutherius* which falls into the Sea at *Aradus*, North of *Orthosia*. Thus it comprehends these Maritim Cities, *Aradis*, *Orthosia*, *Tripolis*, *Botris*, *Biblus*, *Beritus*, *Sidon*, *Tyrus*, *Acon*, *Doro*, and *Cæsarea Palestina*: So that it commanded the Trade of the *Mediterranean*, for all the East *Sidon* was the Regal Seat, and so continu'd till *Josua's* time, and all the People were called *Sidonians*, as *Procopius* confirmeth in his *Vandal Wars*. That *Sidon* the first Son of *Canaan* was the founder, we doubt not, and that it was under his Posterities Command in *Moses's* Day's. As for *Agenor*, whether an *Egyptian* of *Thebes* or a Native of this Country bred up there; it may be, that in *Josua's* Days, he and his four Sons *Cadmus*, *Phœnix*, *Cyrus*, and *Cilix*, might come out of *Egypt* with such Force, as the *Egyptians* could spare to the succour of this Coast; and

and so fortifie the Sea-Towns, having the benefit of such Ships as were then in use. And when *Cadmus* his Eldest Son pursuing *Taurus* King of *Creet*, who had stolen away his Sister *Europa*, at the surprizing of *Tyre* was drawn into *Greece*; he seated himself there: *Agenor* committing this Country to his second Son, called it by his Name, when also North *Tyrus* was built, and *Zidon* was fortify'd; from whence it was that *Agenor* was held the Founder, from whose time *Phœnicia* became more Famous. *Belus* whether he were Grand-Father, or Father to *Agenor*, as some judge, it is no matter; but it seems he was Ancienter to the *Phœnicians*, who honour'd that Name. Great was the strength of these *Phœnician* Cities which held out, not only against the *Jews*, but put *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Alexander* to great Difficulties. As for the Invention of Letters the *Ethiopians* claim it, and that *Atlas*, *Orion*, *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Hercules*, *Prometheus*, and *Cadmus* had the first Light from them: And that *Pythagoras* was Instructed by the *Lybians*, the *Phœnicians* boast of it; as indeed they were very Ancient, and had famous Records us'd by *Josephus*: The *Thracians* say, *Zamois* the Great flourished among them, at the same time as *Atlas* did in *Mauritania*; *Nilus*, and *Vulcan*, in *Egypt*, and *Ochus* lived in *Phœnicia*. Lastly, Some ascribe it to *Moses* without any probability, seeing Learning then flourish'd in *Egypt* and *Assyria*: But true it is, the excellent Spirits of the first Age found it; either *Seth*, *Henos*, &c. And God every where present, hath given this Invention to Nations, which never had Commerce with others. As in *Mexico* were found Books like the *Egyptian* Hieroglyphicks; and the *Americans* have the use of *Heraldry*.

§. 2. Of the *Phœnician* Kings especially of *Tyre*. §. *Agenor* being contemporary with *Josua*, *Phœnix* succeeded; after whom, till the Siege of *Troy*, when *Phœnis* Govern'd, we find not who succeeded. In *Jeremy's* time we find *Tyrus*, and *Sidon* had petty Kings, and in *Xerxes's* time, *Tetranestus* ruled that Part of *Phœnicia* at the *Persians* Command; as the same was afterward subdued by *Nebuchadonozor*: *Alexander* also depos'd *Strabo* King of *Zidon*, and put in *Balonimus* a poor Gardner, descended of the decay'd Royal Line, preferred by another Citizen, to whom, *Hespestian* offer'd it by *Alexander's* Gift; more than these we find not of *Zidon*, *Tyrus* once a Daughter of *Zidon*, out-grew her Mother, and had her own Kings, of whom twenty in Descent are found in *Josephus*; and *Theophilenus Anticchus*, though he differ in the time of their Reign, and other Particulars. *Abibalus* was the first whom *Su-*

ron succeeded, and pay'd Tribute to *David*, says, *Eusebius* out of *Eupolemus*. Then follow'd *Hiram* who was in League with *David* and *Solomon*: Others Named by *Josephus* and *Theophilus*, follow to *Athobalus*, call'd in Scripture *Ethbaal*, the Father of *Jesabel*, who is there call'd King of the *Sidonians*, and by *Josephus*; also King of the *Tyrians*: The third from him they make to be *Pygmalion*, whose Sister *Elisa* Married, *Sicheus* whom *Pygmalion* slew for his Wealth, but was prevented by *Elisa*, who conveying it a Ship-board, fled into *Africa*; where she built *Carthage* 143 Years, and 8 Months after *Solomon's* Temple, and as long before *Rome*, and 289 Years after *Troy's* Destruction. *Eluleus* succeeded, who Overthrew *Salmanaser's* Fleet in the Port of *Tyre*. *Ethobales* succeeded, in whose time *Nebuchadonozor* after 13 Years Siege, won *Tyrus*. *Baal* came next, after whom, *Babylon* sent Governours thither.

§. 3. *Bozjus* believes, that the *Tyrians* came from the *Idumeans*, &c. But it is confuted by Scripture, whereby it appears, that *Eliphas*, who came from *Theman* to *Job*, was no *Edomite*, nor was that in *Theman*, in *Idumæa*, but in *Arabia*, East from *Job*, whereas *Edom* was South. *Ismael* had a Son call'd *Theman*, who in all likelihood gave Name to *Theman* in the East, from whom *Eliphaz*, *Job's* Friend descended. *Sube* also was a Son of *Keturah*, and *Madian* his Brother, of whom came *Bildad*, the *Hittite*; and the *Midianites*, who at their first settling were sent by *Abraham* into the East; which from *Canaan*, was *Arabia* the Desert, not *Seer* which was South-ward. So in the History of the Judges, the *Midianites* and the *Amalekites* are said to be of the East: Yet were there some of them Dwelling in the South; they were grown so many, that the East could not hold them. *Bozjus's* Reasons are all answer'd, with his Blind intolerable Ignorance, and lewd foolish Conclusions; his Arguments in Divinity are meer *Chimeras*, and like a Mad Dog's Biting; himself being a Malicious Hypocrite, that should be sharply censured; as better agreeing with *Julian* the Apostate's Notions, than a sincere Christian's.

C H A P. IX.

Of Ephraim and the ten Tribes, whose head was Ephraim.

§. 1. **E**phraim the second Son of Joseph, made 45500 fighting Men, who Dyed in the Wilderness, yet 32500 near full grown up, entred Canaan, dwelt between Manasses and Benjamin; having Jordan on the East, and the Mediterranean on the West. Samaria the chief City on the Hill Samron, overlooks all the Valley of the Sea-Coast: It was after call'd Sabaste or Augusta, by Herod to flatter Augustus; he repairing it after Hercaus the Priest had ruin'd it; now it entertains only a few Greek Monks. Bethel scituate on an Hill is near to it: Southward in the sight of this was the Ancient Sechem which after the restauration of it was call'd Neapolis now Pelosa: Under it towards the Sea stands Perathon, and under it Bethoron, King. 2. 1. Between the same, and the Sea is Samer and Saron. Lidda in Jerom's time was called Diopolis, or the City of Jupiter, being the fifth Toparchy of Judea. Ramatha or Aramatha, is near thereunto; the same being, after call'd Rama, on the Hills of Ephraim. Aialon, or Helon stands Northward, on the Coast. For Apollonia, See Josephus, lib. 13. 27: Balsalissa, Junius finds in Benjamin, Sosna is a Toparchy on the other side of the Mount Ephraim. Timmath-Serack was another Toparchy on one of the highest Hills, North of the Hill Saas; to it Adarsa joyneth near Gesar. Isletis was East to it, and then Sido on a Mountain; then Michmas in the way from Samaria to Jerusalem, and is now call'd Byra; next Naioth, then Ephron, and Ribstain, Tapubach, Jonoach, and Samron, Garias Salmon; being Parts of the Mountains of Ephraim. The Rivers they make to be Saas, which Junius Denyes, and Cherith.

§. 2. *Kings of the ten Tribes, from Jeroboam to Ahab.*
§. Jeroboam flying into Egypt to Shishak, (whom Eusebius calls Osochores) whose Daughter he Married; as Adad, the Idumean had his Predecessor's Wife's, Sister, were prepar'd by Shishak to shake the Kingdom of Juda, that he might pillage it, as he also did in the fifth Year of Rehoboam: This Man being

Chap. IX. The History of the World.

being exalted to be King of the Ten Tribes, prefer'd the Policy of the World, before God's Service and Honour. To prevent the Peoples falling from him, by resorting to Jerusalem, he erected the two Calves, &c. Jeroboam, Reigned at Sichem, twenty two Years; Nadab his Son succeeded for two Years, and was slain by Baasha, who rooted out all Jeroboam's Seed, and Reigned twenty four Years at Thersa; and Ela his Son succeeded two Years, and was slain in his cups by Zimbri, who succeeded but for seven Days; but Homri in revenge of Ela besieged him, and made him burn himself, and succeeded; transferring the Regal Seat to Samaria, and Reigned twelve Years.

§. 3. Ahab succeeded his Father, Married the Daughter of the King of Zidon, and embraced her Religion as Jeroboam had that of his Egyptian Wives. Ahab was slain after twenty two Years, Ochobias succeeded his Father, and Dyed of a Fall in the second Year of his Reign, and his Brother Foram succeeded for twelve Years, who with aid of Juda and Edom, could not subdue Moab who sacrificed Edom's Son. Feku slew Foram and succeeded twenty eight Years, whose Son Jehoahaz succeeded for seventeen Years, and was molested by Aza. Joas succeeded his Father sixteen Years, recovered from Aram, what his Father lost, and Sacked, Jerusalem. Jeroboam the second succeeded his Father, forty one Years, recovered all from Hamath to the dead Sea, and Zacharias his Son succeeded for six Months, and was slain by Shallum, who succeeded one Month; and Menahem slew him, and succeeded ten Years with much cruelty. Pekalia his Son succeeded two Years, and Peka slew him and succeeded twenty Years. In this time Tiglath Pilsar King of Assyria invaded Israel, and carried many Captives in to Assyria, he was drawn in by Achaz King of Juda, which Peka of Israel, and Rezin of Damascus waited: First he surpriz'd the Monarchy of Syria and Damascus, and then Israel, and prepar'd the way to Juda. Hosea slew Peka, and succeeded nine Years, in whose time Tiglath Pilsar carry'd the rest of the ten Tribes Captives, and re-peopled the Country with Cathites out of Persia or rather Arabia Deserta, and with the Cataneans bordering on Syria, and Sepharvaims come out of Mesopotamia, and which Aurins of old Inhabiting the Philistians Land, but now in Arabia Deserta, and call'd Ilavva of Chamoth.

CHAP. X.

Of Dan, Simeon, Juda, Reuben, Gad and half the Tribe of Manasseh.

§. 1. **D**AN numbred at Sinai, sixty two thousand seven hundred, who Dyed in the Desert, but bred sixty six thousand four hundred, who entred Canaan, and took Possession of the Country, along the Sea-Coast, South from Ephraim: Foppe or Zapho they had on the Sea-Coast, which was one of the most Ancient Cities in the World, and was the Port of Jerusalem. The Romans ruin'd it, but Lodowick King of France, rebuilt it, An. 1250, &c. Fannia is the next Port, and was once a Bishop's See; but there is no no sign left, now of such a Place. Gath is next, and the first of all the Philistines Cities, six Miles from Foppe, a City of the Anakim, and held out till David's time. Bethsans is not far from Gath; some find five Cities of this Name. Accaron is a strong City next upon the Sea-Coast, it held out against the Jews. Azotus or Ashdod, is next and the last of Dan; some place it next unto Gath, and make it a Bishop's See. Tzora, or Sarara, and Easthole are towards Hebron; then Gedor, Medon, Cariath-Farim, &c. Jos. 19. 41, It hath a River which runneth by Modin, and another call'd Sareck.

§. 2. Simeon, numbred fifty nine thousand three hundred Men, who Died in the Wilderness, and bred twenty two thousand two hundred, who entred Canaan, and possess'd a small Territory on the Sea-Coast from Dan, afterwards belonging to Idumaea. Aschalon is a strong City next Dan, not enjoy'd by Simeon upon the Sea-Coast. Gaza, or Hazza, or Gazara, was the first of the five Satrapies of the Philistines, and the South bound of Canaan towards Egypt: Caleb took it, but could not hold it; Alexander demolish'd it, because it receiv'd a Garrison from Darius against him. It was two Miles from the Sea, on the River Bezor, at whose Out-let it had a Port call'd Maioma, which Constantine the Great enfranchis'd, and call'd it Constance, but Julian subjected it to Gaza. Anthedon on the other side of Bezor, was repair'd by Herod, and call'd Agrippias. Paphia is next, where Philo-pater over-threw Antiochus the

the Great; beyond it stands, Rinocorua upon a River call'd the Torrent of Egypt, which Junius, calls Sichor. Geror stood further up within Land upon Bezor, as they place it. But the Scripture setteth it between Cadesh and Shur, near the Wilderness of Bersheba, and is Nam'd sometime within the bounds of Canaan to the South, and was a distinct Kingdom from that of the Philistines. Tisglak is Inland; then comes Dabror, Cariath-Sepher a City of Fetters, Jos. 15. 49. See other Cities of less Note, Jos. 19. 47. and 21. 16. 1 Chr. 4. 29, 32. and 6. 59. Chorma in Simeon cannot be in Numb. 14. 45. which was South from the Mountains of Idumaea in the Wilderness. Bersheba is on the border of the Desert, in the South-bounds of Canaan. This Tribe being strenghtned pass'd on to Gedor, or Sedera, in Juda, and took it from the Canaanites; Others of the same Tribe, did the like to some Amalekites on the Mountains of Edom; both being done in the Days of Ezekiah.

§. 3. Judah came out of Egypt seventy four thousand six hundred Strong, of whom Caleb only with seventy six thousand five hundred of their Posterity entred, who enjoyed the greatest Territory of all; as comprehending within their Bounds Dan and Simeon, who were in a kind of Subjection to Juda, and made one Province. It were Incredible, but that the Scriptures Witness it, that in David's Muster, so small a Province yielded five hundred thousand Men. Ararae or Horma is at the entrance from Idumaea, whose King had surpriz'd many Israelites passing by towards Moab; but being overthrown afterwards, the Kenites Moses's Kinsmen obtain'd a Possession there. Acrabim or Scorpions ascent is next to Idumaea. In the same South Part are Fagur, Dimona, Adada, Cades, &c. As you turn from Idumaea North-ward stand Danua, Chema, Amma, Chatfor, Bethaloth, &c. Hebron once was an Episcopal Seat, and had a Magnificent Temple built by Helena. Not far off, they find Eleutheropolis then Eylon, &c. Emaus and Nicopolis a Presidency of Judea, and once had a Bishop under him of Casarea Palestina from Emaus West-ward are Nabama and Bethdagon. On the other side Emaus, is Bethsur standing on a Rock and very strong. Bethlem is next within six Miles of Jerusalem, being honour'd with the Birth of our Saviour. Bezech was near it, and Tecua and Bethzacharia, &c. Towards the dead Sea is Herodium a Magnificent Castle on a Hill, to which they ascended by two hundred Marble-Steps. Upon the border of the dead Sea are Aduram, Ischor or Belah, then Engaddi by the Gardens of Balsome, the best in the World. This City was also a Presidency whereto the Mountains joyn between it and the dead Sea, and the Mountains

tains of *Juda* which Part it from *Dan* and *Simeon*. There is a small Hill by *Hebron*, and another on the South of *Ziphwhereon* stood *Massada*, which *Herod* surrounded with twenty seven high strong Towers, and made it an Armory for one hundred thousand Men, being as it seems Impregnable.

S. 4. *Reuben* Numbred forty six thousand five hundred, who Dyed in the Wilderness, yet forty three thousand seven hundred; entred *Canaan*, and possess'd the other side of the dead Sea, with a Part of *Jordan* on the West; *Ammon* being on the East and South-East, and the Tribe of *Gad* on the North. This Territory of *Reuben*, and the other of *Gad*, and *Manasseh* had been possess'd by *Emmins* and *Zanzummims* a Nation of Giants, which being weaken'd by *Cedorlaimor*, *Amraphel* and the rest were after Conquer'd, and cast out by the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, who possess'd all the Plain of *Jordan*, and the Mountains of *Gilead* on the East, together with some of the Posterity of *Abraham* by *Keturah*. In process of time, the *Amorites* in *Canaan* on the West of *Jordan*, being strong forced the *Moabites*, *Ammonites* and the rest out of all the Plain along *Jordan*, up into and over the Mountains, and possess'd that rich Country, which they held at *Moses's* coming from *Arnon* along *Jordan*. Thus was *Moab* and the *Midianites* who Coasted with them, forced to enjoy the Country beyond *Arnon* and along the dead Sea. *Ammon* and the Posterity of *Keturah*, which dwelt about the Land of *Hus*, were forced over *Gilead* on the North-East side of *Arnon*, and along the Mountains Northward beyond *Jabbok* and the Plains of the East-side of the Sea of *Galilee*. The *Amorites* being in Possession of those Countries, out of which *Moses* cast them, *Moab* and *Ammon* had no wrong done them by the *Israelites*; who, as God Commanded them, took nothing from them but from the *Amorites*, as *Jeptha* answer'd the claim which the *Amorites* made. *Kedemoth* is the first City next the Wilderness, which bore the Name also, from whence *Moses* sent to *Sehon*. Here the vulgar Translation and *Adricomius* without Reason, forsake the Hebrew Text. *Lasa* is next towards the dead Sea, which the *Greeks* call *Callirhoe*; near to which is a Hill, from which flow Springs both of Hot and Cold, bitter and sweet Waters; a wholesome Bath, especially for the Contraction of Sinews, whither *Herod* resorted, despairing of all other help. *Mecarius* is next towards *Jordan*; some suppose the former Springs to be there: It's the strongest Inland-City in that Part of the World, standing on a Mountain unaccessible.

Bozra,

Bozra is a City of Refuge near it: *Levias* was the First on *Jordan* near the Dead Sea, built by *Herod*, in Honour of *Tiberius* his Mother. *Sittim* is to the North of it, where *Adricomius* dreams of a Torrent, mistaking *Joel* 3. 28. The Plains of *Moab* had the Desert of *Paran* on the South; *Chatzeroth*, and *Dizahab* on the East, which two Geographers call *Gazorus* and *Mezabab*, or *Medaba*: On the West it had *Jordan* and *Laban*, which Geographers call *Lybias*, and some confound with *Livias* on the North. *Thophal* was also on the North of it towards *Celestria*, near to which was *Pella*, sometime called *Bulis*, in the Region of *Decapolis*: *Suph* was also near it, which was not the Red Sea, but some Reedy Country towards the Dead Sea. *Bethabara*, called also *Bethbara*, near *Jordan*, was in this Plain, where *Abila* is placed by *Josephus*, beset with Palm-trees, and the same with *Abel-Sittim*: The Ark was made of *Sittim*-wood, such as seemeth to give Name to this: Eastward of these Plains, they place *Nebo*, an Hill so called of their Idol-Oracle, whose Top towards *Jericho*, they call as they do that which looketh towards *Moab*. Here *Assadod* *Pisgath* stood at the Descent from *Pisgah*. *Baal-meon* *Sibma*, *Hesbon*, *Elhabel*, and *Kiriathaima*, stood on the East-side: And *Beth-peor* was so called from the Idol *Baal-Peor*; and *Bamoth*, *Baal*, &c. *Jos.* 13. Border on *Reuben*. *Gallin* they place beyond *Arnon*; but *Junius* does it in *Benjamin*. *Mathana* *Nahaleel*; the Well of *Beer*, *Deblathaim*, Numb. 21. 19. *Jer.* 48. *Madian*, is the Chief City of those *Midianites*, inhabiting *Moab*, who joined with *Balam* against *Israel*. *Petra* stands in the South of *Moab*, bordering upon *Edom*, and sometime reckoned the Chief City of *Edom*, called also *Footheel* and called *Selah*; now *Crae*, and *Mosera*; *Josephus* calls it *Recem*, from one of the Five Kings slain by *Moses*, and may be *Nabothae*, as *Pliny* and *Strabo* call it; the same having been sometime the Soldan of *Egypt's* Treasury. When the Christians held the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*; this City had a Latin Bishop, as before a Greek one; it is not far from Mount *Hor*, and hath *Zered* to the North, and not *Zimrim*, as *Adricomius* supposeth, who also sets *Save* hereabouts, which was to the West of *Jordan*: The Dead Sea or Lake *Asphaltites*, or Salt-Sea, and Sea of the Wilderness, or rather with *Junius*, of the Plains; is like the *Caspian*, which hath no Out-let or disbuthening Place; and after *Josephus*, is One Hundred and Eighty Furlongs in Length; which is Twenty two and a half of our Miles, and about one Hundred and Fifty in Breadth, which is little more than Eighteen Miles. *Pliny* maketh it much less: Later Travellers make

make it Thirty two Miles long, and Ten broad. *Tacitus* reports, that the Smell of it is Infectious; that it never moveth, and that no Fish live in it, nor any thing which is cast into it will sink; the Fruit on the Bank are full of Ashes: Of the Kings of Moab, *Junius* nameth *Vahab*, who seemeth to be *Balaak's* Predecessor, who lost that Part of the Country which *Moses* gave to *Reuben*, and was taken from *Pihon*. After this, we find *Eglon* slain by *Ehud*. *Mesha* is the next named, 2 *King*. 3. 4. It continued a Kingdom in *Jeremy's* days, and afterwards tho' no Kings be named: And after the *Reubenites* were carried into Captivity, they by the favour of the *Assyrian Kings*, recovered all that Tract of Land along *Jordan*, which had been lost to the *Amorites*.

§. 5. *Gad* brought out of *Egypt* forty five thousand six hundred and fifty, who dyed in the Wilderness, and forty five thousand entred *Canaan*, and possessed that Territory next to *Reuben*, whereof that which joined to the Mountains, had belonged to the *Amorites*, as far as *Aroer* to the South. *Jabbok* divided them from *Manasses*; and *Hesbon*, *Elhele*, and *Aphec* from *Reuben*. *Aroer* was situated near unto *Har* of the *Moabites*, called *Rabba-Moab*, having *Arnon* between them; *Har* standing in the midst thereof: *Rabba* being in the sight of the Place where *Aroer* stood, cannot be that of *Ammon*, which was far off: As for *Har*, *Moses* was expressly forbidden to meddle with it, as he did with *Aroer*. *Dibon* stands from *Aroer* towards *Jordan*, having been built by the *Gadites*; yet reckoned to *Reuben*. *Beth-nimrah* lies on the Bank of *Arnon*, next *Aroer*. Not far off they place *Focbeha*, so they do also *Nobach*; but it is uncertain whether in *Gad* or *Manasseh*. *Karkor* is uncertainly placed in *Gad*; but certainly it is not *Kirchares* which was a Chief City, always possessed by the *Moabites*. In the Body of this Tribe, is *Hataroth*, and *Hathoth Sophan*. In the Valley are *Beth-haron* and *Succoth*: Some take *Beth-haron* to be *Beteramptha*, which *Herod* called *Julias*, placed by *Josephus* in *Perea*, or the Region beyond the River, which *Julias* had Fourteen Villages under it. *Succoth* was near *Jordan*, being so named of *Jacob's* Tabernacle there, made in haste. *Fabzer* a City in *Gilead*. *Hesbon* was a bordering City, common to *Reuben* and *Gad*, who gave their Part to the *Levites*; so was *Dibon* common to both, *Machaniim* was so called by *Jacob*, *Gen.* 32. 2. *Ramoth Gilead*, *Junius*, takes to *Ramatha Mitspa*; and why, see *Gen.* 31. 48, 49. But *Mitspa* being the Town of *Jephtha*, of the Tribe of *Manasses*, it should rather be of that Tribe. *Penuel* is between *Succoth* and *Jabbok*,

bok, *Gen.* 32. 30. *Rogelim* belonged to this Tribe. And *Alcinis*: *Junius* proveth them to be no Cities, in opposition to *Adri-comius*: So *Magareth* is in *Manasses*, and so *Dalthema*, *Minnith*, and *Abel Vineats* are far out of this Tribe. *Rabba* was the Chief City of *Ammon*, and not far from the Borders of *Gad*; supposed to be *Philadelphia*. *Og* had held it, yet *Israel* had left it to the *Amorites*; the Gyants who had first inhabited all that Tract along *Jordan*, which *Moab* and *Ammon* got from them, were Families of the *Amorites*, whose Posterity recovered it; as the Posterity of *Moab* and *Ammon* did, when the *Israelites* were carried away into Captivity. It was once a Metropolitan Church, and had Twelve Bishops under it. The Hills *Ptolemy* calls *Hippus* and *Serabo*, *Tracones*, which continued from near *Damascus* to the Desarts of *Moab*; and received divers Names according to the Countries they bounded; for, from the South to *Asteroth*, they are called *Gilead*: From thence Northward, *Hermion*, by *Moses*; *Shirian* by the *Sidonians*; *Shenir*, by the *Amorites*, and *Seir* by others: And lastly, *Libanus* is a common Name to all, as *Gilead* is called the Head of *Libanus*. The Rivers in this Tribe are the Waters of *Nimra*, *Dibon*, and *Jabbok*.

§. 6. The *Ammonites* bordered on the East of *Gad*, and had possessed all that Country till the *Amorites* took it from them, and drove them to be content with the Mountains of *Gilead*, and the East side of them: *Nabas* is the first King we read of; *Hannum* his Son succeeded. The next King we read of, was *Baalis*, *Fer.* 40. 14. other Kings unnamed, are oft remembred; *Moab* and *Ammon* possessed all that Part of *Arabia Petraea*, called *Nabot hea*.

§. 7. *Manasseh's* other half Tribe possessed the rest of the Kingdom of *Og*, as Part of *Gilead*, from *Jabbok* to the Foot of *Libanus*, all along *Jordan*, and the Mountains on the East, including *Hus*, *Argob*, or *Traconitis*, wherein were part of the small Territories of *Batanea*, *Gaulonitis*, *Gessuri*, *Machati*, and *Auranitis*, which three latter held out long against *Israel*. *Ptolemy* placeth *Batanea* further off North-East, in the Border of *Arabia* the Desert, the rest with *Pera* and *Iturea*, he makes to be part of *Celestria*, which he extends to *Philadelphia*: *Basan* is a most fruitful Region; from *Jabbok* to the *Gessurie*, is as full of Pastures and goodly Woods, especially Oaks, and Sixty Walled Cities: Among the Principal Cities was *Pella*, of Old *Burice* or *Beronice*, now a Village: *Carnaim* upon *Jabbok*; *Ephron*,

phron the strong near *Jordan*: *Jabes Gilead*, *Gadara*, on an Hill near the River, *Pliny* calls *Hieromace*, which *Ortelius* taketh to be *Jabbok*; at the Foot of the Hill is a Hot Bath: *Sabei* is East from *Gadara*, which *Josephus* ascribes to *Fepra*. See *Milspa* in *Gad*. *Gabalár* not far from *Gadara*, is the lower *Salonitis*, over against *Tarichea* on the West side of the Sea *Tiberias*. *Hippus* is four Miles West from *Gadara*, and four East from *Tiberias*, being a City in a Plain, far from the Hills which compass that Plain, and take Name from it. *Edreki* was the Ancient Seat of *Og*, after called *Ador* in *Jerom's* Days: *Gergesa* stands in the Valley towards *Jordan*; this and *Gadara*, are distinct Towns, but their nearness and Commerce one with another, made the Evangelists indifferent in naming them. *Magdala* was by it, which was the same with *Dalmanutha*, or near it. *Brochard* makes them one, and no other than *Phiale*, the Fountain of *Jordan*, but it cannot be so; for the Desert of *Bethsaida* was North of this Place, which was near the Sea of *Tiberias*, from which *Phiale* came. Another *Fulias* built by *Philip*, was North of this Desert, in the South Bound of *Traconitis*; and, according to *Josephus*, is *Bethsaida*. *Corazin* is upon the East of the Sea of *Tiberias*. Of all others, *Astheroth* of old, was Chief, whose famous Idol was like a Sheep. *Hus*, or *Hus* is placed by *Junius* between *Palestine* and *Calosyria*; besides *Camatha* under *Palmyrene*, in *Traconitis* or *Bethonea*, which Situation is gather'd from *Jerem.* 25. 20, 21. where the *Hussites* are reckon'd amongst the promiscuous Borders of *Israel*, and distinct from *Edom*, the *Philistins*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, &c. *Junius* therefore doth well distinguish between *Edom* and *Hus*, *Lam.* 4. 21. which others confound: From whom this Name came, is uncertain, whether of *Hus* the Son of *Aram*, as *Junius* judgeth, or of *Hus* the Son of *Discan*, the Son of *Sier*, an *Horite*; or of *Hus* the Son of *Nabor*, whereunto I incline; partly, for that the Family of *Aram* seems to have been lost long before; partly, because *Elihu*, one of *Job's* Friends, was a *Buzite* from *Buz*, a Brother of *Hus*, as *Junius* confesseth, and expoundeth the Family of *Ram* for *Aram*, a Syrian Family. As for *Hus* the *Chorite*, who Inhabited *Idumea*, he was not of the East Border from *Canaan*, as was *Jebe* the *Hussite*; but in the South of all *Edom*. Now concerning *Job* himself, many Fathers take him to be *Jobab*, descended from *Esau* and King of *Edom*, which is improbable; as for *Job's* Three other Friends, the Learned *Junius* judgeth *Bildad* the *Shuite*, came from *Shuab* the Son of *Keturah*, of whom descended the *Shuites* in *Arabia* the Desert: *Eliphaz* the *Temanite*, in the same Desert, sprang from *Tema* a Grand-

Grand-Child of *Esau*: *Tsophar* descended from *Nabamah*, who gave Name to a City in the Borders of *Edom*. *Brochard* finds *Suetha* and *Thema* on the East side of the Sea of *Galilee*; and *Tyrius* reports, that near the Land of *Hus* in *Basan*, there was an impregnable Fort in *Suila*. *Milspa* and *Kenath*, or *Nobak* we spoke of before in *Gad*. *Golon* is he from whom came the Upper and Lower *Gaulonites*, mention'd in *Josephus* and *Tyrius*. *Behesthera* is mistaken for *Bozra*, the same being confounded with that in *Reuben* and *Edom*; and with *Betsen-Argob*, a Region in this Tract, whereof *Jerom* hath the City *Arga*, about *Merdn*, or the Lake *Saniachonitis*, which stands in the middle between *Casarea Philippi*, and *Tiberias*. *Josephus* nameth two strong Places near it, viz. *Seleucia* and *Sogane*. On the North, and North-East of this Tribe towards *Damascus*, are *Thedad*, *Chauran*, *Chatsan*, *Henan*, and for *Chauran*, *Siphron* is named; of *Chauran* cometh *Auritis*, whose Bounds are unknown, as also are those of *Gessur* and *Mahacath*, or *Amacati*.

CHAP. XI.

The History of the Syrians bordering their Tribes on the East of Jordan.

§. 1. **D**amascus in this Border, most famous for Antiquity, Beauty, and Riches, is called the City of Joy and House of Pleasure: The *Hebrews* think it Built by *Hus*, the Son of *Aram*; others, as *Jerom*, ascribe it to *Damascus*, the Son of *Eleazer*, *Abraham's* Steward; but it was before *Eleazer's* time: *David* subdu'd it in the overthrow of *Syria*; but *Rezon*, Servant to *Adadezar*, escaping with the broken Forces, recover'd it, and was made King. *Adadezar* returned out of *Egypt*, and thrust out *Rezon*, and became King of *Syria* for Nine Descents. This City was watered with Two Rivers *Abana* and *Parphar*, of which one was called the Golden River, or *Chrysorroibus*, which *Junius* takes for *Adonis*: *Tiglath-Pilasser* took it in the Reign of the Tenth *Rezon*, and transplanted the Inhabitants: It fell into the Hands of the *Babylonians*, *Macedonians* and *Romans*: It enjoy'd an Archbishop, became Metropolis of the *Sacacens*, and was taken from them by *Halon* the *Tartar*, who made *Agab* his Son King. After this also, *Tamberlain* won it, and the impregnable Castle, but spared it for the Temple in it, which had Forty sumptuous Porches, and nine hundred Lanthorns of Gold and Silver: But in his return from *Egypt*, the *Turks* having surpriz'd it; he retook it and burnt the Temple and thirty thousand *Mahometans* in it; ruined the very Foundation of every House; and for a Trophy, raised Three Towers with great Art, built with the Heads of the Slain. *Saladine* of *Egypt* restored it; and *Selimus* the *Turk*, wrested it out of the *Egyptians* Hands.

§. 2. Of the first Kings of Damascus, and their growing up.
§. That Damascus was of Note in *Abraham's* Days, his Steward is an Argument; what the Government was then, and long after, the Reason of *Moses's* History led him not to handle. The first occasion was in *David's* Reign, who seeking to Establish the Command of *Israel* unto the *Euphrates*, as God had Promised; Invaded *Adadezar*, who was then of the greatest Force
in

in *Syria* (strictly taken) containing *Damascus*, *Saba*, *Chamath*, or *Iturea* and *Geshur*. *Adadezar*, King of *Soba*, called to his Assistance, the *Damascens*, who were not ranked under a King: But after the Overthrow, *Rezon*, a Commander under *Adadezar*, gathered the broken Forces, and surprized *Damascus*, where *David* had put a Garrison, and was made King there; as it seemeth after *David's* Death; so that as *Rebob* and his Son *Adadezar* are the First Kings of *Syria-Soba* we read of; and *Tai* the first King of *Chamath*: So *Rezon* is the first King of *Damascus*, which before was commanded by the Kings of *Soba*, whose greatness was terrible to the Kings of *Chamath*. The next King is *Adad* of *Edom*, who coming out of *Egypt*, whether he had fled from *David*, and finding his Forces weak to recover *Edom*, as it seemeth; he surprized *Damascus*, and became King of *Aram*. The next King of *Haram* was *Hexion*, whom his Son *Tobremmon* succeeded, being the Father of *Benbadad*, who assisted *Asa* King of *Juda*, against *Baasha* King of *Israel*. Almost Fifty Years after, *Benbadad* was taken Prisoner by *Abah*, and promised to restore what his Father had taken from *Israel*: Whereby, as also from the computation of Time; this was a second *Benbadad*, who slew *Abah*, and Besieged *Samaria* the second time, and was smothered by *Hazael*, who succeeded him; who did much Mischief to *Juda*, and brought *Israel* to a low Ebb, 2 Kings 13. 7.

§. 3. Of the later Kings was *Benbadad* the Second, or rather Third, who lost what *Hazael* had gotten. Three others succeeded of the same Name; in one of whose times, *Jeroboam* the Second recovered *Damascus* it self, and *Chamath* to *Israel*, which by *David's* Conquest had belonged to *Juda*. *Rezon* the Tenth, after *Adad* the 1st, molesting *Achas*, and taking *Elath*, is by *Achas's* procurement, taken and slain by *Tiglath-Pilasser*, and the Kingdom of *Damascus* dissolved. See *Nicholaus Damascenus*, Numb. 12. in Succession.

§. 4. Of the lesser Kingdoms in *Syria*, to wit, *Geshur*; *Talmai* reigned after *Anmibur*: *Sphen* or *Syria-Soba*, or *Cælosyria* had *Rehab*, and *Adadezar* after him, whose Kingdom was translated to *Damascus* by *Rezon*, and ended with the Kingdom of *Israel*: Not long after, *Ninus's* Race in *Sardanapalus* was ended by *Phulbelechus*, Father of this *Tiglath*, whose Son *Salmanaser*, led *Israel* Captive, as his Father had *Damascus*. *Senacharib*, the Son of *Salmanaser*, also attempted *Jerusalem* in vain, but one hundred and thirty two years after *Israel's* Captivity, it also went to *Babel*.

C H A P. XII.

Of the Tribe of Benjamin and of Jerusalem.

§. 1. **B**enjamin brought Thirty Five Thousand four hundred Souls out of Egypt, who dyed in the Desert; and yet Forty five Thousand entred Canaan, and had Possessions between Juda and Ephraim. Near Jordan, Hadid and Ono, built by Shemel and Hadad, rebuilt by Simon Macchabæus, are placed. Samarin was next, and further into the Land stood Jerico, restored by Chiel. Halmon was to the South-East of Jerico: Bethabara to the South: Gilgal to the East next Jordan, Jos. 4. where many memorable Things were done by Josua, and Samuel after him. So Mitspa was Westward; towards the Philistins, was the other Place where Samuel met the People for Judgment and Consultation upon weighty Occasions: Beth-Car stood near to it, which was after called Aben-Ezer, upon their Victory against the Philistins. Bethel was the third Place of meeting for Justice; after, made by Jeroboam, famous for Idolatry; and became Beth-aven, or an House of Vanity, instead of the Houle of God: But by Abija King of Juda, it and other Cities were joined to Juda; yet Beth-aven, a City of that Name, was between Hai and Bethel: Sophra, Rama, Sibba, and Gebah are in this Tribe; of which Rama on the Hill, was in the South Border of Israel near Bethel, fortified by Baasha, to hinder his People from going to Asa. Geba was the North-border of the Kingdom of Juda: Gibea was Saul's City near Rama, as you have it in Judg. 19. 13. in which it seemeth there was a Tower on an Hill called Rama also, as a common Name to all strong and high Places. Hai, near Beth-aven was overthrown by Josua. Gibbon of the Hivites, who deceived Josua. Almon, Jeba and Hanathoth, by which stood Nob, destroyed by Saul, 1. Sam. 21. 22. See Junius. belong to this Tribe also. So did Micmas, of which, 1. Sam. 13. Nehe. 9. 31.

§. 2. Jerusalem in Josua's days had Adonibezek for King, but was inferior to Hazor, the chief City of all the Canaanites. This City of old was called Jebus, being Inhabited by the Jebusites;

Chap. XII. The History of the World.

bushites, and therefore likeliest to be built by Jeshusæus the Son of Canaan, and not by Melchizedech; for it could not be in Abraham's way returning from his Victory, but rather that Salem by Jordan, of which we spake in Manasses. Though Josua slew their King, yet they held out Four hundred years, till David won it; Solomon perfected the Strength, Beauty and Riches of it; besides the renowned Temple, whereof the World had not the like, the Ditch hewn out of the Rock, Sixty Foot deep, and two hundred and twenty foot broad, with Walls, Gates and Palaces, that contain'd one hundred and fifty Thousand Men, besides Women and Children. It endur'd many Changes, Shisac of Egypt sack'd it; so did Joas of Israel; but Nebuchadnezzar fulfill'd all God's Judgments threaten'd on it, and made way to Seventy years Desolation and Captivity of the City and People. After the restoring it by Cyrus, Bagoses, Lieutenant to Artaxerxes, spoiled it; and after Alexander's Empire was divided, Ptolemy the 1st, did the same, by pretence of offering Sacrifice: Then Antiochus Epiphanes, and Apollonius his Lieutenant after him, spoiled it: And Pompey, long after, took it: But after all Repairs, that wicked Herod did so re-edifie and adorn both Temple and City, that it far exceeded what Solomon did. Continuing in this state, about Forty Years after our Saviour's Death; Titus besieged it, till it was stormed, and demolished to the Ground; in which, by Famine, Pestilence, Sedition and the Enemy's Sword, Eleven hundred thousand Persons were consumed: Sixty Years after, being in part repair'd, Ælius Adrianus, for a new revolt, overthrew all, and built another City which he called Ælia Capitolia, and decreed that no Jew should ever after dare to enter, or, from an high Place look to behold it; yet after the Christian Religion flourish'd in Palestine, it was inhabited by Christians Five hundred Years: Then it was taken by the Egyptian Saracens, and held by them Four hundred Years; and then regained by Godfrey of Bullioign, and so continued Eighty eight years, when the Soldan of Egypt won it. But Lastly, Selim the Turk took it, and called it Cusumboay, i. e. the Holy City.

§. 3. The malicious Reports of the Heathens, such as Quintilian, Diodorus, Strabo, Justin, and Tacitus, touching the Jews Original, are answer'd by Josephus, against Apion and Tertullian's Apology.

C H A P. XIII.

Memorable Things from Josua to Jephtha, and the Destruction of Troy.

§. 1. *JUD A*, by God's direction, took the management of the War, after *Josua* was dead: *Caleb* with *Phineas*, and the Assistance of Seventy Elders, was in *Josua's* time commanding in Chief; their Achievements we read of in *Judg.* 1. as also of the other Tribes, that fought to establish their own Territories. What befell them after their making Peace with the *Canaanites*, and their Affliction Eight Years; and how *Othoniel* the Son of *Cenas*, younger Brother to *Caleb*, deliver'd them from *Cusham*, a King of *Mesopotamia*, who oppress'd them; we read in Scripture. How long it was between the Death of *Josua*, and *Othoniel* is uncertain, though it could not be short, considering what Wars followed: The surprize of *Laisb* by the *Danites*, and their warring with *Benjamin*, are thought to be in this interim; which warring so weaken'd them, that they could not so strongly resist their bordering Enemies.

§. 2. *Othoniel* govern'd Forty Years, in whose Twentieth Year, *Pandarus* the Fifth King of *Athens*, entered and reigned Forty Years; he was Father of *Erectheus*, and of *Progne*, and *Philomela* in the Fables: *Cadmus* about this time, obtained *Thebes*, which *Amphion* and *Zethus* govern'd after: *Triptolemus* is put first by *Augustine*, of whom and the rest, Authors so disagree; that I desire to be excused, if I Err with the better Judgments whereto I submit: For if the First Authors had but a Borrow'd uncertain Light from others Conjectures, all our Labour in Examples (to uncover the Sun) is, for ought I can see, but a greater over-shadowing of it.

§. 3. *Ehud* was next, who delivered *Israel* from *Eglon* King of *Moab*, after Eighteen Years Misery; *Samger* his Successour freed them from the *Philistines*. So from *Othnoel's* Death, Eighty years expir'd. *Elimelek* went to *Moab* in *Ehud's* Days; and *Ruth's* Story is referr'd hither. *Aidoneus* King of the *Molossians* in *Epirus*, had by *Ceres* his Wife a fair Daughter, call'd *Proserpina*

serpina (a common Name for such) whom *Perithous* intending to Steal, drew *Theseus* into the attempt, which being discovered; *Aidoneus* surpris'd them, cast *Perithous* to *Cerberus* his Mastiff and kept *Theseus* Prisoner till *Hercules* delivered him by a strong Hand. Now the *Molossi* were a People dwelling near *Pindus* Mountains in *Epirus*, of which *Ætna* is chief, whence *Acheron* springeth. *Erectheus* was King of *Athens*, whose Daughter *Orithya*, forc'd by *Boreas* King of *Thrace*. *Tereus* King of *Phocis* in *Greece*, Inhabited by *Thracians*, Married *Progne* the Daughter of *Pandarus*, ravish'd her Sister *Philomela*, and cut out her Tongue; for which Fact *Progne* kill'd his Son *Issis*, and made Meat of him for *Tereus*, and fled to *Athens*. *Tros* began to Reign in *Dardania* in the forty seventh Year of *Ehud*: About which time *Tantalus* was King of *Lydia*, not *Phrygia*; whose Study of Wildom made him neglect the Pleasure of Riches, of which he had store; others say, his covetous Mind made him Miserable, whereof grew that Fable, &c. Here the Author is out, in taxing the unfolding Secrets to the Vulgar, to be a perverting *Mark* 4. 11. *Cecrops* the Second, and Seventh King of *Athens*, and *Acrisius* Thirteenth King of the *Argives* now Reign'd; the first forty Years the other thirty one, &c. Towards the end of the eighty Years ascribed to *Ehud*, *Pelops*, of whom *Peloponnesus* took name, flourished; and *Medusa* was slain by *Perseus's* Souldiers, of whose Blood sprang *Pegasus*, *Bellerophon's* Horse, with which he slew *Chimera* a Pirate of the *Lycians*. Ion of whom the *Athenians* are call'd *Iones* or rather of *Javan*, &c. Lived also about this time.

§. 4. The former eighty Years of Plenty, having bred security, it brought forth neglect of God's Commandments, when their ripe Sins call'd for God's Judgments; who rais'd *Jabin* King of *Hazor*, who lay'd an heavy Yoak on *Israel* twenty six Years, keeping his chief Holds even in *Naphthaly*, and reduced them to such a weakness; that among forty thousand Men, a Weapon was not seen. But as Volumes may be gather'd of Examples, proving that all power is the Lord's, how Impotent soever his means be; so now the Lord Exerted it in delivering *Israel*; two Women *Debora* and *Jael* striking the chief Stroak. Thus forty Years are expired under *Jabin*, *Debora* and *Barak*. *Argos* Kingdom which had continued five hundred forty four Years was Translated to *Mycene*, built by *Perseus* the Son of *Danae*, Daughter of *Acrisius* King of *Argos*. The Kings of the *Argives* were *Inacbus* (whose Daughter *Io* was the Egyptian *Isis*) *Phoroneus*, *Apis*, *Agas*, *Pirajus*, *Phorbas*, *Tryops*, *Crotopus*, *Stheleas*, *Danaus*, *Lynceus*, *Abas*, *Acrisius* and *Pelops*.

After the Translation to *Mycenæ*, succeeded *Perseus*, *Sthenelus*, *Eurystheus*, *Atres* the Son of *Pelops*, *Agamemnon*, *Agestus*, *Orestes*, *Tisamenus*, *Penthius*, and *Conites*. *Midas* now King of *Phrygia*, and *Hus* who built *Ilium*, were Contemporaries with *Dehora*.

§. 5. *Barak* was no sooner Dead, but *Israel* returned to their impious Idolatry, and God raised up the *Midanites*, assisted with the *Amalekites* to infest them: Yet his compassion which never fails, raised them up a Deliverer, viz. *Gideon* the Son of *Jaash*, whose Story is largely set down in the Holy Scriptures: His severity in revenge upon *Succhoth* and *Penuel*; his own Sons found shortly after his Death, for the Debts of Cruelty and Mercy are never left unsatisf'd. And because he converted the Gold into an Ephod, a Garment proper to the high Priest, and set it upon his City of *Ophra*; as it drew *Israel* to Idolatry, so was it the Destruction of his own House. *Ægeus* the Son of *Pandion* now Reigned in *Athens*, and *Eurystheus* in *Mycenæ*, whom *Atreus* succeeded, who killed *Thyestes* his Brother's Children, and feasted their Father therewith; which cruelty was revenged on him and *Agamemnon* his Son and all his Lineage by a base Son of *Thyestes*. *Minos* was now King of *Creet*, whose Wife *Pasiphae* enamoured of *Taurus* her Husband's Secretary, *Dædalus* being her Pander, had a Child by him, and another at the same Birth by *Minos*; of which grew the Story of the *Minotaur*. *Dædalus* upon Discovery fled with *Icarus* in two Boats with Sails unto *Cocalus* King of *Sicily*, in which flight *Icarus* was drowned and *Minos* was slain in pursuing *Dædalus*, whom *Cocalus* defended. *Sphinx*, a Woman-Robber by Sea and Land, upon the border of *Corinth*, was over-come by *Oedipus*, General of the *Corinthian* Forces; her swiftness and cruelty bred the Story of her Wings, and Body of a Lion. *Antæus* the strong and cunning Wrestler near *Hesperides* in *Mauritania* lived about this time.

§. 6. The *Argonaut's* expedition fell out about *Gideon's* Eleventh Year: Many fabulous Discourses have been heretofore written, and Mystical Expositions made; but *Dercilus's* Opinion is most Probable, That *Jason* with the bravest Men of *Greece* went in a Ship to Rob *Colchis*, enrich'd by certain Steep falling Torrents, not far from *Caucasus*, that wash down many grains of Gold, which the Inhabitants get by setting many Fleeces of Wooll in those Water-falls. The many Rocks, Sands, Straights and other difficulties in the Passage, between *Greece* and *Pontus* are Poetically converted into fierce Bulls, armed Men rising up out

out of the Ground, *Syrens*, a Dragon cast a Sleep, &c. by *Orpheus* one of them.

§. 7. *Abimilech* *Gideon's* base Son, ambitiously sought and got what his Father had refused, as unlawful, without special Direction, a Rule over God's peculiar People; and for his establishment in his usurped Power, he slew seventy Brethren upon one Stone. *Jothan* the youngest escaped this unheard of Inhumanity; such is humane Ambition, a Monster which neither feareth God, nor respecteth Nature, and forgetteth the all-powerful Hand, whose revenge is without Date. All other Passions and Affections which torment the Souls of Men, are by contraries oftentimes qualified. But this darling of *Satan* and first-born Sin, that ever the World knew, more Ancient than Humane Nature, looketh only towards the ends, which it self sets down; forgetting nothing how inhumane soever that may conduce thereto, and remembreth nothing that Piety, Right, or Religion, can offer to the contrary. As for the deplorable effects such Attempts have had, they are ascribed to the Errour or weakness of the Undertakers; and Men rather praise the adventure, than fear the like success. The *Sechemites* in a vain Glory to have a King of their own, readily condescended to his Ambitious Motion, imbrew themselves in the Blood of Innocents, and fit themselves to partake with him in the vengeance fore-told by *Jothan*. The *Lapithe* and *Centaurs* made War about this time against the *Thebans*, these were the first in those Parts who learned to ride Horses; So that coming from the Mountains of *Pindus* on Horse-back, they were thought to be compounded Creatures. *Thola* of *Isachar* Govern'd after *Abimelech* twenty three Years, and *Jair* twenty two Years after him. *Judg.* 10. *Priamus* after the sacking of *Ilium*, by *Hercules*; being ransom'd, began to Reign having rebuilt *Troy*, and enlarged his Dominion almost over all the lesser *Asia*. Of fifty Sons he had seventeen by *Hecuba* the Daughter of *Cisseus* King of *Thrace*: *Paris* one of them attempting to recover his Aunt *Hesione*, carry'd into *Greece* by *Hercules*, took *Helen* the Wife of *Menelaus*, &c. See Chap. 14.

§. 8. *Theseus* was the Tenth King of *Athens*; in his Father *Ægeus's* Reign, he put himself among the seven Young-men, whom the *Athenians* sent for Tribute Yearly to *Minos* King of *Creet*: Who gaining *Ariadne* the King's Daughter's affection, receiv'd of her a Bottom of Thread, by which to conduct himself out of the *Labyrinth*, after he had slain the *Minotaur*, that is the Son of *Taurus*, begotten of *Pasiphae*, to whom those Youths were committed, &c. He took *Hippolyta* the *Amazon* Queen Prisoner,

Prisoner, and by her had a Son nam'd *Hippolytus* whom he after sought to kill, upon his Step-mother *Phædra's* false accusation, whose incestuous Embracements he had rejected: In his escape he receiv'd many dangerous Wounds, of which being cured; from thence arose the Fable of *Æsculapius*, &c. After much Good done to the ungrateful Multitude, they banish'd him. They say he stole *Helen* from *Aphidna* in the first Year of *Jair*, according to *Eusebius*; which is not Probable, seeing she must be then fifty two Years old, at the Destruction of *Troy*. Under the two former Judges in *Affyria*, Reign'd *Mitrcus* and *Tautanes* after, and in *Egypt* *Amenophis* the Son of *Rameses*, and *Animeses* after him. In *Sicyonia* Reign'd, *Phastus* the twenty second King eight Years, *Adrastus* succeeded four Years, then *Pæliphebus* thirteen Years, *Mnestheus* also succeeded *Theseus* King of *Athens*.

§. 9. The *Theban* War the most Ancient, that ever the *Greek* Writers handled, hapned in this Age, wherein *Greece* continu'd Barbarous; holding and getting all by Violence, Robbing by Sea and Land, using little Trade, and not acquainted with Money; and having some few walled but small Towns: Whatever some latter idle Chroniclers, wanting good matter to fill their Books, have Dreamt of, concerning Feasts, dry Summers, &c. Even so they who wrote of *Greece* then, tell us of great Floods and *Metamorpheses* of Men; killing Monsters, Adulteries of their Gods, begetting mighty Men, &c. This *Theban* War (the first *Grecian* Story of Note) grew upon a Disagreement between *Eteocles* and *Polynices* the Sons of *Oedipus*, the Son of *Laius* King of *Thebes*. These Brethren having covenanted to rule by Course, and *Eteocles* beginning, was unwilling to lay down a Scepter once taken into hand; which forc'd *Polynices* to fly to *Adrastus* King of the *Argives*, who gave him a Wife, and Forces to re-establish him in *Thebes*: *Eteocles* withstands the force, and both sides after great loss, desire the Brethren to end the Quarrel, by a single Combat, in which both lost the Day with their Lives: And yet another Battel was fought, in which the *Argives* were discomfited and Fled, and of all the Commanders only *Adrastus* came to *Athens*. At his request the *Argives* sent Forces under *Theseus* against *Creon* Governour of *Thebes*, for denying Burial to the slain *Argives*; who took the City and bury'd the Slain. But this contented not the Sons of the noble *Argives*, who ten Years after, levied new Forces, and put *Laodamus* Son of *Eteocles* to flight, and some say he was slain: The Town was ransack'd, but repair'd by *Thyrсандer* the Son of *Polynices* who Reign'd after, and lead the *Thebans* to the *Trojan* War shortly after.

§. 9. *Jephthas*

§. 10. *Jephthas* judg'd *Israel* six Years and relieved them from the oppression of the *Ammonites*, which lay heavy upon the Tribes on the East of *Jordan* along *Gilead*. He defended the *Israelites* Right against the *Ammonites* claim, both by reasons and Force of Arms, and drove them not only out of those Plains; but also over the Mountains of *Arabia* to *Minneeth* and *Abel* of the Vineyard. As for his Vow, the opinion that he did not sacrifice his Daughter is the more Probable, see in *Ju.* 11. The *Ephraimites* Quarrel with *Jephthas*, who slew in that Encounter forty two thousand Men, which so weakened the Body of the Land; as that way was made for their future Calamities, and a grievous Slavery under the *Philistins*, than ever they had endured. *Ibzan* succeeded and judg'd seven Years; *Elon* after him ten, but *Eusebius* doth not mention him. Here is handled upon account of *Jephthas's* Speech, Chap. 11. 28. The time of the Judges Government, the Speech of *St. Paul*, *Acts* 13. 20. and that which is said, 1 *Kings* 6. 1. The three hundred Years *Jephthas* speaks of, *Beroaldus* finds to be but two hundred sixty six, (to wit) eighteen of *Josua*, forty of *Othoniel*, eighty of *Ehud* and *Samgar*, forty of *Deborah*, forty of *Gideon*, three of *Abimelech*, twenty three of *Thola*, and twenty two of *Jair*: So that *Jephthas's* number is a certain for an uncertain. *Codoman* makes the Years, of which he accounts seventy one, for the times of *Israel's* afflictions, before the Judges were raised up, and twenty Years for the joynt Government of the Elders after *Josua*, and adds eight Years more to *Josua* according to *Josephus*. *Luther* adding to the Judges two hundred sixty six, the forty Years of *Moses* make three hundred and six. But seeing the Text speaks of the time of *Israel's* taking possession, the forty Years of *Moses* are excluded. As for *Codoman*, his twenty eight Years are more doubtful than his seventy one, and let us take but thirty four Years of affliction, it would make up the three hundred Years: But without such help, it is more probable, That *Jephthas* in his three hundred Years of Possession comprehended the time from whence the *Ammonites* left the Land in dispute, to the *Amorites*; which time might well be pleaded by way of Prescription against the *Ammonites* claim, as belonging to them which succeeded. The second Place is, *Acts* 13. 20. where *Paul* reckoneth four hundred fifty Years from *Josua's* Death to the beginning of *Samuel*. *Luther* and *Beza* are of opinion, that by the mistake of Transcribers, four hundred fifty are put for three hundred fifty, *Tetracosiois* for *Triacosiois*, and begin the three hundred fifty Years at *Moses's* Death. But *Codoman* begins at *Josua's* Death, accounting 319 Years for all the Judges except *Samson*, and one hundred

hundred eleven Years for the *Israelites* affliction; which forty Years under the *Philistins* comprehend *Sampson's* twenty Years: Thus he raiseth four hundred thirty, whereto he addeth twenty Years for the Elders before *Othniel*, and so perfects four hundred and fifty. But the twenty Years of the Elders which others deny, may as well besupply'd in *Sampson's* time, distinct from the *Philistins* forty Years; and so make a more probable Computation, than to corrupt the Text and put *Triacosiois* for *Tetracosiois*; and begin before *Josua's* Death contrary to the Text, &c. But then how doth *Codoman* reconcile this with, 1 *King.* 6. 1. Which admits but of four hundred eighty Years, from *Israel's* coming out of *Egypt* to *Solomon's* Temple? He answers, That this four hundred eighty Years must begin at the twenty fifth of *Othniel*, till when their journey lasted; for *Dan* that Year got *Laish*. Thus to make good his new Exposition of *St. Paul*, he splits himself upon a clear Text of Scripture. But I do rather acquiesce with *Beroaldus's* Judgment, That *Paul* intended no exact Chronology, but spake according to the received Opinion of the *Jews*, which admitted those of one hundred eleven Years of the *Jews* oppression by their Neighbours.

C H A P.

C H A P. XIV.

Of the Wars of T R O Y.

§. 1. **H**Abdon succeeded and judged *Israel* Eight Years. The *Philistins* Forty Years Tyranny cannot be dated from the Ninth of *Jaer*, to the end of *Habdon*, as some would have it; for then *Ephraim's* strength had been so diminished, as not to quarrel with *Jephtha*: or being able to bring Forty two Thousand Men into the Field, they would not have neglected a common Oppressor to fight against a Brother: Those Forty Years must therefore be supplied from elsewhere; as from the death of *Habdon*, 'till after *Sampson*. *Troy's* Destruction seemeth to fall upon the Third year of *Habdon*, after Ten Years Siege, which began about the Third of *Elon*. The Original and the continuance of the Ancient Kings are uncertain, but it is commonly held, that *Teucer* and *Dardanus* were the first Founders of that Kingdom; of which *Teucer* the first, according to *Virgil*, reigned before *Dardanus* built *Troy* and came out of *Creet*; though *Reineccius* following *Diodorus*, thinks him a *Phrygian*, and the Son of *Scamander*. *Dardanus* the Son of *Electra*, Daughter of *Atlas*, and Wife of *Jupiter*; had for his second Wife, *Poetia* a Daughter or Niece of *Teucer*. As for this *Atlas*, I take him to be rather an *Italian* than an *African*, and *Jupiter* to be more Ancient than he, whose Children lived about the time of the *Trojan* Wars. Here followeth a Table of the Genealogy of the *Trojan* Kings, from *Dardanus* the first King, who begat *Eriethonius*; who begat *Tros* the Father of *Ilus*; who begat *Laomedon*, the Father of *Priamus*. Touching the Destruction of *Troy*, *Diodorus* makes it to be Seven hundred eighty Years before the ninety Fourth *Olympiad*, which is Four hundred eighty Years before the First. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* agrees hereto, placing *Rome's* Foundation in the first of the Seventh *Olympiad*; which is Four hundred thirty two, after the Destruction of *Troy*. *Solinus* also maketh the Institution of the *Olympick* Games, by *Iphitus*, to be Four hundred eighty Years later then *Troy's* Destruction: The Destruction then, being four hundred and eighty Years before the *Olimpiads*; *Eusebius* leadeth us from *Dardanus*, through the Reign of Four Kings, by the space of two hundred twenty five Years; and as for *Laomedon's* time, take it upon trust from *Amnius* out of *Menctho*.

§. 2. He-

§. 2. *Helen's Rape* by *Paris* the Son of *Priamus*, all agree to be the cause of the *Greeks* taking up Arms; but what might move him to that Undertaking, is doubtful. *Herodotus* his far-fetched Cause hath no probability; as have they which say, he enterprized this Rape, to procure the re-delivery of *Hesione*, King *Priamus's* Sister, taken away by *Hercules*, and given to *Telamon*. Yet I do not think this was the ground of *Paris's* Attempt, but rather his Lust; which was an usual incitement in those days, as *Thucydides* sheweth; for which Reason none durst dwell near the Sea-Coast. *Tyndarus* also, the Father of *Helen*, remembring that *Theseus* had ravish'd her, caus'd all her Wooers, who were most of the principal *Greeks* to swear, That when she had chosen an Husband, they should join in seeking her recovery, if she were taken away; which Oath being taken, she chose *Menelaus*. Thus the *Grecian* Princes, partly upon that Oath, and upon the Reputation of *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*, were driven into this business of the *Trojan* War. The Fleet was one thousand two hundred Sail of small Ships, fit for robbing; the greatest carrying but one hundred twenty Men: So that the Army might be one hundred Thousand strong, which argueth the greatness of the *Trojan* Power, able to hold out against such Forces so many Years. But their Aids out of *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Mysia*, *Amazonia* and *Thrace*, yea *Assyria*, were considerable.

§. 3. The *Greeks* being prepared, sent *Menelaus* and *Ulysses* Ambassadors to *Troy* to demand *Helen*; and as *Herodotus* from the report of an *Egyptian* Priest, makes it probable, were answer'd, That *Paris* in return, being driven by Storm into *Egypt*, *Helen* was taken from him; which Report, *Herodotus* seeketh by Argument to confirm. But whatsoever the Answer was, the *Greeks* being incited, set forward for *Troy*; notwithstanding *Chalcas* the Soothsayer objected great difficulties. Their Names under the Command of *Agamemnon*, were *Menelaus*, *Achilles*, *Patroclus*, &c.

§. 4. After their landing, in the first Encounter *Patroclus* was slain by *Hector* and others, but want of Victuals soon distressed the *Greeks*, who were forced to employ a great part of their Men in seeking Relief for the Camp by Sea and Land: And *Herodotus* his Report is credible; That after the first Year 'till the Tenth, the *Greeks* lay little before *Troy*, but rowed up and down by Sea and Land for Booties and Victuals; wasting the Country round about: But being returned to the Camp the Tenth Year, a Pestilence fell among them, and a Diffension about dividing

viding their captive Virgins, which made *Achilles* refuse to fight, because *Agamemnon* had taken away his Concubine; but after his Friend *Patroclus*, to whom he had lent his Armour, was slain by *Hector*, and spoiled of his Armour, as the manner then was; *Achilles* desirous of Revenge, was content to be reconciled upon *Agamemnon's* seeking to give satisfaction, by Gifts, and the restitution of his Mistress *Briseis*. After this, in the next Battel, *Achilles* slew *Hector* (though *Homer's* Narration of his flying thrice about the City, be impossible) and dragged him at his Chariot about the Field, and then sold his Body to *Priamus* at a great rate. Not long after, *Paris* revenged that Cruelty, and slew *Achilles*, though Authors differ in the manner of it.

§. 5. *Troy* at length was taken either by the Treachery of *Aeneas* and *Antenor*, in opening the *Scæan* Gate, whereon was an Image of an Horse: Or that the *Greeks*, by an Artificial Engine like an Horse, battered the Walls, as the *Romans* did, with a Ram; or scaled the Walls at that Gate suddenly, while the *Trojans* slept securely, upon the departure of the *Grecian* Fleet to *Tenedos* the day before, &c. The Story of the wooden Horse being filled with Armed Captains, is improbable; the Number slain on both sides, amounting to six hundred thousand *Trojans*, and eight hundred thousand *Greeks*, is Fabulous. So are the reports of many Nations in those Parts, contending for a Descent from the remainders of *Trojan* Princes. Though it be probable, the *Albanes*, and from them the *Romans* came from *Aeneas*, and the *Paduans* from *Antenor*.

§. 6. The *Greeks* after their Victory, suffer'd no less Misery then the *Trojans*, by the division of their Princes, separation in their return, invasion of Borderers, and usurpation of Domesticks in their absence, besides Tempests at Sea: So that few returned Home: and amongst them few enjoyed their own; the rest being driven on strange Coasts, gladly planted where they could, some in *Africk*, others in *Italy*, *Apulia*, *Cyprus*, &c.

C H A P. XV.

Of Sampson, Eli and Samuel.

§. 1. **O**F *Sampson*, read *Judg.* 13. 14. 15. 16. In whose Story observe first, his Mother is forbidden all strong drink, and unclean Meats; as that which weakens the Child conceived: Yet our Women forbear not such things, tho' more conducive to enfeeble the Fruit of their Wombs; and so to produce a decay'd Race. 2. The Angel refus'd divine Worship; which proves the Diviners Angels who accept of Sacrifices are Devils. 3. Whom no force could overthrow, Voluptuousness did. 4. Though he often revenged *Israel*, yet he delivered them not, *Chap.* 15. 11. Lastly, His Patience was more provok'd by contumely than Pain or Loss.

§. 2. Of *Eli*, see the First Book of *Samuel*; he was the first of the Stock of *Ithamar*, that obtained the High-Priesthood, which continued in his Race till *Solomon* cast out *Abiathar*, and put in *Zadok*, descended of *Eleazer*, *1 Kings* 2. 26. 35. In his time, for the Sins of the Priest and People, the Lord gave his Ark, the Sacrament of his Presence, into the Hands of the *Philistins*; as he did his Temple to be destroy'd by the *Chaldeans*, and after by the *Romans*; because they put more confidence therein than in the Lord himself, whose Law they would not observe: Whereas after their Captivity, and in the time of the *Maccabees*, while they feared the Lord, they were victorious without an Ark, more than they were when they guarded themselves with the Sign void of substance. *David* knew also the Ark was not made for an Engine in the Field. The *Trojans* believed, that while the *Palladium*, or Image of *Minerva* was in the City, it should never be overthrown. The Christians also carried into the Field, in the last fatal Battels against *Saladine*, the very Cross (as they were made to believe) whereon *Christ* dyed; and yet lost themselves and the Wood too. But *Chrysostom* said well upon *St. Matthew* (if that be his Work) of those who wore part of *St. John's* Gospel about their Necks for an Amulet or Preservative. If the Words profit thee not in thine Ear, how can they about thy Neck? For it was neither the Wood of the Ark nor of the Cross, but

but the reverence of the Father, that gave the one for a Memory of his Covenant, and of his Son, who shed his Blood on the other for redemption, that could, or can profit them or us either in this Life or after it. The Holy Writ telleth us, How, after this Victory of the *Philistins*, the Ark of God was in Captivity; yet they overthrew the *Philistian Dagon*, and brake off both his Head and Hands, to shew, that he had neither Wisdom nor Power in God's presence; and that God and the Devil cannot inhabit in one House, or in one Heart. If this Idol then could not endure the Representation of the true God; what wonder is it, that when it pleased him to cloath his only begotten Son with Flesh, and sent him into the World, that all the Oracles wherein the Devil decided and betray'd Mortals, lost Power, Speech and Operation at that instant? For when that true Light, which never had any beginning of brightness, brake through the Cloud of a Virgin's Womb, shining upon the Earth long obscur'd by Idolatry, all those stinking Vapours vanish'd. *Plutarch* rehearsed a memorable History of that Age, concerning the death of their great God *Pan*, but could not find the true Cause thereof, &c. God also plagued the *Philistins*, as well as their God, and forced them to return his Ark, and to give him Glory, after they had tried all their Wit to the contrary. See the Story. Thus God is acknowledged of his Enemies; as he had been of *Pharaoh*, and was after of *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Darius*, &c.

§. 3. Of *Samuel's* Government, *1 Sam.* 7. He was descended of *Korah*, *1 Chron.* 6. 22. for his Father *Elcana*, a *Levite* of Mount *Ephraim*, came of *Korah* the Son of *Izhar*, Son of *Cheath*, Son of *Levy*: His Mother after long Barrenness, obtained him by earnest Prayer to avoid the Reproach of Sterility (as it was esteemed) considering it was God's Promise, *Deut.* 7. and Blessing to *Adam*, and *Abraham*, &c. Under his Government, God freed *Israel* from the *Philistins*, who at his Prayer were miraculously overthrown; as were the *Amalakites* at the Prayers of *Moses*. He administered Justice at three convenient Places, of which, See *Chap.* 12. Sect. 1.

C H A P. XVI.

Of Saul the First King of Israel.

§. 1. **T**HE deliberation to change the Government into a Kingdom, came upon *Samuel's* growing unable to undergo the Burden of so careful an Office, which he deliver'd over to his Sons; who failing of their Father's care and uprightness, and relishing nothing but gain, sold Law at a Price, and Justice to the best Chapman: The Elders observing this, and that the Old Man, tho' a Prophet, yet as a natural Father, discern'd not his Sons Errors; and remembring the lamentable success of *Ely's* Sons Government, saw no other way to put them off, than by desiring a King: This Motion displeas'd *Samuel*, who seeking Counsel from God, as in a Cause of so great consequence; he is willed to hear the Voice of the People, yet so as God accounted it a Wrong to himself rather than to *Samuel*; and therefore commanded him to declare unto them the Inconveniencies and Miseries that would befall them under that Government; all which are not intolerable, but such as have still been born by Subjects free consent. But the Oppression threatned, *v. 14. &c.* gives an occasion to the Question, Whether a King fearing God, or one who will Rule by his own Discretion, and play the Tyrant, be here set out, as some judge? Or the Text only teaches, that Subjects ought with patience to bear at their Sovereign's Hands; as others judge: The first ground their Opinion upon *Deut. 17. 14.* and on the Words of the Text, which do not say we may, but we will do so and so; shewing what Power, severed from Piety, will do; as in *Abah's* Example, contrary to the Law, *Deut. 16. 18.* The Arguments on the other side are excellently handled, in that Princely Discourse of free Monarchies, which I shall not presume to abridge nor to insert: Only, I say, if Practice shews the greatness of Authority; the best Kings of *Juda* were not so tyed up by any Laws, but that they did whatsoever they pleased in most things; commanding some of their Princes, yea Brethren, to be slain without Tryal of Law; as *Solomon* did without imputation of Sin, though *David* was reproved for *Uriah's* death. This change of Government God foretold, *Gen. 15. 17.* and 49. and provided for the directions of

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it by Laws *Deut. 17.* But whether the Reasons which move most Nations, mov'd them to choose a Monarch, or thereby to be freed from the Sons of *Samuel*, doth not well appear; for neither persuasions or threats could draw them from their Desire of a King.

§. 2. *Saul's Election.* §. *Samuel* by God's direction, having yielded to the People, return'd to his City *Rama*, expecting the Lord's direction touching the King to be chosen; which the Lord accordingly performed, giving him warning the Day before. *Samuel* hereupon prepareth to entertain him whom the Lord should send; and *Saul* intending nothing less than a Kingdom, found it, was anointed and confirmed by Signs given him by *Samuel*, and returned home. Thus God often by the meanest occasions, ordereth the greatest Things; as *Moses*, and *David's* calling from feeding Sheep; *James* and *John* from Fishing, &c. Among the Signs given to *Saul*, one was that of the Company of Prophets; not such as by Divine Revelation foretold things to come, as did *Moses*, *Josud*, *Samuel*, &c. but such as were exercised in expounding the Scriptures, as were those *1 Cor. 14.* At which time God changed his Heart from a vulgar Condition to a Kingly one. After this, in another Assembly at *Mispeh*, *Saul* was publicly design'd King by God, and accepted of the People, and Saluted King.

§. 3. *Saul's Establishment after his Victory against the Ammonites, 1. Sam. 11.* §. The *Ammonites* attending the advantage of Time for recovering their Territories, taken from them by the *Amorites* (having in vain attempted it in *Jephtha's* Days) and finding *Israel's* weakness by the long Oppression of the *Philistins*, who had disarmed them, and also slain thirty four thousand of them, besides fifty thousand that perished about *Bethshemes*; and that their King was not yet so acceptable to all his Subjects; were emboldened to begin with *Jabes Gilead*, situated near unto them. *Saul*, to exert his Authority, and perhaps being descended of one of the four hundred Virgins taken from the *Gileadites*; undertook the relief of *Jabes*, assembled three hundred thirty thousand Men, and defeated the *Ammonites*. Hence *Samuel* drew them all to *Gilgal*, where *Saul* is again confirmed King; and where also *Samuel* exhorted them to fear the Lord, with a recital of his own Justice. After one Year's Reign, *Saul* chose him a strong Guard of three thousand Men, as you have in *1 Sam. 13. 2.*

§. 4. *Saul's disobedience and rejection.* §. *Jonathan* with his Regiment of one thousand Men, surpriz'd a Garrison of the *Philistins*, which some judge was in *Kariath-Jearim*, where the Ark was: But *Junius* taketh it to be *Febah* in *Benjamin* near *Gibba*, where *Jonathan* stayed with his Thousand: So that tho' the *Philistins* were much broken under *Samuel*, yet they held some strong Places in *Israel*, of which this was one; whose surprize so enraged them, that they assembled their great Forces, and set out 1 Sam. 13. while *Saul* was at *Gilgal*, expecting *Samuel*, as he had required, 1 Sam. 10. 8. But because *Samuel* came not so soon as *Saul* looked for him; he hastened to Sacrifice, taking the Office of a Priest on himself, as some think; or, as others judge, he in diffidence and through distraction upon account of the *Philistins* Power, and his Peoples forsaking him, attended not the Prophet's coming to direct him and pray for him: For this, *Samuel* so sharply reprov'd and threaten'd him, as was ill becoming him, had he not extraordinary Warrant from the Lord; so they departed each from the other. *Saul* being come to *Gibea*, his own City, being a Place of strength; his own Forces were but six hundred Men between him and *Jonathan*, and of these, not one had Sword or Spear; of which the Reason is rendred in the Text. The like Policy was used by *Nebuchadnezzar* in his Conquest of *Judaea*, and *Dionysius* in *Sicily*. It may be the other *Israelites* might have some, tho' these six hundred had not; for they might get some at the overthrow of the *Philistins* and *Ammonites*. As for the Weapons the *Israelites* us'd in these Wars, they were Clubs, Bows and Slings, wherein they were expert, 1 Chron 12. 2. And their Victories were rather extraordinary, as by Thunder or astonishment sent from God; as appears in this next Overthrow by the Hand of *Jonathan* and his Armour-bearer, wherein God set them together by the Ears, Chap. 14. 10. So that the *Israelites* needed no Swords, when every *Philistin's* Sword suppli'd their want. After this Victory, *Saul* undertook by turns, all the bordering Enemies, and by especial Commandment, the *Amalekites*. But presuming, contrary to God's expresse charge, to spare *Agag*, &c. he was utterly rejected of the Lord; notwithstanding all his pretences of Sacrifice: And *Samuel* never after visited *Saul*, &c.

§. 5. *Samuel* fearing to anoint another King, as God willed him to do, is directed how to effect it safely; so that by cautious care to avoid danger, he did no way derogate from God's Providence; seeing the Lord himself, though all-sufficient, instructed

Samuel

Samuel to avoid *Saul's* fury, by the accustomed cautious ways of the World: And therefore Men who neglect by Prayer to God; and the exercise of that Wisdom, wherewith he had endued the mind of Man, to provide for their preservation; are stupified with the Opinion of Fate, &c. *Jesse* having presented all his Sons, but *David* to *Samuel*; he only whom the Father neglected is chosen of God and anointed by *Samuel*. The *Philistins* in the mean time considering, how *Saul's* Power increas'd while they fate still, and doubting least *Israel* might become able to be revenged of them also, if they were suffered thus to grow; thought it good to offer a new Check to them, presuming upon their own abilities and former success. As for the late Disasters, they might suppose the one, was by a casual Tempest, and the last by a mistaken Alarm, which wrought needless fear; that put the Army to the Rout. Having therefore taken the Field encamping near *Saul's* Army, and both keeping their Grounds of Advantage; they maintain'd some Skirmishes, but did not joyn Battel; which the *Philistins* had cause to fear (considering their late success) and thereupon were perhaps provoked to a single Combat with their Giant, upon condition of a general Subjection of the vanquished Nation, in their Champion. This gave occasion to *David*, now to have a famous admission into the publick notice of the People, with the success recorded in Scripture. By this Victory *David* fell into the grievous indignation of *Saul*, by reason of his great Merits; whereupon he became a covert Tyrant, faithless to Men, and Irreligious to God, as the History sheweth, which brought him to the end which we Read of.

§. 6. Of such as liv'd in the times of *Samuel* and *Saul*. §. *Aeneas Sylvius* began to Reign over the *Latins* in *Alba*, about the eleventh Year of *Samuel*, and reigned thirty one Years. The same Year *Dorcilus* began his Reign in *Affyria*, being the thirty first King, and Reigned forty Years. The *Dores* who came with the *Heraclides*, obtain'd *Peloponnesus* in this Age. Here followeth the account of the first Planters of *Greece*, from *Iapetus* the Father of *Prometheus* and *Epimetheus*, Father of *Deucalion* and *Pyrria* King and Queen of *Thessaly*; of whom came *Helenus* Father of *Xuthus*, *Dorus* and *Aeolus*. *Xuthus* fled to *Erechtheus* of *Athens*, of whose Daughter came *Achaeus* and *Ion*. *Achaeus* for a Murder committed fled to *Laconia* in *Peloponnesus* and gave it his name, and after recover'd *Thessaly*. *Ion* was made Governour of *Attica*, which he civiliz'd, and plant'd *Sicyonia* then call'd *Egialia* and marry'd *Helice* the King's Daughter, of whom the Land also took name. *Dorus* the second Son of *Helenus* plant'd about *Parnassus*

sus and *Lacedamon*, but when the *Heraclides*; Nephews of *Hercules* invaded *Peloponnesus*, the *Dores* assisting them, they expell'd the *Achaens* in *Laconia*; who seeking new Habitations drove out the *Ionians*, who sailed into *Asia*, in whose West-coast they built twelve Cities. *Hercules* Ancestour of the *Heraclides*, and his twelve Labours are related by fabulous Poets. Certain it is, that *Greece* was obliged to him for freeing it from many Tyrants, and Thieves, who oppress'd the Land in the Reign of *Eurystheus*, who employ'd him therein; being jealous of him for his vertue and descent from *Perseus*. His Children after his Death fled to the *Athenians*, who ayded them against *Eurystheus*, whom they slew: But upon the Death of *Hyllus* the Son of *Hercules*, slain in combat by *Echenus* King of the *Tageats* in *Arcadia*, who assisted *Atræus* successour of *Eurystheus*; they were to have the Country for one hundred Years that were now expired, when they returned under *Aristodemus* *Tisamenus* being King of *Achaëa*.

§. 7. *Homer* the Poet seemeth to have lived about this time; but the diversity of Men's Opinions and Curiosity about his Age is so Ridiculous; that I would not offend the Reader therewith, but to shew the uncertainty of Historians as well in this, as in all other Questions relating to Time, &c. *Eusebius* in his Evangelick Preparation out of *Tatianus*, Names, many *Greek* Writers more Ancient than *Homer*. *Hesiod's* Age is also Question'd, some holding him to be Elder, some Younger then he; but *Varro* Leaves it uncertain, yet findeth both the *Fablers* lived some Years together. *Senyes* or *Senemines* seems to have ruled *Egypt* at this time, for *Tenator-Sobris* his successour preceded, *Vaphres* Father in Law to *Solomon*: About the end of *Saul's* Reign, the *Amazons* and *Cimmerians* Invaded *Asia*. After the Destruction of *Troy* six Kingdoms grew up, as the *Latines* in *Italy*, *Lacedamon*, *Corinth* and *Achaia* in *Greece*, *Syria-Soba* and *Damascus* under the *Adad's* in *Arabia*; of which there were ten Kings, who began and ended in effect with the Kings of *Israël*, who now changed their form of Government into a Monarchy.

C H A P. XVII.

Of David's Condition under Saul.

§. 1. *David's* hazards, after he was designed King, were many; first with *Goliath*, which won him Fame: His love to *Jonathan*, like that he bore to his own Soul, was a ground of deadly hatred in *Saul*; though it brake not out, till he had entertained him to Play on his Harp, and had made him his Son in Law; when in a raging Fit he threw his Spear at him. *Censorinus* speaks of *Æsculapius* a Physitian and *Seneca* of *Pythagoras*, curing frenzy by Musick; but *Saul's* Madnes came from the Cause of Causes, and so was incurable, and the ease he had, God ordain'd more for the Physicitian's good than the King's. *Saul* after his fearing to trust *David* about his Person, employ'd him against the *Philistins*, hoping he might fall by them; And being disappointed therein; he moved *Jonathan* and his Servants to kill him, but in vain. From many other desperate Perils the Lord delivered him at home and abroad, yea in a mutiny of his own, &c. As the History of this Part of his Life Witnesseth. *Saul* being slain the *Philistins* Victory was such, that some Towns even beyond *Jordan* were abandoned and left for them, to possess without resistance. It is therefore a wonder if they being a Warlike and Ambitious People, did not follow the Victory to make the Conquest intire. But it may be, the Civil Wars between *David* and the House of *Saul*, immediately breaking out, gave them hope of easie Victory over both; whereas their further Pursuits, might inforce an reconciliation against a Common Enemy.

§. 2. *David* beginning to Reign, was encounter'd by *Abner*, who sought to advance *Ishboseth* the Son of *Soul*, yet without right, while *Mephiboseth* the Son of *Jonathan* lived. The first War was defensive on *David's* Part, when *Abner* fought it upon a Challenge of twelve Combatants on either side, who slew each other; like the Combat between three hundred *Lacedæmonians*, and as many *Argives*, wherein seven only survived; and between the *Horatii* and the *Curatii*, for the *Romans* and *Latines*, &c. The Text, Chap. 3. 1. Makes it probable, the

War between *David* and *Isboseth* lasted longer than two Years; so that those two Years mention'd, *Cha. 2. 10.* some *Rab-*
bines refer to the time when this was written.

§. 3. *Abner* being reconciled to *David*, was Murdered by *Joab* in revenge of *Asabel*, and in jealousy of his Place and Dignity, which admitted of no Equal, much less a Superiour; as he doubted *Abner* would prove, being General of ten Tribes. Upon the like jealousy he also Murder'd his Kinsman *Amasa*. The Death of *Abner* might greatly have endangered *David's* Estate, if any thing could have withstood God's Ordinance: Therefore he wisely bewail'd it so openly, complaining of *Joab's* greatness, which makes Princes often put wrong up at their hands; yet he publicly Cursed him, &c.

§. 4. *David's* Reign over all *Israel*, after *Isboseth's* Death being confirmed, his first enterprize was against *Jerusalem*, the Center of the Kingdom held by the *Jebusites*, from *Josua's* time to that Day; whose strength was such, that in Derision they manned the Walls with Blind and Lame Men, but lost it. The *Philistins* hearing of *David's* anointing, thought good to try him before he was warm in his Seat; but were overthrown twice. *David* after this brought the Ark to the City of *David*, and then intended to build a Temple; but was forbidden, because he was a Man of War. The Wars which he had made were just, yet God refused to have the foundation of his Temple to be lay'd by his hands: Whereby the Damnable Pride of Princes appears, who by terrours of Wars think to grow to a Greatness, like unto the Almighty; not caring to imitate his Mercy and Goodness, or to seek the Blessing promised by our Saviour to Peace-Makers. Yet God so accepted of his Religious intent, that his Kingdom was confirmed to him and his, and a Promise is made of that everlasting Throne to be establish'd in his Seed.

§. 5. *David* after this, overthrew the *Philistins*, and demolish'd their strong City of *Gath*, which was their Frontier-Town, at the entrance into *Juda* and *Ephraim*; from whence they made their IncurSIONS and thither retreated, and was therefore in the Text called the Bridle of *Amgar*, see *Jer. 49. 21.* But the Conquest of *Moab* and the *Arabian* Wars, came between. Of *Moab* he slew two Parts, and sav'd a third to till the Ground; yet the occasion is uncertain, only *Moses* forbid the *Israelites* to seek their Peace; from hence he went to *Syria-Soba* against *Hadadezar*.

§. 6. *David*

§. 6. *David* overthrew *Hadadezar*, as he went to enlarge his Borders to *Euphrates*: Which purpose for *Euphrates*, cannot be understood of *David*, who upon this Victory and winning of *Damascus* upon it, had a fair way and assistance of Chariots and Horses, now won; fit for such a Journey, if he had intended it; all which notwithstanding he return'd to *Jerusalem*; this purpose therefore is better referred to *Hadadezar*. Next hereunto follows the Victory against the *Ammonites* and their Confederates, with the severe revenge *David* took for the affront *Hanun* shew'd to his Ambassadors. But before *Rabba* after call'd *Philadelphia* was besieged, *David* had another great Victory against the *Aramites*, brought to *Helam* by *Hadadezar* out of *Mesopotamia*; from whence yet *David* proceeded not to *Euphrates*.

§. 7. *David's troubles in his Reign.* §. As Victories beget Security, and Prosperity forgetfulness of former Misery, and many times of God himself the giver of all Goodness; so it fell out with this good King, for being free from dangerous and apparent Enemies, he began to indulge humane Affections; as we see in his carriage towards *Uriah* and his Wife: Forgetting the zealous care, which formerly he had to please God in the strict Observance of his Commandments. After this, he fell by degrees from the highest Happyness, and his Days were fill'd with interchangable Joys and Woes, and the Sword never departed from his House. Then follow'd the Death of the adulterous Child, the incestuous Rape of *Thamar*, Murder of *Ammon*, Insurrection, Usurpation, Incest and Death of *Absolom*, Treachery of *Ziba*, Despise of *Sheimei*, Insolence of *Joab*, Rebellion of *Sheba*, Murder of *Amasa*, &c. The Land also endur'd three Years famine for *Saul's* wrong to the *Gibeonites*, which was relieved by the Death of seven of *Saul's* Issue, of whom five were the Sons of *Michal's* Sister; as by an Ellipsis, the *Hebrew* will bear as in the like, *v. 19.* As the Lord by this execution secured *David's* House, from Comptons; so was the Nation strengthen'd by the valour of many brave Commanders, of whom six Colonels under the General, had thirty Captains of one thousand under them: Among whom the difference of Place and Honour arose out of a meer consideration of Vertue; as we see *Abishai*, Brother to *Joab* and the King's Kinsman, inferior in Honour to the first Three. *David* thus establish'd, a Declaration of his Power, provoked the Lord to smite his Peopl. with a Pestilence, for numbring of them, and slew seventy thousand.

§. 8. *Da-*

§. 8. *David's last Acts.* §. *Abisbag* in his impotency keepeth him warm, and *Adonijah* aspires; which caus'd *David* publickly to declare *Solomon* his successor, and to set him on his Throne; whereupon *Adonijah* and his Associates are disperſed. After this, *David* having two ſpecial Cares remaining, of which he deſired to diſcharge his Thoughts, viz. one concerning *Solomon's* peaceable Poſſeſſing of the Crown, the other about building the Temple, he call'd a Parliament of all the Princes, &c. In this aſſembly he ſignifieth his Purpoſe, and the approbation of God, chargeth all, and *Solomon* by name with it, v. 9. and produces the Pattern of the Work, according to the Form which God himſelf had appointed; laying down his own preparation, whereunto the Princes and others added their free-will Offerings. This being done, *David* made a ſolemn Feaſt, at which time *Solomon* is again anointed King, and receiv'd Fealty of the Princes, People and the King's Sons. After all this, *David* as upon his Death-bed, again with cogent Words, giveth *Solomon* the charge of the Lord his God, and then adviſeth him concerning *Joab*; who otherwiſe of exceeding Merit, yet for his intolerable inſolence came to ſo ſuch an end, by courſe of Juſtice when time ſerved; as many worthy Men have done for Acts of like Preſumption. *David* after forty Years Reign dyed: being ſeventy Years old; having been a Man of ſmall Stature, of exceeding ſtrength and for internal Gifts and Graces, ſurpaſſing all others, and laying aſide his Humane Frailties, commended by God himſelf, to be a Man after his own Heart: Being a Prophet as well as a King, he foretold the coming of Chriſt more clearly, and lively than all the reſt, and wrote many Pſalms: But whether all that Book, is diſputed; tho' it is maintain'd by *Chryſoſtome* and *Auguſtine*, de civitate Dei, Lib. 13. 14. Chriſt and his Apoſtles cite him.

§. 9. *David and Solomon's Treasure.* §. That *David's* Treasure was exceeding great, appears by what he gave towards his Temple, 1 Chron. 22. 14. which amounteth to three thouſand three hundred thirty three $\frac{1}{2}$ Cart-loads of Silver; or fix thouſand Pounds Sterling to every Cart-load, and twenty three Millions, and one thouſand Pounds in Gold; a matter incredible, but for the Teſtimony of Scripture: Where conſider how ſuch a Treasure could be raiſed, beginning with Parſimony: *Eusebius* cites *Eupolemus* for a Navy, which he ſent from *Melanis* or *Achai*, to the Iſle of *Orphe* or *Opher*, according to *Ortellius*: Than his Huſbandry which was great, his Preſents, Tributes, Taxes, Capitations, Spoils, the Riches of the Sanctuary long increaſing by great

great Gifts, and the portion out of all Prizes, from Enemies, even from *Joſua's* Days. Of *Solomon's* Treasure, See, 1 King. 9. 20. and 10. 14. 29. See *Joſephus* of the Treasure he had in *David's* Sepulchre, out of which *Hercanus* took three thouſand Talents, and *Herod* more.

§. 10. *David's Contemporaries.* §. *Achis* a Philitian King of *Gath*, and another in *Solomon's* Days. *Latinus Sylvius* King of *Alba*: *Codrus* the laſt King of *Athens*, after whom they changed the Government into a Principality for life, without Regal Title. This change was made in honour of *Codrus* being voluntarily ſlain, for their ſakes in a War with the *Dores*, to diſappoint the Oracle. *Eupales* the thirty firſt of *Aſſyria* Reigned thirty eight Years. *Ixion* the ſecond King of the *Heraclides* in *Corinth*, the Son of *Euryſtenes*. *Agis*, the ſecond King of the *Heraclides* in *Lacedaemon*: He reſtor'd the *Laconians* and made the Citizens of *Helos* ſlaves, for reſuſing Tribute, as at length all the *Meffenians* were; and therefore call'd *Helotes* that is, ſlaves. So Slave came from the, *Selavi*, who were *Sarmatians* now *Ruſſians*, who conquering *Illyria* would be call'd *Slaves*, which with them ſignifi'd glorious; but when the warm Chine had thaw'd their Northern hardneſs, (but not ripened their Wits) the *Italians*, who made many of them Bond-men; us'd their name by way of reproach, calling all Bond-men ſlaves. *Acheſtratus* ſucceeded *Agis*, in whole time *Andradus* the third Son of *Codrus* aſſiſted by the *Iones* built *Ephesus* in *Caria*, and was ſlain by the *Carians*. He alſo held *Aritbra* famous for *Sibylla*, who wrote Verſes concerning *Jeſus Chriſt*, the Son of God, our Saviour; reported by *Auguſtine*, who ſaw them. *Vaphres* King of *Egypt* began to Reign, when *David* beſieg'd *Rabba*. *Magneſia* on the *Meander*, in *Aſia*, was founded now and *Capua* in *Campania*.

C H A P. XVIII.

Of Solomon, Anno Mundi, 2991.

§. 1. *Solomon* began to Reign in the 2991 Year of the World, and was first Congratulated by *Hiram* King of *Tyre*; according to the ancient Custom of Princes. Though his Reign were peaceable, yet his beginning was with the Blood of his Brother *Adonijah*, without warrant either from his Father, or from the Law of God: The occasion was his desire of *Abislag*, and being his elder Brother, who also sought the Kingdom; it was enough, as a word is to the Wise, and he that seeth the Claw, knows whether it be a Lion or no: *Solomon* took the motion for a demonstration of a new Treason; such was the Jealousie of seeking a King's Widow or Concubine. As *Abisolem's* taking his Father's Concubines, was taking Possession of the Regal Power; so it was apply'd to *David* by *Nathan*, &c. 2. *Sam.* 12. 8. The Birth-right pleaded by *Adonijah* was according to God's Law, and that of Nations; but the Kings of the *Jews* were more absolute, and not without example in *Jacob*, for a private Inheritance. As for that we read of concerning the Peoples Elections; it was but an acknowledgment of him whom the Lord chose, and not to frustrate the Elder's Right. *Solomon* also Executed *Joab*, Deposed *Abiathar*, and put *Shemei* to Death. He Marry'd the Daughter of *Vaphres* (as *Eusebius* calls him) King of *Egypt*, and according to his request to God, obtain'd extraordinary Wisdom especially for Government; As appear'd in the example purposely set down, of his Judgment concerning the two Harlots; yet did he excell in all other knowledge.

§. 2. *Solomon's buildings and glory.* §. In renewing the League of *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, he had much of the Materials of his Buildings from him. Of the glorious Temple and Parts of it, many Learned Men have Written; as *Salmeron*, *Montanus*, *Bibera*, *Barradas*, *Azorius*, *Villalpandus*, *Pineda*, &c. The Letters that pass'd between *Solomon*, and *Hiram*, *Eusebius* sets down out of *Eusepius*, which *Jesephus* also records in his Antiquities, lib. 8. Chap. 2. Besides the matchless Temple, he erected

erected many other magnificent Buildings; of which *Gerar*, on the Borders of *Ephraim*, taught the *Egyptians* to visit those Parts, in *Rehoboam's* Days, before they were sent for. *Thadimor* is held by *Jesephus*, to be *Palmyra* in the Desert of *Syria*, to the North-East of *Libanus*, the utmost Border of *Solomon's* Dominion; which *Ferom* calls *Thermeth*, and by *Adrian* was rebuilt, and called *Adrianopolis*: He also repaired and peopled the Towns *Hiram* refused, and made his first and only Journey into *Syria-Soba*, to establish his Tributes, and then visited all the Borders of his Dominions, from *Palmyra* in the North of *Ezion-gaber*, and *Eloth* in the South upon the Red Sea.

§. 3. *Solomon* from *Ezion-gaber* sent a Fleet to *Ophir*, an Island of the *Moluccians* in the *East-Indies*; from whence he receiv'd four hundred and thirty Talents of Gold, and all Charges defray'd. Of the word *Tharssis*, see before lib. 1. 8. 8. 9, and 10. *Pineda* dreamt, *Ophir* was in the *Gades*, or *Calis-malis* his Country in *Spain*, of old called *Tartessus*; whereto the nearest way by the *Mediterranean* Sea, was hindred by the great *Atlantick* Island, exceeding all *Africa* in bigness, which was swallowed up, and choaked the Straights with Mud; like his Dream of *Jonah's* Whale, which in three Days swam about all *Africa* into the Red Sea, to cast him up twelve thousand Miles in compass. As for *Solomon's* Chariots, Horse-men, daily Provision, Wisdom, &c. See 1 *Kings* 4. 10. with 2 *Chron.* 9.

§. 4. *Solomon's Fall and term of Life.* §. *Solomon* forgetting what the Lord commanded, as he had plenty of all other things, so of Wives, even of Idolatrous Nations, 1. *Kings* 11. 12. that were prohibited: Whereupon they turn'd his Heart after other Gods, for which the Lord vexed him with Enemies in his old Age, and rent his Kingdom from his Son; as he threatned 1 *Kings* 11. Touching *Solomon's* Age, it is conjectur'd by his Father's Actions, whose Conquests were ended before he won *Rabba*, when *Solomon* was not Born: So that half of *David's* Reign being spent at the time of his vanquishing the *Ammonites*; *Solomon's* Birth must fall after *David's* Twentieth Year: And above a year it could not be, considering *Rehoboam's* Age at *Solomon's* Death, compared with the many heavy things which befell *David* after; and that *David* in his charge to *Solomon*, speaketh as to a Man grown; though *Solomon* at Nineteen years old, speaking to the Lord about his weighty charge, might well call himself a Child: Sometime after, *Amnon* forced *Thamar*, and two years after, was slain by *Absalom*, who fled to *Geshur*, where he abode three Years; how long after it was before he brake in o Rebellion, is uncertain

uncertain: Which seemeth to be in the Thirtieth year of *David's* Reign, but the Fortieth year after his first anointing; as these Words 2 *Sam.* 15. 7. may well be taken: Which Forty, *Iosephus*, *Theodoret* and the *Latin* Translation read Four years; to wit, after *Abisolom's* return.

§. 5. Of *Solomon's* Writings. In his *Proverbs* he teacheth a good Life, and correcteth the contrary: In *Ecclesiastes*, he shews the vanity of Humane Life: In the *Canticles* he singeth the *Epithalamion* of Christ and his Church. As for the *Book of Wisdom*, the most Learned make us think it none of his; and *Chimchi* ascribes the three others to *Esay* the Prophet. *Iosephus* tells us of his own Invention, rather than truly, that *Solomon* writ Books of Inchantments. But certainly so strange an Example of Human Frailty was never read of, That a Man endued with Wisdom by God himself, in honour of whom, and for whose Service he built the first and most glorious Temple of the World; made King, not by Law, but by the Love of God; and become the Wisest, Richest and happiest of all Kings; did in the end, by perswasion of mean, wretched Idolatrous Women, forget and forsake the God of all the World, and giver of all Goodness, of which he was most liberal to him, of all that ever the World had. See *Syracides* 47. 13. 14.

§. 6. *Solomon's* Contemporaries were *Agefilaus* in *Corinth*; *Laertes* in *Lacedaemon*; *Sylvius Alba* over the *Latines*; *Leosthenes* in *Affyria*; *Argastus*; and after, *Archippus* in *Athens*. *Basistrus* succeeded *Hiram* in *Tyre*: Others put *Bosorius* between *Sesac*, after *Vaphres* in *Egypt*; whom *Eusebius* calls *Simendes*, others by other Names.

C H A P. XIX.

Of *Solomon's* Successors to *Jehoram*. The Kingdom divided.

§. 1. *Rehoboam* succeeded his Father, but was not so wise as to resolve the Peoples Petition without Counsel, nor yet to discern Counsels, which is the very Test of Wisdom in Princes and all others: For though he consulted with grave and Wise Men; yet he was transported by his Favourites, who ignorant of the nature of Severity, which without Clemency, is cruelty it self, thrust him on to threaten an increase of what was insupportable already; being ignorant also, that severity is to be used for help, and not for injuring of Subjects. These foolish Parasites could better judge of the King's disposition; which Learning was sufficient to qualifie them for the Places they held. This Answer of *Rehoboam* set forwards *Jeroboam's* Designs, and the Prophecy of *Achia*, as the sequel sheweth: For the People, at once, chose *Jeroboam*, and after the manner of all Rebels, forgetting their Duty to God, and Bonds of Nature; renounc'd all Interest in *David*, the Honour of their Nation, and murder the Officer sent to appease them. After this, *Rehoboam* intending to make War upon them, is stopped by the Prophet from God. *Jeroboam* fortifieth himself, and to prevent a re-union, by communion in Religion, impiously establishes a new Worship he had learned in *Egypt*, expelling the *Levites*. Thus by irreligious policy, he founded that Idolatry which rooted *Israel* out of the Land at last. Neither could he be stayed by the Prophet that foretold his advancement, nor a Miracle upon his own Hand; this point of Policy must be made good, though it cast off God, and the Religion of his Fathers: Whereunto an *Italian* Historian compares the Policies of his Nation, in making good the State, they have gotten by what means soever; as if God would not oppose it. Upon this ground, *Amos* must not Prophesy at *Bethel*, it is the King's Court: *Jehu* will upon this ground, maintain the worshipping of Calves: And *Henry IV* of *France* change his Religion, &c. Whom yet the Protestants, whom he forsook, never hurt as Papists did, whom he follow'd. But of the wretched end of such Policy, all those are notable Examples.

§. 2. Rehoboam's Impiety, Punishment and Contemporaries. §. Rehoboam fortified this City as well against Egypt as Jeroboam, and then forsook the Lord, 1 Kings 14. and 1 Chron. 11. But in his Fifth Year, Sefac of Egypt, who favour'd Jeroboam, taught him how weak Fortifications are, where God watcheth not the City: Sefac brought with him the *Lubeans*, *Cusites* of Arabia, and *Succaans*, who were not the *Troglodytes*, spoken of by Pliny and Ptolemy; as Junius judgeth: For these were six hundred Miles from the best and Maritim Part of Egypt, and were in the twenty second Degree of North Latitude, too far for such an occasion. The *Succaans* were rather Arabian-Egyptians, or the *Icthyophagi* in Ptolemy; between the *Alabastrine* Mountains and the Red Sea: With this Power, Sefac won Jerusalem, and other Cities of Juda; and added to the Spoil of them, that of the Temple and the King's House; and the Egyptian Kings ever after, claim'd Sovereignty over Juda. After Seventeen Years Reign, Rehoboam died, and Jeroboam outliv'd him two Years. Tersippus reigned in Athens: Doristhus in Sparta: Priminas in Corinth: Sylvius Aris, over the Latines: Pericciades in Assyria, and Abdastortus in Tyre; whom his Foster-Brothers murdered, and usurped Twelve Years. But Astartus the Son of Balafter, recover'd the Kingdom from them.

§. 3. Abia succeeded Rehoboam in his Kingdom and Vices, yet God was pleas'd to give him Victory against Jeroboam, of whose Subjects he slew five hundred thousand; tho' he suffer'd his Father to be Conquer'd by Sifac the Egyptian, not for want of Strength, but Wisdom and Courage: Which God giveth, when and where it pleaseth him, who by that affinity, by which Solomon thought to secure his Estate, broke it in his next Successor. And though then God used to shew the Causes of such Judgments by his Prophets; yet is he the same just God, to set up and throw down Kings and Estates, for the same Offences: And those Afflictions of Israel, and the Causes thereof, are set down for Precedents for succeeding Ages: As the Famine is for Saul's Cruelty; David's Calamity for Uriah; Solomon's loss of Ten Tribes for Idolatry; Rehoboam for Idolatry and Sodomy, in the Land; Jeroboam, Zotam, Ahab, Jezabel, &c. The like Judgments executed daily for the like Offences: Tho' Men wise in the World, raise these Effects no higher than to second Causes.

§. 4. Asa,

§. 4. Asa, after three years, succeeded Abijah, who reformed Religion, and prospered: He overthrew Zerah and his ten hundred thousand Men, &c. That Zerah was an Arabian, not an Ethiopian, was proved before, l. i. chap. 3. Sect. 14. and 8. 10. But after he fell to rely on Man, and hired Benhadad against Baasab, not resting upon the assistance of God; he fell to persecute the Prophet who reprov'd him, and to oppress the People, for which God Plagued him. There lived at the same time, Agesilaus, and Bacis of Corinth; Astartus and Astartius, Kings of Tyre; Atys and Capys, Kings of the Latines. Ophitens in Assyria: Tersippus and Torbas, in Athens; and Chemmis in Egypt, whom Ceops succeeded, and Reigned fifty six years, to the sixteenth of Joas: Baasa, King of Israel, began his Reign in the Third Year of Asa, and reigned twenty four Years; which was about the Twenty sixth year of Asa; but the thirty sixth of the Kingdom of Juda, called Asaes, because he then reigned in it: Consider that Rehoboam reigned Seventeen years, Abia Three, Asa forty one, in whose third year Baasa began: So the thirty sixth year of Juda's Kingdom, fell in the sixteenth year of Asa.

§. 5. The Alterations in the Kingdom of Israel, in the Reign of Asa, might have reduced the Ten Tribes to the House of David: if God's Wisdom had not determined the contrary. Jeroboam lost five hundred thousand, and Nadab his Son in two Years, lost his Life and Kingdom: So that of his Father's Worldly Wisdom to establish a Kingdom in his Posterity, nothing remain'd but the hateful memory, that he made Israel to sin. Baasa rooting out Jeroboam's House, yet embrac'd his Idolatry, which drew the same Sentence of God's Wrath upon him and his: And though he thought it Wisdom to fortifie the Kingdom, which he found weaken'd by Asa, by making a League with Benhadad: Yet God turn'd his Wisdom into foolishness, and by the same Hand destroy'd Naphtali. Ela the Son of Baasa, succeeded, and was slain by Zimri; who wanting strength to defend himself against Omri, had courage enough to burn himself in Tirza: Omri, by the Peoples division, was a while opposed by Tibni, but prevailed.

§. 6. Israel thus afflicted under those unhappy Princes, it is a wonder the People returned not to their Ancient King; and re-united not to those two mighty Tribes, but continued under the grievous Oppression of the factious Usurpers and Competitors; and under the avenging Hand of God, for their defection: And

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to say God's secret Will was such, was not a reason either to the Ten Tribes not to return, nor to *Abijah*, after he had so weakened *Israel*, not to perfect his Conquest: For though his Father was restrain'd expressly by the Lord, yet was not he. We may boldly then look into Two Causes. First, Why the People bore so quietly the slaughter of *Nadab*, and extirpation of *Feroboam*, their own chosen King; and reveng'd the death of *Ela*, the Son of *Baasa* an Usurper: It is therefore probable, that the People by their defection from *Rehoboam*, seeking Ease of former Burdens; found *Feroboam* and his Son to retain some Kingly Prerogatives, which had been grievous to them under *Solomon*, which *Baasa* had forborn, and reduced the form of Civil Government, to a more temperate method, which much pleased them. 2. The same may be the reason they return'd not to the House of *David*, whose Scepter they found so heavy under *Solomon*, and were threatened by his Son with more Burdens. They had seen *Joab* and *Simei* slain, without all Form of Judgment, and *Adonijah*, without cause, as *Feroboam* would have been; which lawless Power grew more barbarous in *Fehoram*, *Manasses*, &c. As for the Kings of *Israel*, we find no such arbitrary Proceedings; for even *Jezebel* kept the Form of Judicial Process against *Naboth*. And well may it be thought, *Feroboam* had establish'd Law against the Prophets of God; which the Idolatrous People approv'd, and by which Law *Jezebel* slew so many: This difference of Arbitrary Power, and that according to Law, made the People of *Juda* less affectionate to their Princes, than the *Israelites*; who us'd not to kill their Kings as the other did, but revenged when they were able, such as were slain by Usurpers. The like moderation of Kingly Prerogative in the Government of *England*, gain'd such Affection of the People, as never any perished by the fury of the People; whose heat in the greatest Insurrections, was quenched with the Blood of some great Officers. Let not Monarchs fear the restraining of their Absoluteness by potent Subjects, as long as by Wisdom they keep the Hearts of their People, who will be sure to come in on their side: As *Briareus* with his hundred Hands assisted *Jupiter*, when all the Gods conspir'd against him. For a good Form of Government sufficeth of it self to retain the People; not only without the assistance of laborious Wit, but even against all the Devices of the shrewdest Politicians: Every Sheriff and Constable being sooner able to Arm the Multitude in the King's behalf, than any over-growing Rebel against him: Princes immediately assigned by God, or getting command by strong hand, have presumed upon more absolute Prerogatives than Elective Kings; and the People that

that thought Obedience to Princes a part of their Duty to God, have endured much more with patience, than others who have Kings of their own chusing.

§. 7. *Fehosaphat*, a religious happy Prince, succeeded *Asa*, whose Forces of Men of War were 1160000 by which he recover'd the Tribute of the *Arabians* and *Philistines*, besides his Garrisons; yet all his Country did not much exceed the County of *Kent*. This Number may be thought strange in so small a Territory, being far greater than any Muster ever taken in that Country. *Joab* had found Five hundred Thousand, *Rehoboam*, one hundred eighty thousand; *Abia*, four hundred and eight thousand; *Asa*, five hundred eighty thousand. *Amaziah* found three hundred thousand, and *Uzziah* three hundred seven thousand: And surely if *Fehosaphat* had 1160000 Men, he would not have feared *Moab* and *Ammon*, &c. I am therefore of Opinion (submitting to better Judgments) that the numbers spoken of 2 *Chron.* 17. were not all at one time; but the two first numbers under *Adnah* and *Feholana*, were after mustered, and commanded by *Amaziah*, *Eliada*, and *Fehosaphat*. Yet this mighty Prince made a League with *Ahab*, matched his Son *Fehoram* with his Daughter, and assisted him at *Ramoth Gilead*, for which he was reproved by *Jehu* the Prophet; as he was a second time by the Prophet *Eleazar*, for joining with *Ahab's* Son, in preparing a Fleet: So he join'd with *Fehoram* against *Moab*, and had perished of Famine, if *Elisha* had not relieved them from God; whose goodness was ever prone to save the Evil for the sake of the Good, and never destroy'd the Good for the Evil. *Ophortenes* now reigned in *Assyria*. *Caperus* and *Tiberinus* at *Alba* in *Italy*. *Mazedes* in *Athens*. *Agessilaus* in *Corinth*. *Archilochus* in *Lacedaemon*. *Badisonis* in *Tyrus*. *Ahab*, *Ochazias*, and *Fehoram* in *Israel*.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of Jehoram and Ahazia.

§. 1. *Jehoram* the Son of *Jehosaphat*, being thirty two years Old, began to Reign, and reigned Eight Years, of which, four were in his Father's Life time; who in his two Expeditions with *Abab* and *Jehoram*, Kings of *Israel*, left him Vice-Roy 'till his return. The first was in *Jehosaphat*'s seven-teenth year; when also *Ahaziab* the Son of *Abab* began to Reign, whose Brother *Jehoram*, the second year after, succeeded King of *Israel*, in the second year of *Jehoram* King of *Juda*; that is, of his Reign with his Father *Jehosaphat*, who was now in his Eighteenth year, 1 *Kings* 3. 1. After which, it seemeth *Jehosaphat* took the sole Government again upon himself, 'till the fifth year after, when he resum'd his Son *Jehoram* into the Govern-ment, 2 *Kings* 8. two years before his death; in the fifth year of *Jehoram* King of *Israel*: So that *Jehosaphat* Reigned Twenty five years, 2 *Kings* 22. 42. It is evident, his Son *Jehoram* could not be sole King of *Juda*, 'till the eighth year of *Jehoram* King of *Israel*: The like regard is to be had in accounting the Reigns of the other Kings of *Juda*, and *Israel*, whose years are some-times to be taken compleat, current, or confounded with other Kings preceding, or succeeding: as the comparing of their Times together shall require: In this History consider, that *Jehosaphat*, a Religious King, is the first of *Rehoboam*'s Issue, that entred into a League offensive and defensive with the Kings of *Israel*, with whom his Predecessors had tired themselves in vain, with continual Wars. This confederacy with one that hated the Lord, could not long prosper, as not issuing from the true Root, and cou- of all Wisdom: Yet as a piece of sound Policy, it Fountan. Fair pretences of much common Good; as a mutual Wanted not in both Kingdoms, against Uncircumcised, Ancient Fortification of both Kingdoms, against such an apparent Benefit unto Po- Enemies. For a confirm- Unity is knit by the Marriage of *Jehoram*, the sure Bond of Amity, and a masculine Spirit, who had *Jehoram* with *Athaliah*, a Lady of a Brother's Wife, that she durst learned so much of *Jezebel*, her Brother's Wife, that she durst undertake more in *Jerusalem*, than the other in *Samaria*; being as a Fire-brand ordained of God to consume many Nobles in *Juda*,

Juda, and perhaps some whose worldly Wisdom, regardless of God's Pleasure, had brought her in. The Syrian War at *Ramoth Gilead* was the first Fruits of this League, undertaken upon equal adventures, but upon hope of benefit only to *Abab*: As godly Princes seldom thrive by Matching with Idolaters, but rather serve the turns of those false Friends, who being ill affected towards God, cannot be well affected towards his Ser- vants. At this time also as *Abazia* was designed King by *Abab* his Father. So was *Jehoram* by *Jehosaphat* after the other's Example, without any president of it in any of their Predecessors.

§. 2. *Jehoram*'s Reign so diversly dated in Scripture, Argues; that *Jehosaphat* having taken him into the Government, as *Abab* had given Example, found cause afterwards to recall that Power. It is Probable, that his insolent Idolatrous Wife having corrupted him, was the cause that the Government, both for Religion and Justice grew so far out of order, that *Jehosaphat* was forced to the reformation we read of, and sequestred his Son from the Government, till it were settled again; and so after five Years called him to it the second time, which bred a new Date; as did his Father's Death two Years after breed a third. Many things might move *Jehosaphat* to *Jehoram*'s second calling to govern with him, as to try what Wisdom his restraint had wrought, or to prevent his Brethrens insolence against him, if *Jehosaphat* had at his Death left him in disgrace, which might be the cause of great Tumults. It may be also, *Jehoram* by dissimulation had won the good Opinion of his Father and Brethren formerly offended with him; it being usual in violent fierce Natures to be as abject and servile in Adversity, as insolent and Bloody in Prosperity. However it was, this is manifest, that his Father at his Death doubting of his affections to his Brethren, for their better security, besides great Riches gave them the Custody of strong Cities, and unusual Means, against unusual Dangers.

§. 3. *Jehoram*'s Reign alone in which Edom and Libna rebel. §. *Jehosaphat*'s provident Care for his younger Sons, avail'd nothing against the determination of an higher Providence; for those strong Cities were a weak defence for the Young Princes, against his Power, to whom the Citizens were Obedient. If they came in upon the King's Summons, he had them without any more ado, if they refus'd they were Traytours, and could not hold out, when all would leave them, for fear of a Potent King. However it was, all were slain, and many great Men with
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them, who had any way offended the Tyrant, either formerly or in behalf of his Brethren. *Jehoram* after this, made Innovations in Religion, not only Encouraging the People, prone of themselves to Idolatry, (of all other Sins the most detested of God) but using compulsion also, and is the first we read of that enforce'd Irreligion. *Edom* in the mean time revolted, and made themselves a King, having from *David's* days been Tributaries and governed by Vice-Roys. Now *Isaac's* Prophecy began to take effect, that *Esau* should break the Yoak of *Jacob*; for after this, *Edom* was never subject to the Kings of *Juda*: yea in process of time *Antipater* and *Herod*, who were *Edumeans* as Kings Reigned in *Jerusalem*. *Libna* also a City of the *Levites* in *Juda* Rebelled against him; because he had forsaken the Lord God of his Fathers; in defence of whose Worship these *Levites* held themselves bound, especially against his enforcement to the contrary; wherein also they might take encouragement from *Jehosaphat's* charge, 2 Chr. 27. 8. But as *Jehoram* had left *Edom* in their defection, so he attempted nothing against *Libna*: Which seemeth to proceed from an unwillingness in him, to put Weapons into the Hands of his Subjects against their Fellows; whose cause might well be favour'd by many, who yet durst not discover themselves being Unarm'd, as they might when Weapons were put into their Hands: So desperate is the Condition of Tyrants, who thinking it to be greater Happiness to be fear'd than lov'd, are fain to fear those, whose Love could make them dreadful to others.

§. 4. *Jehoram* taking no notice of God's displeasure, by these afflictions, he is threatned by a Prophetical Writing sent unto him; he being such a Tyrant as the Prophets, durst not reprove him to his Face, as they had done many of his Predecessors, Bad as well as Good; but they write unto him, keeping themselves from him: *Elias* being Translated to Heaven might have left this Writing, (or as some Conjecture) by Error of Writing one Letter for another, *Elias* is put for *Elisha*, &c. This accomplishment of the Prophecy prov'd as Terrible, as the sentence, when the *Philistins*, who from *David's* days never durst look out, broke in upon him, &c. with the *Arabians* a naked People on Horse-back, of no force dwelling in a barren Desert: So that one quarter of those whom *Jehosaphat* Mustered, had been able to drive away greater Forces, than both these Enemies could raise; had the People of *Judaea* been Arm'd, as by their Prince's Jealousie they were not, according to the Policy of the *Philistins* in the days of *Saul*. The House of

of *Jehoram* which they surpriz'd, seemeth rather a Country-House than that in *Jerusalem*, considering they made no further spoil: It's probable all *Jehoram's* Children were not now slain, considering the Slaughters made by *Jehu* and *Athaliah*, two Years after. Lastly himself, after two Years Torment, voyded his Guts, &c. and as the People had but little cause of comfort in his Life, so had they not the good manners to pretend sorrow for his Death, neither had he the honour of his Ancestors Burial; though his Son succeeded and his Wife did all. *Athaliah* busy in Plotting her own greatness, and providing faithful Counsellors for her Son, thought it unseasonable to offend the Eyes of the People, with a Stately Funeral for a Man, by them detested; and chose rather to let all the blame of things past, to lye upon the Dead, than by doing him Honour, to procure an ill Opinion of her self and hers, which it now concern'd her to avoy'd. Such is the quality of wicked Instigators to charge the Man, whose evil Inclination they made worse by sinister Counsel, not only with his own Vices; but with their own Faults also, when once he is gone and can profit them no longer. Thus we may clearly see how the corrupted affections of Men; impugning the revealed Will of God, accomplish nevertheless his hidden Purpose, and without Miraculous Means, confound themselves in the seeming wise Devices of their own Folly. All Men may likewise learn to submit their Judgments to the Ordinance of God, rather than to follow wordly Wisdom, contrary to his Commandments.

§. 5. *Ahaziah* succeeded his Father, in the twelvth Year of *Jehoram* King of *Israel*, and was Guided by the same Spirits that had been his Father's evil Angels. Touching his Age, 2 Chr. 22. 2. a Point more difficult than important; I see not a more probable Conclusion than that of *Tornelius*, alledging an Edition of the Septuagint at *Rome*, An. 1583. Which saith he was twenty Years old, when he succeeded, and the Annotations thereon, which cite other Copies that give him, two Years more, &c. He accompany'd *Jehoram* King of *Israel*, to *Ramoth Gilead* and returning home after the Battle, he presently took a new Journey to visit *Jehoram*; belike his speedy return to *Jerusalem*, was not pleasing to *Athaliah*, as interrupting her in her Plots, who therefore sought to send him abroad, tho' it were but in a vain Compliment, to visit one whom he had seen but Yesterday. But however these things may seem accidental, yet all concurred, as disposed at this time to fulfil

the high pleasure of God, yea *Athaliah's* secret Plots, which intended nothing less.

§. 6. *Ahazia* and that Family perished in the House of *Ahab*. §. *Jehu* is anointed King, and made Executioner of the Sentence of God, against the House of *Ahab*; according to the Prophecy of *Elias*, and is proclaim'd by all the other Captains. He having this Honour upon the sudden thrown upon him, was not slow in the heat of their Affections, to put himself into Possession, and to set on Foot the business which so nearly concern'd him; and was not to be retarded, being no more his own than God's. *Ahab's* House never so flourish'd as now, having seventy Princes of the Blood, a Valiant King honour'd with the Victory of *Ramoth Gilead*, so deeply ally'd with *Juda*, and Courted by the King and so many Princes of his Blood, that it might daunt all Common Enemies, and make Rebellious Enterprizes hopeless. In this security and joy of the Court for the King's recovery and entertainment of the Princes of *Juda*; the King his Court and Friends, are suddenly surprized and slain: Neither could *Jesabel's* painted Majesty or Manlike Spirit, with untimely brave *Apophthegms* daunt her Adversary; who of her Servant is become her Lord, and at whose command her servile Groom's fear'd not to violate her affected Majesty. *Ahazia* is also Wounded to Death.

CHAP.

C H A P. XIX.

Of *Athaliah*, and whose Son he was that succeeded her.

§. 1. *Athaliah* Usurpeth, and upon what pretences. §. *Ahazia* being dead, after one Year's Reign, his House was not able to retain the Kingdom, 2 Chron. 22. 9. which Speech hath bred a dispute about *Joas's* Pedegree. *Athaliah* having Reigned in her Son's Name, had laid a Plot to play the Queen under her own Title, if her Son fail'd; and to that end, had furnish'd the King's Council and Places of Chief Command, with Men fittest for her purpose. And though Ambition be violent, yet seldom is it so shameless as to neglect Pretences. It is not therefore absurd to think, that *Athaliah* seeing the Royal Blood, so wasted in her Husband and Son's days, had by some means drawn her Husband or Son to make her Heir, if the King's Blood should be extinct; considering, that without some such order taken, when the King's Blood should fail, the Kingdom were like to be torn asunder by Competitors; or some Popular Seditious Man might be chosen, that should turn all upside down, and exercise his Cruelties on such as they lov'd most, and cast aspersions upon the Royal House. Pretences of Testaments to thrust out true Heirs is no new Thing: Yea, what is new under the Sun? To prefer a younger before the natural Heir, hath proof in *David*; and for State-Policy to slay a Brother, by Example of *Solomon*, &c. And tho' those had ground for what they did, yet they who follow Examples that please them, will neglect the Reasons which please them not. *Solomon* slew *Adonijah* who had Rebelled, and was entred upon a new practice; *Jehoram* slew Brethren that were better than he; *David* Purchas'd the Crown, yet he gave it away by God's direction, whereas *Ahazia* sought to cut off *David's* Issue, which the Lord had appointed to Reign, 2 Chron. 23. 3.

§. 2. *Jehu* had so much business to establish his own Kingdom, that he could not molest *Athaliah* as he desir'd; she being of *Ahab's* House. Among other things about Religion, he destroy'd

stroy'd *Baal*: And tho' never a King of *Israel*, had such a way to overthrow *Feroboam's* Idolatry, seeing he needed not fear the Peoples return to *David's* House (in appearance) quite rooted out, and had his Calling by an unexpected Favour of God, and for his Zeal against *Baal* had a special promise for four Generations; yet will he needs piece out God's Providence with his own Circumspection. He had, no doubt, displeased many about *Baal*, and should offend more in taking away *Feroboam's* ancient Idolatry: Yet all these never thought of making him King, if God had not done it; when more difficulties appeared in the way of getting the Crown, than after in keeping it, though with their offence whom he seeks to retain by forsaking God. This Ingratitude of *Jehu* drew terrible Vengeance from God on *Israel*, executed by *Hazeel*, according to *Eliseus's* Prophecy, 2 *Kings* 8. 12. with 10. 32. Thus *Israel* sped under *Jehu*, whose courage and success was better in Murdering his Master than trusted him, than in defending his People from Cruel Enemies. And thus it commonly falls out, that they who can find all difficulties in serving him, to whom nothing is difficult; instead of finding what they propound by contrary Courses, are overwhelm'd with Troubles they sought not; and are by God, whom they first forsook, left unto the miserable Labours of their own blind Understanding and Wisdom, wherein they repose all their Confidence.

§. 3. *Athaliah's* Government, by *Israel's* Colonies stood the safer; she having leisure to settle it. It was like also she held Correspondence with *Hazeel*, as King *Asa* had done, and had secured her self by Gifts; having Robbed the House of God for *Baalim*, whose Idolatry she set out with Pomp, to recommend it to the People, as she sought by want of Means to make the Service of the Sanctuary neglected.

§. 4. *Joas's* preservation was by means of *Jehosabeth*, *Abazia's* Sister, and Wife unto *Jehoiada* the High-Priest, the upholder of God's Service in those unhappy Times. By her Piety, it seems she was not *Athaliah's* Daughter; yet had she access to the Court, and conveyed the young Child with his Nurse into the Temple; Where he was secretly brought up, that the Tyrant Queen could not discover it; and thought it not fit to make much ado about him, but rather let it be thought, he was dispatched with the rest; least the People hearing of his escape, should hearken after Innovation.

§. 5 *Joas*

§. 5. *Joas's* Father examined. 1. Whether *Abazia* were he, as some Scriptures speak, as in 2 *Kings* 11. 2. and 2 *Chron.* 22. 11. calling him his Son, which I cannot learn that any Hebrew Figure can make him a Son only for being a Successor: Yet the contrary Opinions touching the Father, are so different, that I know not how to Answer them: They who deny, he was his Natural Son, urge 2 *Chron.* 22. 9. whereto *Athaliah's* Murder agreeth; who seeing the Crown was to go to them in whom she had no Interest, fear'd that her Husband's Tyranny should be laid to her charge; of which Fear she was free if *Joas* were her Grand-Child: So that she had no need of such unnatural Cruelty, to kill him whose Life might be of more use to her than his Death, and whom in natural Affection she could not but love, almost as much as her own Child; after the manner of Grand-mothers. 2. Whether *Joas* descended from *Nathan*, as some think, and not from *Solomon*, is controverted: Touching *Nathan*, whom they judge to be the Son of *David*, 1 *Chron.* 35. Some thought him the Prophet, who could not be by *Bathsheba*: As for those Sons ascribed to *David*, they are probably enough thought to be the Sons of *Uriah*, adopted by *David*; whereto agrees *Solomon's* Speech, that he was the only begotten Son of his Mother: If this be so, *Joas* could not come from *Nathan*; for so our Saviour should not descend from *David* and *Solomon*, as St. *Matthew* derives him. *Philo's* Authority is a Forgery of Fryer *Annius*. 3. *Joas* was probably thought to be the Son of *Jehoram*, considering 2 *Kings* 8. 19. and 2 *Chron.* 21. 17. where the Lord threatening *Jehoram*, and destroying his Children all but one; the Reason why he was saved, is render'd 2 *Kings* 8. 19. to save a Light for *David*; which can be understood of no other, than of *Jehoram's* Son, spoken of in that other Place, as the accomplishment proves: Otherwise after the *Philistins* had destroyed his Children, there were Forty two of his Brethren, or Brethren's Children alive; but slain after by *Jehu* and others, and after that, by this wicked Woman, who finished the Vengeance that was but begun by the *Philistins*: So that *Jehoahaz* called the youngest Son of *Jehoram*, 2 *Chron.* 21. 17. saved from the *Philistins*, seemeth rather to be this *Joas* than *Abazia*, who could not be the youngest of *Jehoram's*; being twenty years old at least, and Born when *Jehoram* was but Eighteen years Old: By which computation, all *Jehoram's* Children must be Born before; and himself remain fruitless for Twenty years after, notwithstanding so many Wives; both which are unlikely: And yet must be true, if *Abazia* be *Jehoahaz's* his youngest Son. But these inconveniences

veniences are removed, if *Jeboabaz* and *Joas* be the same; and their Age hinders it not; if we hold *Joas* to be begotten at the beginning of *Jebooram's* Sickneſs. As for his being called *Abaziah's* Son; it is no more abſurd than with others, to ſay he is deſcended from *Nathan*: But indeed *Jeboabaz* in *Hebrew* differs a little from *Abaziah*, and much more from *Joas*; tho' in *English* the ſound is nearer: And as *Abaziah* is called *Azariah*, and muſt have a third Name, if he be *Jeboabaz*: So we may ſay, *Joas* had ſeveral Names: But I refer all to better Judgments. 4. But *Joas* being Grand-child to *Atbaliah*, what might move her to ſeek his Deſtruction? Ambition is a violent blind Paſſion, eſpecially when joined with a Zeal of Idolatry: She had alſo other Sons by other Men, old enough to rob the Temple, whom ſhe might in time advance; there being but one of the Royal Blood left, and he but a Child, whoſe Mother would have a greater Inter-eſt on him than ſhe, and peradventure work her out of all: For ſhe knew what Power ſhe had held in her Son, tho' Married; whoſe Youth ſhe eaſily abuſ'd, in ſending him abroad to youthful Employments, while ſhe rul'd at Home.

§. 6. *A Digreſſion about the liberty of uſing Conjeſtures in Hiſtories.* The more I conſider the difference of this *History* from others; the leſs Reason I have to doubt or blame my own Curioſity or preſumption in the liberty of Conjeſtures therein uſed: *History* informs us of Humane Countels or Events, as far as the Knowledge or Faith of the Writer can afford; but of God's Will, who orders all, they ſpeak at random, and often falſely; as when they aſcribe the ill Succeſs of great Undertakings, to the neglect of ſome impious Rices, the performance whereof God abhorred: Yet we may wonder the leſs at this, if we conſider the *Jews* Answer in *Egypt*, to *Jeremy*, cap. 44. 17, 18. But this *History* of God hath this Prerogative above all Humane Writings; in expreſly ſetting down the firſt and true Cauſe of whatſoever happened, and referring all to God's revealed Will; from which that his hidden purpoſe does not vary, this *History* proves: Tho' the concurrence of ſecond Cauſes, with their Effects are not here ſo largely deſcribed, nor ſo exactly perhaps as in Prophane *Histories*, which are moſt copious herein: For ſuch *Historians* borrow of Poets, not only Ornament, but ſome-what of Subſtance; as that worthy Gentleman Sir *Philip Sidney*, ſaid well: *Informations, yea, Records are often falſe, and notorious Actions, commonly inſufficient to diſcover the Paſſions that ſet them firſt on foot*: Therefore *Historians* are oblig'd to ſearch into the particular Humour of Princes, the Government of their Af-

fections, and Instruments they uſe; and ſo collect the likeli-eſt Motive to, or Impediment of every Buſineſs: And ſo figuring as near the Life as they can imagine; they judiciously conſider the Defects that are in Councils, and obliquities in Proceedings: This may well ſatiſſie their Reader, but not aſſure him all was ſo; for as Man's Heart is unſearchable, ſo Princes, whoſe Intents are ſeldom hidden from ſome, do ſometimes carry on Deſigns ſo cloſely, or in ſuch Miſts, that the Truth is concealed from all Reports: Many times Preparations are turned to another uſe, before the Affection which began them appears. The Industry of an *Historian* having ſo many Things to weary it, may well be excuſed, if finding an apparent cauſe, it ſearch no further; tho' where ſundry cauſes work together, the ſmalleſt in a weak Mind, doth work more than that which to the Wiſe ſeemeth greater. The Fire which burns a Town, began, it may be, among a few Straws; but the Flame getting to the Wood-pile, is there ſeen when the Straw is not. The *Persian* War begun by *Darius*, and purſued by *Xerxes* againſt the *Greeks*, was noiſed to ariſe upon the *Athenians* Enterprize upon *Sardis*; but before he had received that Injury, he made Preparations for it, to ſatiſſie Queen *Atteſſa*, who deſir'd to have the *Grecian* Dames for Bond-women: However this were, I dare ſay, Matters of much conſequence, founded on all ſeemingly ſubſtantial Reaſons, have iſſued from Trifles; which no *Historian* could ever think of. When a Fryer, who had been familiar with Pope *Sixtus V.* wondred how he, being taken for a plain honeſt Man, could attain to the Papacy, which the cunningeſt Politicians, with the craftieſt Brains, find work enough to compaſs; eſpecially when he conſider'd the Artifices of the Conclave, and his unaptn-eſs thereunto. The Pope replyed, that had the Fryer liv'd abroad as he had done, and ſeen by what Folly the World was govern'd, he would wonder at nothing: This is true, if we refer it to the exorbitant Engines Men uſe, of whom, even the wiſeſt have their Vanities; which requiring and finding mutual toleration, work more cloſely and carneſtly than right Reason need or can: But if we liſt up our Eyes to the ſupreme Governour, that Rules all things in Heaven and Earth; as the Poet ſpake of *Jupiter*, we ſhall find the quite contrary: In him is no uncertainty or Change; he fore-ſeeeth and diſpoſeth of all things to his own Honour: who neither deceiveth, nor can be deceiv'd, but continueth one and the ſame forever; doth conſtantly govern all Creatures, by that Law he hath preſcrib'd, and will never alter: The Vanities of Men beguile their vain Contrivers, and the Proſperity of the Wicked, is the Way that leads to their Deſtruction yet this broad

broad and precipitous Passage to Hell, is not so delightful, as it seemeth at the first entrance to be; but hath growing in it, besides Poysons which infect the Soul; many sharp Things that deeply wound the Body: All which, if some few happen to escape; they have only this miserable advantage over others, that their descent to Hell is more swift and expeditious: But the service of God is the Path to perfect Happiness, and hath in it here a true, tho' not compleat Felicity; yielding such abundance of support to the Conscience, as doth easily countervail all Afflictions whatsoever: Tho' indeed the Brambles that tear the Skin of such as walk in this blessed Way, commonly lay hold of them at such time as they sit down to take their Ease; and make them with themselves at their Journey's end, to enjoy the presence of their Lord, whom they faithfully serve; *in whose presence is fulness of joy, and at whose right hand, &c.* This then being the end of History, by the Examples of Times past, to teach such Wisdom as may guide our Actions and Desires: We should not wonder, that the Chronicles of the Kings of *Judah* and *Israel*, written by Men inspired by the Spirit of God, instruct us chiefly in that which is most requisite for us to know, as the means to attain true Felicity here and hereafter; propounding Examples, which illustrate this infallible Rule, *the fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wisdom*: Yet it is not unlawful for us, out of prophane Histories, and manifest Circumstances, to gather other Things belonging to that History, tho' omitted, as of less importance, without injury to the Scriptures; as long as the first Cause is not prejudiced, by ascribing more than is due to the second: To illustrate by Probabilities, what the authority of Scripture commands us to believe, is no adding, &c.

§. 7. *Athaliah* had acted as Queen above six years, without disturbance; when suddenly the period of her Glory, and Reward of her Wickedness met together; and the young Prince's Age requir'd no longer to be conceal'd, for his better Education; to endue him with Courage, and other Qualities fit for a King; and to prevent the over-deep rooting of Impiety, by the longer Reign of the cursed Woman: *Jehoiada* wisely considering this, combin'd with five Captains, of whom he was best assured, and by whom he drew other great Men to *Jerusalem*: And because it was difficult to draw open Forces together, he gave order to the *Levites*, who waited by course in the Temple, that they should not return home, 'till they knew his further pleasure; thus admitting new comers, and retaining the old, he made up without noise, a competent number to encounter the Queen's Guard:

Guard, and armed them out of the Armory of the Temple, which King *David* had made; herewith also he armed the Captains and their Followers, &c. All things being in readiness, they proceed to Execution; the young King is joyfully crowned: and the Tyrant usurping Queen coming in desperately without Forces, as being ignorant of the Business, endeth her own Tragedy with a sudden and shameful Death; what *Josephus* reports of her coming with her Power, which was repelled, &c. is not credible: Tho' all the Forces she could bring, could not frustrate the Counsel of God; yet her indiscretion made the effect more easie.

§. 8. *Athaliah* had, no doubt, considered *Jehoram* King of *Israel*'s rashness, in casting himself into the gaping Gulph of Danger; yet her self, by the like Bait, is drawn into the same Trap, and as she lived like *Jezebel*; so was she rewarded with her: These two Queens were in many things alike, each of them being Daughter, Wife and Mother to a King; each over-ruled her Husband, was an Idolater, Ambitious, Murderous, and each slain by conspiring Subjects, suddenly, &c. We read not what became of *Athaliah*'s Sons, and her sacrilegious Imps, who had robbed the Temple.

C H A P. XX.

Of Joas, Amasia, and their Contemporaries.

§. 1. *JOAS*, about Seven Years Old began to Reign, under the protection of *Jehoiada*, during his minority: When he came to Age, he took him two Wives, by *Jehoiada's* Advice, for the repairing the Family of *David*, now almost worn out. The first Act he took in hand, after he rul'd without a Protector, was the reparation of the Temple, which had been his Sanctuary, and which he pursued with much Zeal.

§. 2. *Jehoiada* the Priest being one hundred thirty years Old, died before his Countrey could have spared him, and was Buried among the Kings, as he well deserved: This Honour seemeth to have come from the People, for the King had soon forgot him, as one eased of an heavy Debt; and was easily flatter'd by the Princes: So that he quickly forgot the Old well serving Counsellor, yea, even God himself, the Author of all Goodness: He who had Thirty Years shew'd his Zeal to restore the true Religion, and root out Idolatry, which had been growing some Sixteen years; was easily drawn to fall and perceiv'd his Prince's Inclination; and being once at Course, he ran headlong, as one that thought little of a King; no longer to endure the lessons of devout Priests. Hereby it appears, that he so long among the devout, as *Saul* among the not of them; but like an Actor upon the Stage, had counterfeited to express more Zeal, and lively affection, than they could do, who were truly Religious. *Jehoabaz* the Son of *Jebu*, King of *Israel*, reigned Seventeen years from the twenty third of *Joas* King of *Juda*.

§. 3. *Joas*

§. 3. *Joas* having broke loose from God, is given over to Men, and so easily shaken off: *Hazael* King of *Aram*, returning from *Gath*, set upon *Jerusalem*, and forced *Joas* to buy his Peace with all the Treasure he could make, Holy or Common; yet he never enjoyed Peace with *Hazael*, who sent a small Army afterwards, and destroyed his Princes, and spoiled his Countrey: Many might be the Motives to set on *Hazael* against *Juda*: He had an experienced Army, *Juda* had assisted *Israel* at *Ramoth*, and the Journey from *Gath* to *Jerusalem*, was short: Yet it is probable, that the Sons of *Athaliah* encouraged him, with hopes of a great Party to be drawn in by them of such as favour'd them; otherwise, it is unlikely *Hazael* would have awak'd a sleeping Dog: However it were, it was of God, who knoweth, to offer Motives to such as he will employ, tho' they intend it not: Some confound the two Invasions of *Hazael*, but they are different: the first was a compleat Army, which frighted *Joas*; the second was small, and encountred by the *Jews*, when the King of *Aram* was at *Damascus*: Some hold the Invasion was in *Jehoiada's* Days, but it seems otherwise, seeing the service of the Temple flourish'd all his Days. God sometimes prevents his own, by affliction, before Men see cause, but it better them: As for the Wicked, usually their Sins get the start of their Punishment, which can do no good upon them thro' hardness of Heart, by a customariness to Sin; as it was with this unhappy Man, whose villanous Pattern few Tyrants can endure to imitate.

§. 4. *Zecharias* the Son of *Jehoiada*, after other Prophets, is moved by the Spirit of God, to admonish them of their Wickedness: Whom, tho' many personal Reasons might move *Joas* to respect, besides the Reason of Reasons, that he was a reverend Prophet of God; yet at *Joas's* Commandment they murdered him: Not unlike the Husband-man who killed the Heir, in whom all the Hopes to win any thing at their Hands did rest: For it might well be expected, that this Man might be bolder, and prevail more than all the rest; yet of all the rest he sped worst: Belike *Joas* thought himself no free Prince, as long as any might be accounted to have such interest in him, as to deal plainly with him.

§. 5. *Joas* having committed this odious Murder, as the unthankful Snake upon the Man, in whose Bosom he had been foster'd; as a wretched Tyrant, became hateful to his own
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Times, and his memory detestable: Neither did the deserv'd Curse of the Martyr stay long; for within the Year, when the Tyrant thought he was now an absolute King without controul, the *Aramites* brake into his Countrey, rather for Pillage than to perform any great action, they being so few. The King of *Juda* many ways discover'd his Cowardize; as by drawing of Blood of Friends, and basely buying Peace of his Enemies, when he was able to draw into the Fields three hunder'd thousand Men, as his Son did after; and now in levying a great Army against a few Foreigners, or Bands of Rovers: Against these his Wisdom thought fit to advance among his Princes, to shew his Valour, when he presum'd thro' his incomparable odds to be free from danger: But God, who laughs at the folly of Wise Men, and casteth contempt on vain-glorious Princes, intending to do more by the few *Aramites*, than themselves meant; whether by the folly of Leaders, amazement of Soldiers, &c. this great Army fell before them: And they had the slaughtering of those Princes, who had drawn their King to rebell against the King of Kings, and the beating and ransoming of *Joas* himself, who thereupon was forced to take his Bed, in which, two of his own Servants slew him for the Blood of *Jehoiada's* Children.

§. 6. Contemporary with *Joas*, were *Mezades* and *Diognetus* in *Athens*; *Eudon* and *Aristodemus* in *Corinth*; *Agrippa Sylvius* and *Alladius* in *Italy*. *Cephrenes* the Fourth from *Sesac*, succeeded *Cheops* in *Egypt*, in the Sixteenth of *Joas*, and ruled Fifty years: *Ocraxapes*, or *Anacynderaxes* succeeded *Ophratenes* in *Assyria* forty two years. In *Joas's* eighteenth year reign'd *Pygmalion*, King of *Tyrus*, in whose seventh year, *Dido* built *Carthage*, after the building of *Solomon's* Temple one hunder'd forty three years, as *Josephus* found in the *Tyrian* Annals; which was one hundred forty three years before the birth of *Romulus*, and two hundred eighty nine years after the destruction of *Troy*. Thus all *Virgil's* Tale of *Dido* and *Aeneas*, is confuted, as *Antonius* Notes in his Epigram upon her Statue. The History of *Carthage* is referred to the Punick War.

§. 7. *Amazias* the Son of *Joas* succeeded, when twenty Five years Old, who having learned the Art of dissimulation of his Father, finding the Princes dead, who favour'd Idolatry, and seeing the Peoples dislike of his Father's Courses, by their Countenancing his Murder; he conform'd himself to the necessity of the times; forbore the Traytors, endured his Father's disgrace in his Burial, and conformed to Religion. But after the Peoples outcry

Outcry against the Father, had tired it self; and that he saw the Conspirators had neither Might, Parrakers, nor Abettors, he put them to Death, but spared their Children; which gave contentment to the People as a point of Justice. Thus by long Peace, and conforming himself to Religion and Justice, he grew strong. *Joas* also King of *Israel* grew in Power, following the War against the *Aramites*, and prosper'd, tho' following the Idolatry of the Calves, which had almost consumed the Ten Tribes, by *Hazael* and *Benhadad*: Yet at the Prayer of this Idolater, God had compassion in giving him good success. 10. That he recovered his Father's Temporal Losses; but God's Favour, which was more worth than all, he neither sought nor got: This Man began to Reign in the Thirty seventh Year of *Joas* King of *Juda*, and in the Fifteenth of *Jehoahaz* his Father, who lived two or three years after. He receiving his Father's poor stock of Ten Chariots, Five hundred Horse-men, and Ten thousand Foot; his thriving with this Stock, he ascribed to the Prayers of the Holy Prophet *Elisha*, 2 *Kings* 13. 14. This Prophet dyed about the Third or Fourth year of *Joas*; and, for a Legacy, bestowed three Victories upon him, whereby he set *Israel* in a good way to recover all their Losses.

§. 8. *Amazias* being inflam'd with a Desire to undertake some Expedition by the Example of *Joas* King of *Israel*; tho' he could furnish 3000000 Men, yet knew they had lived without exercise a long time, except that with the *Aramites*, which was rather a discouragement to them. He thought good therefore to hire one hundred thousand Men of *Israel*, with whom he would recover *Edom*, which revolted under *Jehoram*. But upon a Prophet's Warning, he dismiss'd the *Israelites*, as not beloved of God; and went on in confidence of God's Assistance, and prospered, while his discontented hired *Israelites* made a ravage in their return; yet he recover'd not *Edom*: He took some of *Edom's* Idols, which might have been led in Triumph, but the wretched King who took them, was bewitched by them, and made them his Gods; neither could he endure the Prophets Reproof from the True God. If the costly Stuff or Workmanship ravished his Fancy, he might have disposed of them to Profit or to Ornament: If the *Edomites* Devotion to them, it should rather have moved laughter at them and their Gods, who had failed their old Clients. I therefore think a proud discontentment carried him from God; whom having obeyed in sending back his mercenary *Israelites*, he looked that the Lord would have subdued *Edom* unto him, as well as give him a Victory;

forgetting that God had promised, that *Eſau* should break off the Yoak of *Jacob* at length, and therefore he should have limited his Desires, and been contented with an honourable Victory: But as Men are careful before the Battel, to pray to God, acknowledging him to be the Giver of Victory; and when the Field is won, vaunt of their own Exploits, as if God used their fore-sight and Courage therein: So *Amaziah* finding God did nothing extraordinary, arrogated what was ordinary to himself, and scorned to be checked by a Prophet; having before lost one hundred Talents by one of them, without any Benefit. From this proud contempt of God, and conceit of his own Sufficiency little inferiour to *David's*, he challeng'd *Joas* King of *Israel*; and upon occasion of the late Wrong done by his Subjects, perhaps required subjection of the Ten Tribes, by Right from his Ancestors, *David* and *Solomon*. Had he only required satisfaction, it may be, *Joas* would not have returned such an Answer as argueth an insolent proud Challenge: *Ajax's* Father wished him Victory by the God's assistance; he answer'd, that Cowards got Victory so, but he would have it without them; after which proud Speech, and many valiant Acts, upon some disgrace he fell mad, and killed himself. *Amaziah's* Thoughts were the Parents of such like Words; and he might as well have said, he had that Victory without God, which made him insolently challenge *Joas*; as if he were able to encounter a valiant Leader, and People train'd up in a long victorious War, because he had beaten the weak, broken *Edomites*: As his first Counsel among his Parasites, to defy *Joas*, was foolish; so were his Proceedings, which was carelesness in providing and preventing; in both which, his Adversary took the start of him, and presented *Amaziah* with a brave Army in his own Country, to save him a labour of a long March: This sudden Invasion much discourag'd *Juda*, who having devoured *Israel* in their greedy Hopes, saw themselves disappointed, and their own Estates seized on by the others: The Issue was, *Amaziah* is taken, and led in Triumph to *Jerusalem*, which to save his Life, he basely procured to be open'd to the Conqueror, who made a Breach in the Wall, at which he rode in, made what Spoil he would, and departed.

§. 9. *Joas* King of *Israel*, being in Possession of *Jerusalem*, it may be wondered why he seized not upon the whole Kingdom; especially considering he might think the Kingdom was not tyed to the House of *David*, as appeared in *Athaliah*; and that

that the *Judeans* were like to endure his Government, being such a Conqueror, and descended of Kings, of whom *Jehu* was Anointed from God. I need not add the Advantages arising by the Union of these two Kingdoms; neither read we of any special Prohibition to him. But it appears, *Joas* intended not the Kingdom; for then he would not have aimed at such a Triumphant Entrance at a Breach, which is one of the greatest Despites to Citizens; but would have entred at a Gate, with fair Intreaty of a People, rather yielded than conquered: He would also have forborn the Spoil, especially of the Sanctuary, which the People preferred before their Lives: And in forbearing whereof, he would have won an Opinion of his Piety; as the Sacrilege upon the House of their God and his, branded him with a Mark of extraordinary Profaneness; who by execrable Church-Robberies, become Odious, and lost the Inheritance of the whole Orchard, by stealing a few fair Apples. The Citizens provok'd by these Indignities, after a few days, would gather Spirit; begin to conceive, the Enemy was of their own Mould; and that they themselves were not disarmed, but were a great Multitude; had Provision, advantage of Place and even Armed Women and Children; and considering the Evils grown, and were like to increase by their former Cowardize, would now grow to a desperate Resolution to correct the first Error. Upon these grounds it is certain; that great Towns entred by Capitulation, are not so easily held as entred; as *Charles* the VIIIth of *France* found at *Florence*, which made him come to a Compliance, when he saw the Citizens Resolution, rather to hazard all, than to submit to his intolerable Conditions, being now entred the Town. Besides, *Joas* might consider, how hardly he could make good his Possession against the Army of *Juda*, rather terrify'd than broken: And lastly, *Joas* having had three Victories against *Aram*, promis'd by the Prophet, he was not to expect a perpetual Success against them; and therefore thought it best to make home with the best Security he could for conveying away his rich cumbersome Booty, and to make head against the *Aramites*, who in his Absence, had taken the Advantage and given *Israel* such a Blow as he could never recover; taking therefore Hostages for his quiet Passage, he returned home.

§. 10. *Amaziah*, who threatned to work wonders, and raise again the Empire of *David*, was stripp'd of his Lion's Skin; and appeareth nothing so terrible a Beast as he had been painted, and is become an Argument of scoffing to many; as the Shame which falls on an Insolent Man, seldom fails of much reproach. Go-

vernours are commonly blamed by the Multitude, for the Calamities which befall them, tho' they come by the Peoples Fault: But every Child could see the Root of all this Mischief in this dastardly Prince, who having provok'd a valiant Adversary, for Fear betrayed the City, opened unto him by his base entreaty, to save his Life; (what his brutal Father would not do) which he redeemed at so dear a rate, as the Spoil of both City and Temple, that might easily have been saved by a little delay, which would have forced *Joas* faster home than he came out upon him, hearing of the *Aramites* Invasion: And a little Courage, in that space, recover'd, would have perswaded him to leave his Baggage behind him, had not this good King given Hostages for a Convoy. That this punishment and dishonour brought him back to God, appeareth not, but the contrary, by Reason of the Conspiracy Related by the Holy Ghost: He who tells a Man in his Adversity, of his Sins past, shall sooner be thought to upraid him with his present Fortune, than to seek his Reformation; which might make the Priests and Prophets little welcome to him. On the other side, his Flatterers who sought to raise up his Heart, (whereof themselves might always be Masters,) wanted no plausible Matter; as that he was not the first Noble Commander that had been foil'd, as *David* himself abandoned *Jerusalem* to *Abshalom*. *Sefac* was let into the City as well as *Joas*; the Pillaging of the Temple had been excus'd by Necessity of State; his Captivity excus'd his Command to open the City; but they who opened it were to blame, knowing he was not his own, when he commanded it: His Captivity was his Honour, who might have escaped by Flight, as others did, who betray'd him by running away; while he sought to encourage them by his Example: Yet his Mischance saved Thousands, while the Enemy wisely preferred the surprize of a Lion, before the Chace of an Army of Stags which follow'd him. These, or the like Speeches might have satisfied Men, if the King had studied to please God; but as he still neglected the Favour of God, so after this, he out-living his Honour fifteen Years, recover'd no Love of his Subjects by his Government, but increas'd their Hatred to his Ruin. He who thinks himself less Honour'd than he deserves in his own Opinion, will force his Authority, to be esteem'd a severe Man; that by affected Sovernefs, he may be thought a grave-wise Man, and that the Fear in which the Oppressed live, may be thought a Reverence to the Oppressor; at least it will dazzle the Eyes, of Underlings, keeping them from prying into the weakness of their Governours. Thus the time in which, by the well the using of it,

Men

Men may attain to be such as they ought, they usually mispend it, in seeking to appear such as they are not; and so procure more Indignation than was fear'd, instead of the Respect that was hoped for: Which is of dangerous Consequence in an unable Spirit in high Authority, too passionate in the Execution of an Office, and cannot be checked but by violence. If *Amazia* thought by extreme rigour to uphold his Reputation; what did he but make the People think, he hated them, who easily believed he did not love them? He had indeed provided for his own security against a few, by revenging his Father's death; but who shall take Vengeance (or on whom) of a Murder, in which every one hath a Part? Surely God himself, who hath not given Leave to the People to shed the Blood of his Anointed. Yet as he was careless of God, and was carried head-long, with his own Affection; so his Subjects, by his Example, not enquiring what was their Duty, rose up against him with a precipitant Fury, which yet he could not avoid by flying to *Lachis*, as a choice Town for Strength and Affection to him: Where yet it he found no other Favour, but that they would not kill him with their own Hands, but abandon'd him to the Conspirators sent after him, who dispatched him with little Opposition.

§. 11. *Amazia* being Slain, the Crown of *Juda* lay vacant eleven Years: For as he out-lived *Joas* King of *Israel* fifteen Years, which *Jeroboam* held, and must dye the fifteenth of *Jeroboam*; so it is expressly said, *Uzziah* his Son began to Reign in the twenty seventh of *Jeroboam*, being sixteen Years old, and Reigned fifty two Years; which argueth eleven Years *Inter-regnum*. Others to avoid this *Inter-regnum*, have rais'd divers Conjectures; as *Gerard Mercator*, &c. But I know not why it may not be admitted in *Juda*, seeing the like necessity hath inforced it in the Kingdom of *Israel*; as it was between the death of *Jeroboam* second, and his Son *Zecharias*, and between *Peka* and *Hosea*. Such a suspence of the Crown of *Juda* is more probable, considering how things stood at the death of *Amazia*; altho' the computation were not so apparent. For the Publick Fury, which exceeded so far against the King's Person, was not like to be appeas'd, till order was taken to redress the Matters which caus'd that Eruption. We need not then wonder, that they who involv'd themselves in the former Treason against the Father, would stay the Crown till Things were set in Order; the Prince being so young, and to be under Protection, &c. To make *Jeroboam's* Reign to begin the eleventh Year with his Father, were the best way, but that hereby we swallow up so much of *Joas's* Reign, extend the Years of the Kings of *Israel*, and contract the Years of the Princes of other Nations.

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§. 12. Con-

§. 12. Contemporaries with *Amazia*, and eleven Years after, were *Foas* and *Feroboam* in *Israel*; *Cephrenes* and *Mycerinus* in *Egypt*; *Sylvius Alladius*, and *Sylvius Aventinus* in *Alba*; *Agamemnon* in *Corinth*; *Diognetus*, *Pheredrus*, and *Ariphron*, in *Athens*; *Thelectus* in *Lacedaemon*; when the *Spartans* won Towns from the *Achaians*. *Sardanapalus* in the twenty first Year of *Amazia*, succeeded *Acrozapes* his Father in *Assyria* twenty one Years, and was slain the Year before *Azaria* entred, and ended *Ninus's* Line, after one thousand two hundred and forty Years Empire. His unhappy voluptuous Life was so base, as he durst let no Man see him; till at length *Arbaces* Governour of *Media*, got a sight of that beastly Spectacle of a Man in Woman's Attire, counterfeiting an Harlot; which moved him to such indignation, that he consulted with *Belofus* a *Chaldean*, about casting off the Yoke of so unworthy a Creature. *Belofus* pleas'd him so well, to tell him that he should enjoy the Kingdom, who thereupon promis'd the other the Kingdom of *Babylon*. Being thus agreed, one stirs up the *Medes* and *Persians*, the other the *Babylonians* and *Arabians*, and so drew together four hundred thousand Men against *Sardanapalus*; who, contrary to his former course of Life, became a Man, gathered his Forces, and encounter'd the Rebels, and foild them in three Battels; and had not *Belofus* promised unexpected Succors, *Arbaces* had broken up the Camp. About that time, an Army out of *Bactria* was coming to assist the King; but *Arbaces* encountering it, upon promise of Liberty, drew them to joyn with him: In the mean time, the King supposing *Arbaces* to be fled, Feasted his Army, Triumphant before Victory. The Rebels strengthened with new Supplies, came upon him by Night, forced his Camp, unprepared for resistance, and made the King to retire into the City *Ninive*; leaving *Salaminus*, his Wife's Brother, to keep the Field till new Aids came. *Arbaces* over-threw the King's Army, slew *Salaminus*, and lay two whole Years before the City, in hope to win it by Famine; for force it he could not, the Wall being one hundred Foot high, and so thick, that three Chariots might pass in the Front upon the Rampire. But what he could not do, the River *Tigris* did in the third Year; for in an inundation after Rain, it cast down twenty Furlongs of the Wall, and made a fair Breach for *Arbaces* to enter. *Sardanapalus* either terrified with the accomplishment of the old Oracle, that *Ninive* should never be taken, till the River became an Enemy to it; or seeing no means of resistance, consumed himself and his with fire in his Palace; see *Diodorus Siculus* out of *Ctesias*.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXI.

Of *Uzziah*, and his Contemporaries in *Israel* and elsewhere; and of his two Successors.

§. 1. *Uzziah*, or *Azaria* at sixteen Years old, succeeded his Father *Amazia*, in the twenty seventh Year of *Feroboam*, and Reigned fifty two Years; he served the God of his Fathers, and prosper'd. His Victories and Achievements were far beyond any since the time of *David*, and his Wealth exceeded any since *Solomon's* days. *Feroboam* also King of *Israel* prospered in the North, and won *Damascus* and *Hamath*; not for his Piety, being an Idolater: But it was only the Lord's compassion on *Israel*, so extremely afflicted by *Aram*. Yet as God's goodness to *Jehu* his Grand-Father, could not win him from *Feroboam's* politick Idolatry of the Calves; no more could it make *Feroboam* his Son render the Honour due to the only Giver of Victory: So that the Promise made to *Jehu* for four Generations, grew to an accomplishment, to be a fair warning to his Son, to expect a Change, except himself or his Son should change his Idolatry. But as *Feroboam* ended his days in Idolatry, so his Son *Zecharia*, who should have succeeded presently, was kept out for many Years, without apparent Reason, but only the two Calves at *Dan* and *Bethel*; yet Secondary Causes were like not be wanting. Probable it is, that as *Feroboam's* Reign had bred many brave Captains; so they saw so little in *Zachary* to respect him for, or perhaps they found something which moved disdain, that they could not agree to submit unto him, till some of the principal of them were dead; every Man of them in the mean time holding what he could, &c. This Anarchy held about twenty three Years, from the fifteenth Year of *Uzziah*, when *Feroboam* died, unto the thirty eighth of the same *Uzziah*, in the which *Zecharias* entred, and enjoy'd the Crown six Months. And tho' some suppose *Feroboam* to Reign eleven Years with his Father, and so cut off so much of this Inter-regnum; yet they leave twelve

twelve Years: But I prefer the former Opinion, as best agreeing with the Reign of other Princes, and not extending *Feroboam's* Reign and Life as this doth. *Zecharia* the Son of *Feroboam*, the last of *Jehu's* Line, after six Months Reign, is slain by *Sallum*, so fulfilling the four Generations promis'd to *Jehu*; yet not warranting *Sallum* to kill him, as *Jehu* had been against *Jehoram*. Thus *Feroboam's* Captains were grown so headstrong, that they neither indured his Son, nor one another; so that in fourteen Years there Reign'd five Kings. *Sallum* after one Month's Reign in *Samaria*, was slain by *Menahem*. *Menahem* of *Tirza* Reign'd ten Years, and was a Cruel Persecutor of *Sallum's* Friends: In his time came *Pull* the *Assyrian* to Invade him, whom he pacified with one thousand Talents of Silver, and so was confirmed in his Kingdom, against such as oppos'd him. *Pekahiah* succeeded his Father two Years, in the fiftieth Year of *Azaria* King of *Juda*. *Peka* the Son of *Ramaliab* slew *Pekahiah*, and Reign'd twenty Years,

§. 2. *Uzziah*, whose Succession had been endangered by the Peoples hatred to his Father, yet was by Holy Men brought up and advanced, as was *Joas*, and had his Holy *Zecharia*, under whose direction he prospered, as *Joas* did under good *Jehoiada*. But as *Joas* after his Tutor's death, so *Uzziah* after his *Zecharia*, forgetting the Law of God, which had separated the Priest's Office from the King's, would needs usurp the same; for which presumption, being reprov'd by *Azariah* the Priest, the Lord seconded the just reprehension, and smote the King with Leprosie. Thus he who presumed to draw too near the Holiest, is cast from among common Men. *Jesephus* enlarges this History, and makes report of an Earth-quake, which some mistake for that in *Amos*, which was in *Feroboam* the second's Days, long before *Uzziah*.

§. 2. Contemporaries with *Uzziah*. Among the small Prophets, were *Hosea*, *Joel*, *Amos*, and *Obadiab*, and *Jonas* lived with *Uzziah*, if *Ferom's* Rule hold, to range a Prophet, whose time is not express'd, with the next before; then *Joel* and *Obadiab* are of this time. *Jonas* seems to me the first that foretells *Feroboam's* Victories, and Prophesied of Christ, rather by Sufferings, than Writings now extant; whereas all the other Prophets have express Promises of the *Messia*. *Esa* also now Prophesied, writ much, with excellency both of Style and Argument; foretelleth the Birth, Miracles, and Passion of our Saviour, with the calling of the *Gentiles*; being more like an History of Things

past, than a Prophecy of Things to come, (as *Ferom* saith.) *Bocchoris* had Reign'd in *Egypt* ten Years when *Uzziah* entred upon his; *Alychis* succeeded, then *Anysis*, whom *Sabacus* succeeded fifty Years; of whom, the ten first Years were with *Uzziah*. *Ariphron's*, two last Years of twenty; *Thespeius's*, twenty seven; *Agganestor's* twenty; and *Aeschylus's* three first of his twenty third in *Athens*, ended with *Uzziah*: So did the seven last of *Sylvius Aventinus's* thirty seven, with twenty three of *Sylvius Procas*, and the first of *Sylvius Amulius's* twenty two in *Alba*. In *Media*, *Arbaces* began his new Kingdom with *Uzziah*, and held it twenty eight Years. and *Sosarmus* his Son thirty Years.

§. 4. *Arbaces* having taken *Ninive*, utterly ruin'd it, to transfer the Empire to the *Medes*, as he had promis'd: He also made his Associates Rulers of Provinces, retaining only the Sovereignty; yet with such moderation, as neither offended the Princes his Assistants, nor the generality of the People. For calling *Belosus* into question for Embezzling the Treasure, he referred his Condemnation to the Captains, and than pardon'd him, and gave him the Province of *Babylon*, with the Treasure. He also freed the *Persians* and *Bactrians*, as he promis'd, and so weaken'd his Sovereignty; that intime, the *Assyrians* incroach'd upon some Towns of the *Medes*, and extended it themselves to *Israel*; but when the *Assyrians* cast off the *Medes* Yoak is uncertain: As also when *Babylon* and *Ninive* became subject to one. The prevalent Opinion 'till of late, is, that according to *Metasthenes* in *Annius*; That *Belosus*, also called *Phut Belosus*, and in Scripture *Pul*, or *Phul*, Reign'd forty eight Years in *Babylon*, got part of *Assyria* into his Hands and left it to *Tiglath Pilasser* his Son; and his Posterity, 'till *Merodach* prevail'd. This Tradition, tho' *Annius's* Authors be suspected, is justified by Circumstances in other Authors; as *Belosus* his enjoying *Babylon*, *Diodorus* relates, and no Author speaks of any Special Governour of *Assyria*: Neither stood it with good Policy to set up a particular King in *Assyria*; when for to prevent the rising thereof again, *Ninive* was ruined, and the Inhabitants transplanted. Upon the like Considerations, *Rome* destroyed *Carthage*, and *Capua*, as being Towns Capable of Empire, &c. It is not then to be thought, that *Ninive* and the *Assyrians* could rise in three or four Years, by any other than *Belosus*, so near a Neighbour and Master of so rich a Province; as *Herodotus* esteem'd it, for Riches and Power, to be the third part of the *Persian* Empire; who also enjoy'd the Treasure found in the Palace of *Ninive*. Besides if *Pul* had been a distinct King of *Assyria*, from *Belosus*,

he could hardly have pass'd through another Man's Kingdom, so Potent as he was, who held *Babylon* and *Mesopotamia*, to seek a Booty in *Israel*. But if *Pul* were *Belofus* the scruple is remov'd: For the *Arabians* by whom they must pass into *Syria*, in going over *Euphrates*, were Friends to *Belofus*, who drew them in to assist *Arbaces* against *Sardanapalus*; their Barren Country subsisting upon of his fruitfulness, and they loved not *Israel*, as neither did the *Syrians* oppress'd by them. These, besides Necessity and Neighbourhood had also Correspondence with the *Babylonians*, by ancient Kindred, which made them beyond the River in *David's* time, assist the *Syrians*. The time will also agree well with *Belofus*, who began to Reign, as did *Arbaces*, about the first Year of *Uzziah*; in whose fifteenth Year by *Jeroboam's* death, began that twenty three Years Anarchy: During which thirty eight Years, as *Belofus* had been hindred from any great Attempts; so having after his Death got Footing in *Assyria*, he had twelve Years time after, to the Reign of *Menabem* to establish himself in *Ninive*, before he had attempted remote Countries: Neither indeed could his Forces be fit sooner, considering what want of People there was in *Assyria*, by Reason of the Wars, which ruin'd *Ninive*, and so made it the easier for *Belofus* to subdue: Now he who subdued *Syria*, and Invaded *Palestine*, was like to be remembred by some History; but we read of no other than *Belofus*, in profane and of *Pul* in sacred Writ: Neither is it so strange, that that he whom the Scripture calls *Pul*, profane Histories call *Belofus*; for so whom the Scriptures call *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Darius*, and *Artaxerxes* others call them *Nobopolassar*, *Gaxares*, *Artaxerxes*, &c. This in effect is the common Opinion, which being granted, then he and his Posterity Reigned both in *Assyria* and *Babylon*; *Tiglath*, *Pul*, and *Assur*, from whom *Salmanasser*, *Senacherib*, and *Assurbaddon* descended, being his Sons. Then must *Nabonasser* be *Salmanasser*, &c. They who deny *Pul* to be *Belofus*, prove to the contrary, that *Nabonasser* was not *Salmanasser* (1.) *Nabonasser* was King of *Babylon*, not of *Assyria*; for his name is meer *Chaldean*, and *Salmanasser* is proper to the *Assyrian* Tongue: But this Reason is weak seeing one Man may be call'd in two Languages, by two Names. (2.) *Nabonasser* from whom *Ptolemy* drew his Observations, and *Epocha* or date of Times, was an *Astronomer*, which Profession was proper to the *Chaldeans*. To this *Scaliger* the chief Author of this second Opinion saith, that they dreamt, who make him an *Astronomer*; but as his being Lord over the *Chaldeans*, proves him not to have been an *Astronomer*; so it disproves him not King of *Assyria*: (3.) Out of *Ezay*, *Merodach* the Son of *Baladan* was King of *Babylon*,

Babylon: So that if he were Son of *Nabonasser* King of *Babel*, and *Salmanasser* King of *Assyria*, it makes it inconsistent to this Argument: I will say what I think fit, when I come to *Hezekiah's* Reign; only for the present, *Scaliger*, who objects it, lived to retract *Merodach's* being Son of *Nabonasser*: His other unanswerable Arguments are but Conjectures, and his Answer to those that follow *Annius* in the *Assyrian* Kings, That they are neglected of Readers, for using his Name, is a very short Answer; for tho' I little respect *Annius's* Authors, such as *Berolus*, *Metasthenes*, &c. Yet where they explain what better Authors say (using no improbabilities) I see no cause lightly to cast them off; neither worthy Chronologers, like *Mercator*, who follow them: Of those who set down the Succession of these two distant Kingdoms of *Assyria* and *Babylon*, I have only seen *Tornellius*, who expresses the times of their Reigns, and by whose Writings I confess to have receiv'd Benefit; tho' he forgot to acknowledge as much, got from Protestant Writers: *Tornellius's* Conjectures are, 1. That *Arbaces* seeking to hold all, *Belofus* opposed him; and one *Pull* of *Assyria*, assisted; so that *Arbaces* was content to make a Division with them. 2. Or else *Arbaces* holding all, made the other two his Lieutenants in *Babylon* and *Assyria*, who, within four Years rebell'd, and set up for themselves. *Phul*, four years after *Arbaces*, began to Reign, and reigned Forty eight years; *Tiglath-Pilasser* twenty three years: *Salmanasser* succeeded Ten, *Senacherib* Seven, and *Assurbaddon* Ten, ending the Line. *Belofus* at the same time, or not long after *Phul*, (I say rather before) usurped *Babylon* sixty eight years, whom *Nabonasser* succeeded, called also *Baladan*, who sat twenty six years on the Throne: *Merodach* fifty two, *Ben-Merodach*, twenty four: Lastly, *Nabonasser*, Father of *Nebuchadonasser*, twenty one. And of these two Opinions, I judge the first more probable; for as his Device of *Pul's* assisting *Belofus*, was to make him capable of such a share in the Division: So it breeds a Question how such a Man, and the Division, and Wars which bred it, are all forgotten of Historians; who yet mention *Belofus* condemned and pardoned, who needed not to rebell, having his share. Come we now to the Catalogue, *Phul's* forty eight Years have no ground but *Annius*; yet Authors do find it agree well with the course of History; so that *Annius*, for his often forgery, is well rewarded with want of Credit when he

when he speaks probably : So tho' he shortens the two next by Nine Years, yet he followed *Metasthenes* in the Two last, &c. The like liberty he useth in measuring the *Chaldean's* Times ; but in both, the Modesty of *Scaliger*, and *Calvisius*, in forbearing Conjectures concerning the defects of Antiquity, is commendable. To conclude, tho' I prefer *Scaliger* and *Tornellius* before *Annius* ; yet if he speak more probably and agreeably to approved Histories, as here he doth ; with the Approbation of many, I prefer him.

§. 5. The *Olympian* Games were restored by *Iphitus*, in the 51st year of *Uzziah*. The first Founder of them was *Hercules*, and they were so called of the City *Olympia*, or *Pisa*, near *Elis*, a City in *Peloponnesus*, near the River *Alpheus* ; where *Jupiter* had a Temple, reputed one of the World's Wonders. These Games were exercised after every four years end ; which were discontinued long, 'till the Days of *Iphitus*, when *Lycurgus* lived : They continued in *Greece* 'till the Reign of *Theodosius*, saith *Cedrenus* ; or to *Constantine* after others : *Varro* held all the Greek Stories fabulous before these ; but *Pliny* esteems none True, before the Fifty fifth Olympiad, when *Cyrus* began to Reign : Many seek to find out the year of the World when they began, but can set down no certainty. Others seek it from the destruction of *Troy*, which is more uncertain than they : The certainty of Things following the *Olympiads*, teacheth us to find out their Beginning ; to which Use, *Eratosthenes*, hath set down the years ensuing, unto the death of *Alexander*, from the *Olympian* Institution, four hundred fifty three years : So for placing their Beginning in the fifty first of *Uzziah*, we have *Cyrus's* Reign to prove it ; it being the First year of the fifty fifth Olympiad ; so *Alexander's* death was the first year of the one hundred and fourteenth Olympiad : So the Eclipse, when *Xerxes* mustered his Army at *Sardis*, was in the last of the sixty fourth Olympiad, or the two hundred sixty seventh year of *Nabonassor*, which leads us back to *Xerxes*, and so to *Cyrus* ; whence we have seventy years to the destruction of *Jerusalem* : So on thro' the Reigns of the Kings of *Juda*, to *Uzziah's* Fifty first Year. The Solemnity was great by the concourse of People, from all

all *Greece* : The Exercise was all Bodily Feats, and the Reward, a Garland of Palm or Olive : And the choicest Orators, Poets and Musicians, resorted thither, with intention to shew their skill ; and to set out, with great cheerfulness, the praise of him that won the Garland ; with such Vanity (saith *Tully*) as if it had been the Conquest of a Province. The time of the Year was the fifteenth of *Hecatombæon*, or *June*, whereunto they brought the Full Moon.

§. 6. *Jotham* being Twenty five years Old, succeeded his Father *Uzziah* in his life time, and Reigned Twenty six years ; being happy in all Things, as he was Devout and Vertuous, 2 Kings 15. 33. His Contemporaries were *Aucomenes*, who succeeded *Phelestinus* in *Corinth*, whom Annual Magistrates succeeded, contrary to *Pausan.* Lib. 2. *Strabo* and *Plutarch.* *Æschylus* Reigned in *Athens* ; *Alcamenes* in *Sparta*. *Tiglath-Pilasser's* Reign in *Affyria*, of Twenty five Years, and two with his Son, makes twenty seven in all : *Nabum* the Prophet now foretold the destruction of *Ninive*, one hundred and fifty years before hand : *Sofarmus* and *Medius* succeeded *Arbaces* in *Media*, being the Second and Third Kings there.

§. 7. *Abas* succeeded in *Juda* one Year with *Jotham*, in the Seventeenth year of *Pekah* : He was Twenty years Old, and reigned Sixteen years ; being a grievous Idolater, sacrificing his Son to *Moloch* or *Saturn*, after the manner of the Heathens, used of Old, *Lev.* 18. *Deut.* 12. by many Nations ; and at this Day by the *Americans*, as *Acosta* witnesseth, &c. God raised him Enemies on all sides : So that when he saw his Dead Gods failed him, yet neglecting the Living God ; he sought Aid of *Tiglath-Pilasser*, who embraced the Advantage to go through with what his Father had begun, but had no Treasure to finish : He therefore Invaded *Syria*, and won *Damascus*, all *Israel*, and made *Juda* Tributary ; tho' *Abas* had hired him. His Contemporaries were the *Ephori* in *Lacedæmon*, one hundred Thirty Years after *Lycurgus*, opposed to Kings, as the Tribunes in *Rome* were set up against Consuls : *Alcamenon* in *Athens*

thens, the last Governour for Life: After whom followed a Magistrate for Ten Years: The *Sylvii* of *Aeneas's* Race ended after three hundred years. *Romulus* now built *Rome* in the Eighth year of *Achas*, and the first of the Seventh Olympiad.

C H A P.

C H A P XXIV.

Of Italy and Rome's Foundation in Ahas's time.

§. 1. *Italy*, before the fall of *Troy*, was known to the *Greeks* by the name of *Hesperia*, *Aufonia*, and *Oenotria*, being of a Colony of *Arcadians*; and *Italy*, from *Italus*. *Reineccius* derives the name rather from a Colony of *Aetolians*, which inhabit *Brundisium*, from whose name, with a small variation, that part was called *Italia*, which in time grew the common name (saith *Pliny*.) Such a change in the *Aeolic* dialect is familiar, as to call an Island peopled by *Aetholians*, *Aetholia*: The original of the *Greeks* and *Latins* was from *Javan*, who sailing over the *Ionian* Sea, between *Aetolia* and the Western Ocean, planted *Greece* and *Italy*. *Reineccius* makes *Atlas* and *Italus* to be one man, and the same which *Berosus* calls *Cethim Italus*; but he is deceived, for *Atlas* is esteemed more ancient than *Moses*, and if he were *Cethim* or *Kishim*, *Noah's* Nephew, his antiquity exceeds that of *Italy*, which name *Virgil* confesses to be later, and taken from a Captain. But seeing *Hercules* a little before the destruction of *Troy* left a Colony of *Eleans* or *Aetolians*, it may be under the command of one called *Attolus*, a name famous among the *Aetolians*, *Italy* might take its name of him.

§. 2. The *Aborigines*, that is, the natives of the place inhabited *Latium*, whom *Halicarnassus*, *Varro* and *Reineccius* think to have been *Arcadians*, who used to vaunt of their antiquity, as having more constantly kept their Country in *Peloponessus* than other *Greeks*; yet being fruitful sent Colonies out to other Countries, as when *Evander* was sent into the same parts of *Italy*; the *Pelagi*, an ancient Nation, afterwards gave name to all *Greece*; but such of them as came into *Italy* lost the name of their Tribe in a short time. The *Sicani*, *Aufones*, *Aurunnei*, and *Rutili* in after ages disturbed *Latium*, which *Saturn* had brought to some civility, and taught the people to manure the ground. That *Latium* took name from *Saturn's* lurking there for *Jupiter* is far-fetched, and a questionless Fable, yet many Fables were occasioned from some ancient truth: It may be then that *Saturn's* hiding himself was some allusion to the old opinion of the wise *Heathens*, That the true God was an unknown God, to whom *Paul* found an Altar dedicated: It cannot be in vain that the word *Saturnus* should also signifie *hidden*, coming of the *Hebrew*

brew *Satar* to hide, as some think, &c. *Reineccius* proceeds to derive *Latium* from the posterity of *Javan*, inhabiting a territory in the *Lesser Asia* called *Elaitia*, who after the *Trojan War* went into *Italy*, whence might grow *Elaitinus*, and so *Latinus*, &c.

§. 3. The *Latin Kings* till *Aeneas*, were *Saturnus*, *Picus*, *Faunus* and *Latinus*; whether *Saturnus* were he whom the *Greeks* call *Cronos* is a doubt, the time of the *Aborigines* will admit it, but his name of *Sterces* or *Stercutius* do argue him another person, so called of the dung he taught them to lay upon their ground; *Ezekiel* often calls Idols *Deos Stercoreos*, as *Belzebul* is *Dominus Stercoreus*.

§. 4. *Aeneas* a *Trojan*, of the Blood Royal, came to *Latium* with about 1200 *Trojans*, and married *Lavinia*, King *Lavinus* Daughter, he had a Son before by his Wife *Creusa*, the daughter of *Priamus*, called *Ascanius*, and surnamed *Iulus*. After *Aeneas* death, *Lavinia* big with Child by him, and fearing *Ascanius*, fled into a Wood, where being delivered, the Child was called *Sylvius Posthumus*, but upon the people's taking *Lavinia's* Flight ill, *Ascanius* called her home, used her Royally, and fostered her Son; *Ascanius* to avoid dissention, left the City *Lavinium* to *Lavinia*, and founded *Alba Longa*, where he Reigned about 30 years, and left his Son *Iulus* behind him, who upon a contention with *Sylvius*, whom the people favoured, left the Kingdom, and took the Priesthood for him and his Posterity. *Sylvius Posthumus* reigned 29 years, *Sylvius Aeneas* 31 years, *Sylvius Latinus* 50 years, *Sylvius Alba* 39 years, *Sylvius Aris* 26 years, *Sylvius Capys* 28 years, *Sylvius Capetus* 13 years, *Sylvius Tiberinus* 8 years, *Sylvius Agrippa* 41 years, *Sylvius Alladius* 19 years, *Sylvius Aventinus* 37 years, *Sylvius Porcas* 23 years, *Sylvius Amulius* 44 years; he expelled his elder Brother *Mumitor*, slew his Son *Aegestus*, and made his Daughter *Ilia* a Vestal Nun, and yet either by her Uncle, or some warlike man, conceived two Sons, *Romulus* and *Remus*, who in time slew *Amulius* and all his family, and restored *Numitor*, in whom the Kingdom of *Alba* ended, and received Magistrates. Yet it contended with *Rome* till her 3 *Curatii* were vanquished by the 3 *Horatii* Champions for *Rome*: After this, *Metius* the *Alban Dictator* following *Tullius Hostilius* in his Wars, upon *Tullius's* disadvantage, withdrew his company to distress *Tullius*, for which he was torn in pieces with 2 Chariots, and *Alba* ruined, but the Citizens were made free Denizens, and her Nobles Patricians of *Rome*, among whom was a Family of the *Julii*, which hath since risen up in *Julius Caesar*, &c.

§. 5. *Rome*,

§. 5. *Rome*, which devoured the *Albane Kingdom*, and brake all the Kingdoms from *Euphrates* to the Western Ocean, as the 4th Beast with Iron Teeth spoken of, comes now to be handled, only touching her Original, which some seek to derive from *Janus*, others from the *Greeks*; *Plutarch* in the life of *Romulus*, mentions many founders of the City, but *Livy* will have it to be the work of *Romulus*, &c. of whose Generation, Birth, and Education *Plutarch* saith, it is like the *Amulius* came armed to *Rhea*, which bred the story of *Mars*, as the nursing the Children by some Harlot, occasioned that of the Wolf; for Harlots of old were called Wolves, see *Halicarnassens*. The like report they have of *Cyrus* his being nursed by a Bitch, and *Semiramis* by Birds; so of his end, they say he was taken away into a storm of Thunder, &c. which was probably the fury of the Senators, remembered also by *Livy*. But as many Authors speak of great Lightning and Thunder that day, so it may be he was slain by it, as was *Anastasius* the Emperor, and the Emperor *Carus*. *Halicarnassens* says they draw nearest to truth, which say his Citizens slew him, and *Plutarch* reports his Conquest of a few miles about him, not worth the speaking of, if the following greatness of *Rome* had not caused it to be remembered. He reigned 37 years first alone, then with *Tatius*, and after his death single till he was slain. *Numa*, a man unknown to *Romulus* succeeded, being more Priest-like, &c. well resembling *Rome's* latter days, which falling from the Emperor's commands, under the subjection of a Prelate, swelled by degrees from a Sheep-hook to a Sword, wherewith victorious to an excessive magnificency, it fell to Luxury, and being unfortunate in defensive War, is driven again to betake herself to the Crozier Staff.

CHAP. XXV.

Of Ezechia, and his Contemporaries.

§. 1. *Ezechia* at 25 years old succeeded about the end of *Achas* 14th year, in the 3d of *Hoshea* King of *Israel*, and reigned 29 years: His first work testified his pious zeal in opening the Temple that had been shut up by his ungracious Father, and Reforming Religion, &c. 2 *Chron.* 28. 30. with 2 *Kings* 1. 18. It is uncertain whether he did

this in his Fathers time, or when he governed alone, as I rather think. He invited also the 10 Tribes to the Passover, which the generality scorned. In the 4th year of *Ezechias*, the *Israelites* which scorned to celebrate their deliverance out of *Egypt*, fell into a new servitude, wherein they continue to this day; for *Salmanassar* the Son of *Tiglath* hearing that *Hoshea* King of *Israel* practised with *Soe* King of *Egypt* against him, came, and after three years siege won *Samaria*, and carried the ten Tribes into *Assyria* and *Media*, and placed others in the Land: These latter *Assyrian* and *Persian* Kings following, are the first we find mentioned, both in profane and sacred Books, and therefore must serve to joyn the time of the old world with that following, seeing none but Prophets have written otherwise than fabulous of former times; true it is, that *Cyrus* and some other *Persian* Kings bear the same names in Scripture and Profane Histories; but of others the diversity of names have bred a doubt of the persons, as whether *Salmanassar* in Scripture be *Nabonassar* in *Ptolomy*; and *Nebuchadonassar* be *Nabopolassar*, both which points *Bucholcerus* out of good mathematical observations hath well proved; for by them it appeareth, that from *Nabonassar* to *Christ* were 746 years, which agree also to *Salmanassar*, which is proved, for that the space between *Mardocempadus* and *Nabonassar* is found to be the same between *Merodach* (who was *Mardocempadus*) and *Salmanassar*; so *Functius* shews, that as from the Destruction of *Samaria* to that of *Jerusalem* are 131 years, so in *Ptolomy* the same time is found between *Nabonassar* and *Nabopolassar*, the 8 years difference in *Ptolomy*, being before the winning of *Samaria*, spent in his reign.

§ 2. *Ezechias* having denied the Tribute to *Senacherib*, which had been covenanted to be paid *Tiglath* his Grandfather, acknowledged his fault, and laboured to purchase his peace by 3000 Talents of Silver, and 30 of Gold, but *Senacherib* intending to set down the Conditions with his Sword, sent from *Lachis* where he lay, and invested *Hierusalem*, &c. where vengeance from Heaven destroyed so many thousands for their Masters blasphemy, who also drank a Cup of the wrath of God from his own Sons.

§ 3. *Ezechias* his sickness, prayer, recovery, and sign thereof are set down in 2 *King*. 20. His Lamentation, saith *Jerome*, was for want of a Son, of whom the *Messiah* might spring. His entertaining the *Babylonian* Ambassadors, and vain-glory therein is proved; yet according to humane reason he thought it fit to entertain them familiarly upon their coming

coming to congratulate his recovery with presents, being come from one which had weaken'd the *Assyrian* his greatest enemy, by seizing upon the Kingdom of *Babylon*, of which he had been Lieutenant under *Senacherib*, whose Son, weak in wit, and molested by his elder Brother, gave him the opportunity to usurp *Babylon*, as *Belofus* had dealt with *Sardanapalus*: How *Hezekias* could make that shew of Treasure after his Tribute to the *Assyrian*, may be answer'd from what a Booty he had in the *Assyrian* Camp presently after; thus *Belofus* new line is come to the last, continuing 101 years; as *Paul Belofus* reigned 48, the *Teglath Pileser* 27, *Salmanassar* 10, *Senacherib* 7, *Asurhaddon* 10, the 3 last being Contemporaries with *Ezechia*.

§ 4. *Ezechia's* Contemporaries in *Media* after *Arbaces* and *Sosarmus*, according to *Eusebius*, are *Mededus*, who reigned 40 years, *Cordicchi* 15 years, then followed *Deioces* for 54, *Phrortes* 24, *Cyaxares* 32, *Astyages* 28, and *Cyaxares* 2, according to *Xenophon*. *Metasthenes* in *Annius*, and *Diodorus* out of *Ctesias*, differ much from *Eusebius*, whom *Mercator* would feign reconcile in vain. In *Athens* governed 4 of the first 10 years Governours; in *Lydia* reigned *Candauius*, who was slain by *Giges*, who succeeded.

C H A P. XXVI.

Of Egyptian Kings, from Moses to Ezechias.

§ 1. THE *Egyptians* at this time contending with the *Assyrians* about the Sovereignty, gives occasion to consider the state of that Country which had flourished so long: Of *Cham*, *Osyris*, *Orus*, and the rest, with their Dynasties, till *Israel* came out of *Egypt*, we have heard, and are to proceed from thence, not regarding the idle Catalogue of the names of Kings set out by *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, from the mouths of *Egyptian* Priests, who for the most part were but Vice-Roys or Stewards, like *Joseph*, and such as were the Soldans in latter ages: For first, we are not to believe that number of Generations they speak of, as above 80 from *Abraham* to the *Persian* Empire, whereas we know there were but 42 Generations to our Saviour *Christ*, especially considering many of them were above 40 years continuance, we must therefore proportion the number to that of other

Countries according to the times, and esteem the rest but Regents, who yet ruled as Kings, of which sort there might be many, as may well be conceived in reading *William*, Archbishop of *Tyre*, who shews that there was the Caliph of *Elbadech* supreme over *Egypt*, under whom the Soldans rul'd as Kings, making War and Peace, yea, supplanting one another without the Caliphs privity, as it fell out under *Elbadech*, under whom *Sanar* was Soldan, and yet was chased away by *Dargon*, and upon his death recovered it again, without the great Caliphs interposure, who in the mean time only attended his state, and delights in his Palace, which manner of ruling by Vice-Roys, the Author judges to have been from the ancient Kings of *Egypt*.

§. 2. It were vain to be curious about these things, seeing *Diodorus* varied from *Herodotus*, and *Eusebius* from both, neither do modern Writers know whom to follow. The Kings from *Cenchre* to *Tuoris* or *Proteus*, are agreed upon, of which according to *Eusebius*, *Acherres* was next, whom *Reineccius* thinks to be *Vehoreus* in *Diodorus*, the founder of *Memphis*; but then *Timaus* cannot be the great *Osymandias*, as he also judgeth, for there were more than 8 Generations between them, contrary to *Diodorus*: Touching *Osymandias*, *Mercator* makes him the Husband of *Acencheres*, the Daughter to *Crus* 2d, and finds *Vehoreus* to be the 8th from him, but I will pass over these inextricable doubts, &c.

§. 3. *Cheres* after 8 years of *Acherres* reign, succeeded 15 years. *Armeus* 5 years, *Rameffes* 68 years, which two last are the *Danaus* and *Aegyptus*, spoken of by the *Greeks*, who make *Danaus*, expelled out of *Egypt*, to become King of *Arges* in *Greece*; but *Reineccius* believes not *Armeus* was *Danaus*, though their times agree, but rather thinks he was *Meris*, who made the great Lake *Myris*, 3600 Furlongs in circumference, and 50 Fathoms deep, to receive the *Nilus* over-flowing, for store when water was scarce.

§. 4. *Amenophis* succeeded his Father for 40 years, then *Sethoris* 50 years, to whom some ascribe, tho' improbably, the famous acts of great *Sesostris*, in whom began the Dynastic of the *Larthes* or Generals, which Title 5 only held, *Ramses* succeeded 66 years, and is mistaken for *Sesostris* 2, *Amenophis* succeeded 40 years, *Annemenes* 26 years, *Thaoris* the last *Larthes* for 7 years, whom some make to be *Proteus*, whose Son *Remphe* succeeded, but I doubt neither Father nor Son were Kings.

§. 5. Many other names of *Egyptian* Kings were found scattered here and there; as *Tonephersobis*, *Senemues* or *Senepos*,
Ban-

Banchyris, *Thulis* in *Snidas*, who asking *Serapis* the Devil, who was, or should be so mighty as he, was answered, *First God, and then the Word, and then the Spirit, all which 3 be one, and joyn in one all 3, whose force is endless; get thee hence frail might: The man of life unknown excelleth thee.* *Cedrenus* hath the same, and gives this King as great Antiquity as the Judges; writing a Book called *Little Genesis* for it, which word alone answers an imposture, to say nothing of the Friar-like stuff he writes out of it. This List of old *Egyptian* Kings here set down, are not worth writing out; neither are the Kings named by others. *Vaphres* and *Sesac* will lead us into a fair way a while; the first was *Solomon's* Father-in-law, according to *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Eusebius*; the second *Eusebius* calls *Smendis*, with whom he begins the 21st Dynasty, whose entrance is found about the 20th of *Solomon's* Reign, reckoning from *Neco's* death in the 4th of *Jehoiakim* King of *Judah* upward, as from the 5th of *Rehoboam*, wherein he spoiled the Sanctuary, but enjoyed the Sacrilege, as did *Joas* and *Crasus* not one year. As for the Kings from *Sesac* to *Neco*, I choose the *Greek* Historians, for *Eusebius* is out, in failing to keep the reckoning between the Kings of *Judah* and *Israel*.

§. 6. *Chemmis* or *Chembis* succeeded *Sesac* 50 years, and built the great Pyramids, whose base was 7 Acres square and 6 high, which *Diodorus* saw 1000 years after in *Augustus's* days. *Chabrens* or *Cheops* succeeded 50 years, and then *Cephrenes* 56, both Builders of Pyramids for their Sepulchres; *Mycerinus* his Son reigned only 6 years, as the Oracle had threatned for his opening the Idols Temple, which his Predecessors had shut up; It may be *Chemmis* had learned their vanity at *Hierusalem*, and thereupon shut the Temple up: *Reineccius* gives him 50 years, *Bocchoris* or *Banchyris* by *Snidas* succeeded 44 years, then *Sabacus* an *Ethiopian*. But *Herodotus* omits both, and hath *Apychis* who decreed the Debtors dead body should be given to the pleasure of the Creditor till the debt were paid. *Anysis* succeeded him, and both could be but 6 years, then came the former *Ethiopian*, who reigned 50 years; *Zoporas* calls him *Sua*, with whom *Hoshea* King of *Israel* made a vain League against *Salmanasar*. They say he left his Kingdom and returned into *Ethiopia*, to avoid his God's commandment to kill all the Priests of *Egypt*; such were their Gods to their Priests.

§. 7. *Sethon* succeeded in the 12th of *Ezechias*, and 5th of *Sennacherib*, when *Assur* and *Egypt* contended which should
N 4
rul.

rule or serve. *Ezechias*, tho' fixing especial confidence in God, held it proper to make a League with *Egypt*, but his people relied more on *Egypt* than on God: *Egypt* promised much, but performed only in some treasure sent to hire *Arabians*, which was intercepted: *Herodotus* tells us of a tale of *Sethon's* prayer to *Vulcan* his God, for aid against the *Africans* which lay before *Pelusium*, and he sent Mice, which gnawed their Bow-strings and Straps of their Armour, so that it made them depart his Reign. *Functius* resolves to reign 55 years, giving no reason yet for it; I find it within 55 years, by dividing the years from *Rehoboam's* 5th to *Manasses's* 4th, among the King of *Egypt*, giving each his share, and the remainder to *Sethon*.

C H A P. XXVII.

Of *Manasses* and his Contemporaries.

§. 1. *Manasses*, the Son of *Ezechias*, being 12 years old, succeeded and reigned 55 years, of whose Idolatry and extraordinary wickedness, see 2 *Kings* 21. and 2 *Chron.* 33. his putting the Reverend Prophet *Esaï* to death by a wooden Sawe, being 80 years old, *Eusebius*, *Epiphanius*, *Isidor*, and others confirm it: His captivity in *Babylon*, his Repentance, Prayer, Reformation and Death, see 2 *Chron.* 33. *Merodach* having loved his Father, might be more easily perswaded to restore him.

§. 2. *Egypt* after *Sethon* was miserably distracted with civil dissention for two years, then ill amended by a Government of 12 Princes, of which 11 falling out with the 12th, are by him subdued, and the Kingdom usurped, which Anarchy *Diodorus* puts after *Sabacus*, omitting *Sethon*, contrary to *Herodotus*. These 12 for a Monument of their Government, made a Labyrinth near the Lake *Mæris*, which *Herodotus* preferred before the chief Pyramid, that excelled *Diana's* Temple. *Diodorus* reports it to be the work of *Mærus* or *Menides*, 5 Generations before *Proteus* or the Trojan War. And *Reineccius* takes him to be *Annemenes*, as he doth *Amenaphis* to be *Amasis*, and *Sethon* to be *Astisanes*, but he was deceived; for the times we are now in, shew us *Amasis* was *Anysis*, *Astisanes*, *Sabacus*, and *Mæris* one of the 12 Governours which made the work, whereto serves the

12 great Halls made in it, &c. *Psanmiticus*, one of the 12, ejected by the rest, upon an Oracle (as *Herodotus* tells us) hired Forces out of *Caria* and *Ionia*, wherewith he overthrew his Fellows, and ruled alone 54 years (saith *Herodotus*) which *Mercator* divides into 44 alone, and 10 before, according to *Eusebius*, and to make the reckoning fall even with the years from the 5th of *Rehoboam* and 4th of *Jehoiakim*, we must confound the last of the 15th ascribed to the 12 Governours with the first of *Psanmiticus*: He first entertained Amity with the *Greeks*, offended his Soldiers by preferring his Mercenaries to the Right Wing, in an Expedition into *Syria*, so that 200000 left their Country and went to dwell in *Ethiopia*. He won *Asotus* after 29 years Siege, by reason the *Babylonians* relieved it so long. The report of breeding up two Infants for a Tryal of the Original Language is ascribed unto him, and the first word they spoke was *Beccus*, which in the *Phrygian* signifies *Bread*; hereof *Coropius Becanus* is proud, because in his low *Dutch Becken* is a Baker, &c.

§. 3. *Manasses* time of Bondage and enlargement is diversly disputed, and were it certain, it is likely we should find the *Egyptian* troubles to be no small occasion of both. *Torniel* Reports 3 Opinions. (1.) Of *Bellarmino*, who thinks him taken in the 15th of his Reign. (2.) There are great *Hebrew* Chroniclers hold it to be the 27th. (3.) *Kimhi* will have it after 40 years of Idolatry; *Tornellius* rejects the two last conjectures, and defends the first, but in affection rather than judgment. It is more probable *Manasses* lived longer in his sin than 15 years, if not 40 by two places of Scripture, 2 *Kings* 21. 17. 2 *Kings* 24. 34. utterly omitting his repentance. *Manasses* 15th year was *Merodachs* 31st, his 27th was the others 43d, and his 40th the 5th of *Nabolassar*, Son to *Merodach*: Now which of these, or what other were the year of his Captivity, I forbear to shew my Opinion, &c. This was the first Mastery the *Babylonians* had over *Judah*, being greater than that *Salmanassar* had over *Achaz*, by which the *Babylonians* utterly alienated *Manasses* and his Son from *Egypt*, and made them joyn against it, as was seen in *Josias* against *Necho*.

§. 4. Contemporane actions were the first and second *Messenian* Wars, one hapning in the Reign of *Ezechias*, the other of *Manasses*: The occasion was slight, being about private wrongs between a *Messenian* and a *Spartan*, but sufficient for the ambitious *Spartan* (though they were the first aggressors) who could be drawn to no fair composition offered

ed by the other, but the Sword must decide it; such was their greedy desire to the fair Country of *Messene* bordering upon them. They therefore swore secretly to follow the War till the *Messenians* were subdued. Then they surprized *Amphia* a Frontier, and put all to the Sword. The *Messenians* armed, a cruel Battle was fought without victory, ended by dark night; after this, Allies came in on both sides, and 3 other Battles were fought, but in the last the *Lacedaemons* are put to flight. Thus the war continued so long by the obstinacy of the *Spartans*, that their Wives sent them word, their Cities would grow unpeopled for want of Issue, whereupon they sent back their ablest young men, promisingly to accompany the young women, whose Issue became the greatest part of the Nation, and were called *Parthenians*. The *Messenians* are at length by the Oracle required to sacrifice a Virgin of the stock of *Egyptus*, of the *Arcadian* Royal Blood; *Aristodemus* the King ripped up his Daughters Belly to prove her a Virgin, contrary to her Lover's report, which to save her said she was with Child; yet the *Messenians* prevailed not, so that the miserable Father afterward slew himself at the Grave, with whom the *Messenians* lost Courage, and submitted after twenty years to rigorous conditions. After 30 years the young men of *Messene*, of which young *Aristodimus*, descended from *Egyptus*, was chief, finding their own strength, and scorning such Masters, and understanding also the *Argives* and *Arcadians* were firm, resolve to renew the War on the *Lacedaemonians*, under the leading of *Aristodimus* in the 4th year of the 23d Olympiad. The *Lacedaemonians* haste to quench the Fire before it grew to be too hot, but found their Servants their equals; and *Aristodimus* refusing the Title of King for his valour, became their General, and in the next Battle, assisted with the *Argives*, *Arcadians*, and *Sycionians*, put the *Spartans*, *Corinthians*, and others to flight, and after surprized a Town in *Laconia*, and vanquished *Alexander* King of *Sparta*; but by a treacherous defection of *Aristocrates*, who was hired by the Enemy, the *Messenians* are beaten and slain; *Andania* their chief Town, and others far from the Sea are forsaken, and the people forced to *Era*, a strong Mount which held the Enemy work for 11 years, wherein *Aristocrates* with 300 Soldiers abroad did strange things, surprising and sacking *Amula*; yet he was thrice taken, and still escaped, of which escapes that was admirable, that being cast with 50 more into a deep natural Cave, he died not of the fall as the rest did, yet remained without hopes, till by

a little light he espied a Fox eating on a dead Carcass, and got it by the Tail, and followed it till he could go no further, but then let it go seeing light at the hole, and so wrought himself out with his Nails. The *Spartans* believed not them which reported he was escaped, till the slaughters he made of the *Corinthians* at *Era* assured them of it. Thus 11 years are spent about *Era*, which at last was entred in a stormy night through the neglect of the Watch, which was discovered to the *Spartans* by a Slave fled from his Master into the City. So the *Messenians* were scattered, built *Messene* in *Sicily*, and 300 years after returned by *Epaminondas* means.

§. 5. *Ardis* King of *Lydia* succeeded *Gyges* his Father for 49 years, in the 2d of the 25th Olympiad, he encroached upon the *Ionians* in *Asia*, took *Colophon* and *Priene*; but the *Cimmerians* expelled by the *Scythians*, invaded *Asia*, won *Sardis*, and held it till *Allyatt's* time, this man's Grandchild. *Phraortes* King of *Medes* the 3d year of the 29th Olympiad, and the last of *Manasseh* succeeded his Father *Dejoces*, who had reigned 53 years, who commanded more absolutely than his Predecessors, and by more a state-like severity and ceremonies, upheld Royal Majesty now almost decayed. He cared not for enlarging his Dominions, but governing well his own, and differed so much from his Predecessors, that he seemed to be the first King of the *Medes*; see *Horodotus*: He was the Founder of *Ecbatane*, now *Tauris*, and chosen by the Patrons of the Book of *Judith* to be *Arphaxad*, and so must *Ben Merodach* be *Nebuchadonosor*; but the brief decision of this controversy is, the Book of *Judith* is not canonical; for as Chronologers can find no time to place that story, so Cosinographers are as much troubled to find *Japhet's* Borders there set down, and *Phul* and *Lud*, so that for time and place they are extra anni solisq; vias.

§. 6. Other Contemporaries are, *Numa*, *Pompilius* in *Rome*, who succeeded *Romulus* after one year, in the 2d of *Manasseh* he brought the rude multitude of Thieves and Out-laws which followed *Romulus*, to some good civility, by devising ceremonies of Superstition as things of great importance, learned of his Nymph *Egeria*, which superstition himself condemned in his Books found almost 600 years after in his Grave, which were publickly burnt, as speaking against the Religion then in use. After 43 years *Tullius Hostilius* succeeded in *Manasseh* 46th years, and reigned 32 years for the most part, as *Numa* in Peace. He quarrelled with the *Albans*, but doubting the *Tuscans*, their common Enemies, would

would make advantage of the Dissention, they put it to a Combate of 3 Brethren on either side, being Cousin-germans, of equal years and strength : But the *Horatij* of *Rome* prevailed against the *Curatij*, and *Alba* with the *Latines* submitted to *Rome*, and not long after *Alba* was razed : *Hippomanes* had ruled 7 years in *Athens* in the beginning of *Manasses* reign, and the three last Governours for ten years were in his time, in whose times I follow *Halicarnassens*, who professing his care in matching the *Grecian* years with the *Roman* occasions, begins with the building of *Rome* the first year of the 7th Olympiad, and the first year of *Cecrops* in *Athens*. *Midas* now reigned in *Phrygia*, &c. The *Scythians* invaded him. *Syracuse* in *Sicily* was more founded by *Archias*, *Miscellus*, and other *Corinthians*. *Nicomedia* formerly *Astacus* in *Propentis*, was enlarged by *Zipartes*'s Navy from *Thrace*; *Sybilla* of *Samus* now lived, according to *Pausanias*; *Croton* in the Bay of *Tarentum*, was built by *Miscellus*, *Gela* in *Sicily*, *Phaselis* in *Pamphilia*, *Chalcedon* in *Asia*, were built by the *Megarenses*. *Parthenians* were expelled *Lacedæmon*, and conducted by *Phalantus* into *Italy*, where they took *Tarentum*.

C H A P XXVIII.

Of Amon, Josias, and the rest, to the destruction of Jerusalem.

§. 1. *Amon* at 22 years old succeeded for two years, being wicked as his Father had been, his Servants slew him. *Josia* at 8 years old succeeded for 31 years, he sought after the God of his fathers, *David*, &c. and at 12 years old made a worthy Reformation, fulfilling the Prophecy delivered at *Bethel* to *Jeroboam*, by which History it appears, that *Bethel* and some part of the ten Tribes were returned under the dominion of *Judah*; either taken in by *Ezechias* up the death of *Assurbaddon*, while the *Babylonian*, that lov'd him, was busie at *Assyria*'s, or at *Manasses* his enlargement, the *Babylonian* not yet fit to deal with the *Egyptian* so far off, to oblige *Judah* to him, was content with this enlargement, as necessary against the *Egyptians*. This may be the reason *Manasses* fortified himself after his return, which was not against the *Babylonian*, but the *Egyptian*, as appears in *Josias* his

his opposing *Necho* with such earnestness, as argueth a firm league with the *Babylonians*. That *Egypt*'s friendship was little worth, *Judah* had often found and paid for, by the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians* displeasure, for adhering to *Egypt*; yet had it been a small matter, upon his earnest request, to let him pass, if *Josias* had not been obliged by his ancestors to an offensive and defensive alliance with the *Babylonians*, neither had it been wisdom to encounter such an Army offering no violence. Whatever error moved *Josiah*, it is likely he forgot (as the best sometimes do) to ask counsel of God, and depended upon the *Babylonian* too much, which could not please God. The conclusion was, that God for the wickedness of that people took away that good King, who had stayed his hand from revenging himself upon them, whose miseries presently succeeded his death, so much bewailed of all.

§. 2. *Neco*, the Son of *Psammiticus*, following his Fathers designs, who had made an entrance into *Syria*, being assisted by the extraordinary valour of the *Greeks*, and knowing how *Assyria* stood in danger by the force of the *Medes*, intended with a powerful Army to visit *Euphrates*, and strengthen the Pass about *Charchemish*, or further to invade *Syria*: Having therefore overthrown *Josias* in his way, not intending to stay the conquest of *Judah*, he proceeded and took *Cadysis*, perhaps *Charchemish*, and became in a manner Lord of all *Syria*, saith *Josephus*, particularly of the *Phenicians*, whom he set to sail from the *Arabian* Gulph round about *Africa*, by the Cape of Good Hope: In his return from *Euphrates* he took *Jehoahaz*, the younger Son of *Josia*, whom *Jeremy* calls *Shallum*, whom the people had made King, and put him in bonds, and constituted *Eliakim* in his place, calling him *Jehoiakim*, and laid a Tribute on the Land, but forbore the conquest; *Jehoiakim* was King but three months. *Jehoiakim*, elder Son of *Josiah*, reigned ten years, being of the *Egyptian* faction, and in behaviour like to the worst of his ancestors, which had so infected the Land that the Chief Priests were also defiled therewith; yet the Lord raised up Prophets which reprov'd them, among whom *Uriah*, flying the Tyrant which sought his life, is from *Egypt* sent back to be put to death, contrary to the custom of Nations.

§. 3. Of the Kings of *Media* and *Babylon*, *Merodach*, the Son of *Baladan*, taking advantage of *Senacherib*'s misadventure and death, with the dissention of his Sons, made himself King of *Babylon*, but was kept in action till *Assurbaddon*'s death, 11 years; so that he could not mind *Syria*; but was well

well rewarded then by a great part of *Assyria*, if not all, as some not very probably think: Yet his little intermeddling with the *Assyrian* affairs during his long reign, argued him busied at home in settling his purchases there, and having amity with *Ezechia*. *Ben Merodach* his Son succeeded for 21 years, whose Captains (as I take it) captived *Manasses*, in whose time *Psammiticus* with his *Greek* Mercenaries prevailed in *Syria*, which might procure *Manasses* his release, and it may be a part of the Kingdom of *Samaria*, which the *Babylonians* could not now mind: *Nebulassar* his Son succeeded for 35 years, whose work at home kept him from looking abroad; for *Phraortes* King of the *Medes* invaded *Assyria*, and besieged *Nineve*, which belike was not yet subject to *Babylon*, for *Nebulassar* repelled him not, but the *Scythians* invading *Media* forced him home. *Phraortes*, the Son of *Deoces*, King of *Media*, having enlarged his dominions, attempted *Nineve*, which yet remained of herself well enough, saith *Herodotus*: Custom of Danger hardeneth the unwarlike, whom sudden unknown Dangers amaze. *Nineve* had now been long exercised, so that *Phraortes* and his perished: *Cyaxaris* his Son, a braver man of War, won in *Lesser Asia* all from *Halis* East: He besieged *Nineve* and took it, saith *Eusebius*, whom I rather believe than *Herodotus*, saying the *Scythians* came upon him; which is not likely; for we cannot think him so improvident; but rather hearing they were towards *Media*, he left the City, which about this time was destroyed, as we read in *Tobitt*, a Book of sufficient credit for the story of those times; and sure we are the prophecy of *Nahum* was fulfilled by *Nebuchadonosor*, and probable it is that *Nebulassar*, after *Cyaxes* had left it in a weak condition, might easily seize upon it, and put a Vice-Roy in it, whose Inhabitants upon their Rebellion against *Nebuchadonosor* were utterly destroyed.

§. 4. The *Scythians* about this time made a great expedition into *Asia*, of which *Herodotus* speaks much, and many fabulous things, ill agreeing with the time of their first eruption, which must needs be in the reign of *Psammiticus* King of *Egypt*, who met them in *Palestine*, and got them by entreaty and presents to leave the Country: Before this they had wasted *Media*, and troubled *Assyria*, *Babylon*, &c. and are said to have domineered in *Asia* 28 years, within the compass of the reigns of *Ardis*, *Sadyattes*, and *Halyattes*, Kings of *Lydia*, and the 28 last years of *Nebulassar* King of *Babylon*. What these Nations were is next to be considered. *Herodotus* tells us, the *Cimmerians* being driven out of their Country

Country by the *Scythians*, invaded *Asia*, and that the *Scythians* pursued them into remote parts, and by chance fell on *Media* and *Egypt*, &c. But it is no strange thing for the *Greeks* to slander them by whom their Nation has been beaten, as they were by these; for the *Cimmerians*, or *Cimbrians*, are well known, by their Conquests of so many Nations, to have been no such Cowards: These were the posterity of *Gomer*, who peopled most of the Western World, and whose reflux overwhelmed no small portion of *Greece* and *Asia*; of whose original read *Coropius Becanus* his *Amazonica*, where we find the *Cimmerians*, *Scythians* and *Samaritans* were all one Nation, distinguished by diverse names, according to their Tribes, &c. *Homer* also spake disgracefully of them for the same cause, for they had wasted his Country, as had the *Amazons*: As for the expulsion they wrote of, it was no more than sending out Colonies into *Asia* with an Army of *Scythians*, to help to plant them elsewhere, their own Country being over-charged: The *Sarmatians* also were their Companions, as their return by *Novograd* in *Russia*, which was *Sarmatia*, sheweth, such another eruption they made above 500 years after; the *Cimmerians* being the first company kept to the way of the *Euxine Sea* on their right hand, and passing through *Colchos* entered *Pontus*, *Paphlagona*, where fortifying the promontory, whereon the *Greeks* after built *Synop*, they there left the unserviceable part of their Train under a Guard; from thence to *Lydia*, *Phrygia*, and *Ionia* the way lay open; in *Lydia* they won *Sardis* from King *Ardis*, &c. The misery of War is never such, as when men are forced to seek a Seat which others possess, when all is little enough for one side, and occasions the eradicating of the other. They which fight for Mastery are pacified with Tribute and Services, but in these transigrations, the assaillants bring so little with them, that they need all that the Defendants have, even to the sucking Infants Cradles. The merciless terms of this controversy, arms both sides with desperate resolution, seeing all is at stake on both sides, to the utter ruin of the one. Our *Britains* can witness the difference there is in Conquests, for they lost but liberty by the *Romans*, for the which they gained civil arts, which before they never knew; but by the *Saxons* they lost all, even to the eradication of the *British* Race. The *Danes* made the like attempt on the *Saxons*, with such continuance, as bred acquaintance between them, neither being able to subdue the other, so that many *Danes* became peaceable Inhabitants in wasted parts, and the rest

returned home. Such (I think) was the end of the *Cimmerian* War in *Lydia*, which having continued long, made both sides willing to rest, so that upon some victory of King *Haliattes*, the *Cimmerians* were content with what they had gotten on the East side of the River *Halis*, which henceforth became the border of *Lydia*, on whose East side dwelt the *Amazons*, that is, the *Cimmerians* and *Scythians*: Hereto sheweth, that when *Cyaxares* of *Media* sought Revenge on the *Scythians*, *Haliattes* assisted them, to prevent his encroaching Westward; *Herodotus* his story of this War about the *Scythian* Fugitives is less probable. The *Scythians* and *Sarmatians* took to the South, as the *Cimmerians* had to the West, passing between *Caucasus* and the *Caspian Sea* through *Albania*, *Colchene*, &c. where now are *Servia*, *Georgia*, and entered *Media* in the time of *Phraortes*, who was glad to compound with them, whilst *Psammiticus* reigned in *Egypt*, and in the 6th year of *Nabulassar*, from which their 28 years dominion ended in his 34; the *Medes* not willing to venture a second Battle, thought nothing dishonourable to remove such troublesome guests, and therefore submit to a Tribute, and so got them to remove, who finding the Country more pleasant towards the South, were easily persuaded; how *Babylon*, being in their way to *Egypt*, escaped is uncertain, yet it's certain all those parts of *Asia* were Tributaries to them. *Psammiticus*, to prevent their entering into *Egypt*, (as a jealous Husband is of a fair Wife) which he would not be willing they should see, met them in *Syria* on the South of *Palestine*, and at their being at *Ascalon* and he at *Gaza*, what by fair words and rich gifts so persuaded them, that they returned to visit their High Country Friends, and left *Syria* the more easie for him to deal with, while the Nations beyond *Euphrates* had new work to entertain these returned Strangers; the *Scythians* flowing back the way they came, grew an intollerable burthen to all they light on, especially the *Medes*, which they overpowered, being rich and near home, in a Climate best agreeing with their Bodies. Here they fell from exacting the agreed on Tribute to take what they liked, yea all from many, whereby the Land was unmanured; *Cyaxares* to remedy this oppression took this course, that while the *Medes* were feasting the better part of the *Scythians*, they made them drunk and slew them, and recovered all just as the *Danes* had been used in *England*. It's like this was done by the chief Leaders, which forced the multitude upon indifferent conditions to return home, being yet strong enough against

against the encounters they might meet with by the way, others perhaps were settled in the Country, before others might go to their Countrymen in *Lydia*. As for the story of the returned *Scythians*, which vanquished their corival Slaves at home with Horse-whips, with the custom of the *Muscovite* woman's sending a Whip, which she curiously worketh, to the man which shall be her Husband, in token of subjection. See Dr *Fletcher*.

§. 5. Contemporaries, besides the Kings of *Egypt*, *Babylon*, *Media*, and *Lydians* of whom we speak, *Tullius Hostilius* reigned in *Rome* till the 21st year of *Josias*, *Ancus Martius* succeeded 24 years. *Tarquin Priscus* a stranger was next, who being Tutor to *Ancus* Children, were so favoured by the people, and so rich, that they chose him King the 4th of *Zedechia*, and reigned 33 years, *Cypsilas* in *Corinth* expelling the *Bacides* reigned 30 years in Peace, *Percander* his Son succeeded, a Tyrant, slew his Wife, and in honour of her, stripped all the women stark naked, and burnt their Apparel to her Ghost; yet *Greece* was then so wise as to admire his wisdom, and that of the 7 Sages. *Draco* the Law-maker of *Athens* punished every offence with death, *Solon* abrogated them, *Zaleucus* was the Law-giver of the *Locrians* in *Italy*, his Law put out the eyes of the Adulterer, and to save one of his Sons offending that way, he put out one of his own; he restrained Womens immodest attire, unless it were to entice a Lover, nor to go out of Town by night; but to play the Whore, nor to be attended with more than one woman abroad, except they were drunken, which dispensations women were ashamed to claim. *Jerusalem* in the 3d year of *Jehoiakim* is besieged by *Nebuchadonosor*, the 2d year of his reign with his Father, and in despite of *Necho* King of *Egypt*, he forced *Jehoiakim* to be his Vassal, and took *Daniel* and his Fellows Hostages; but hastened home, not intending there to stay, upon account of *Necho's* coming with such disadvantage to him so far from home, in a Country which loved him not; besides, his Father's death called him to possess his own before he sought other mens. But the next year, which was *Nebuchadonosor's* first, and *Necho's* last, they met on the Bank of *Euphrates*, where *Necho* fought his last, and *Nebuchadonosor* recovered all *Asia*: *Psammitis* succeeded *Necho*, but was inferiour in valour; he thought to restore *Jehoahaz* his prisoner, and cast out *Jehoiakim*, but the Lord laid to the contrary; and *Jehoiakim* also fawned on the *Egyptian*, till *Nebuchadonosor* forced a Tribute from him, so he submitted 3 years quietly; in his

4th year it seemeth that *Jeremy* was first imprisoned. *Tyrus* holding out against *Nebuchadonosor* was in his 7th year besieged, and in his 14th year taken; for her Captivity was limited to 7 years, and her Siege 13. She was divided from the Main by a deep broad Channel, excelled in store of Ships, which *Nebuchadonosor* wanted, and every wind brought supply from Foreign parts, so that it neither feared Force nor Famine. But God that threatned *Tyre*, sent a King impatient of resistance to undertake such a work, to stop a vast Channel in the Sea, using thereto the wood of *Lybanus* not far off, and the ruins of *Old Tyre*, with the toilsome labour of many thousands of men, wherewith he prevailed at length; but the wealthy Citizens fled by Sea to *Creet*, and left little wealth for Booty, &c. therefore the Lord promised them *Egypt*, see *Ezek.* 29. 18, 19. *Jehoiakim* upon what occasion is uncertain, whether mutiny among the Soldiers, or rumour of the *Egyptians* coming against *Nebuchadonosor* renounced his subjection, but was presently subdued by *Nebuchadonosor* and slain, and his Son *Jehoiakim* or *Jechonias* put in his place, and after 3 months removed to *Babylon*, and *Mathania* his Uncle established in his stead, and called *Zedechias*, who took an Oath of subjection. In his 4th year he went to *Babel* about some business, wherein it seems he was not satisfied, for upon his return he began to practice with his Neighbour Princes of *Moab*, in which year *Hanany* the false Prophet opposed *Jeremy*. *Nebuchadonosor* hearing of *Zedechias* practice, came in the dead of Winter and besieged *Jerusalem*, and tho the year following he raised his Siege to meet *Hopra* (*Apries* in *Herodotus*) yet upon the *Egyptians* abandoning his Enterprize, he returned and gave the City no rest till he broke it up; *Zedekiah* escaping in the night thro a Vault under the Earth, is yet overtaken, &c. and his Eyes being put out he was carried to *Babel*, but saw it not as *Ezekiel* foretold, *Cap.* 12, 13. This was the 11th year of *Zedechias*, and 18th of *Nebuchadonosor*, the year after the Temple was burnt, and the 431st year after the Building of it. VVhat followed is written 2 *Kings* 25. *Jeremy* 39. and 52.

FROM

FROM THE
Destruction of *Hierusalem*,
UNTO
PHILIP of *MACEDON*.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

The time from the Destruction of *Jerusalem*;
to the Fall of the Assyrian Monarchy.

§. 1. *THE* Connexion of Sacred and Prophane History. §. Before the Greek Olympiads and the Eastern date from *Nabonassar*, the course of time had no beaten path, as after it had more certain marks; yet from *Hierusalem's* destruction, the former with the succeeding ages are more clearly discerned in the connexion of them. The harm which some have found in the years of the over-worn Monarchies doth preserve their names, which otherwise might have been forgotten, but cannot shew the year of such a King, in which any thing expressed in Scripture was done, neither could any certainty be gathered from the latter Kings of the *Assyrians*, &c. if *Nebuchadonosor's* Reign had not been precisely applied to the years of *Jehoiakim* and *Zedechias*. Hence have

have we the first fight to discover how to connect Sacred and Prophane Histories; for *Judah's* 70 years Captivity begins under *Nebuchadonosor*, and ending the first of *Cyrus*, directs us backward and forward. This first of *Cyrus* is joyned with the first of the 55th Olympiad, and that he reigned 23 years before his Monarchy, and 7 after, is apparent, allowing then 408 years between *Troy's* fall, and *Iphitus* restoring the Olympiads, we may arrive at the true *Grecian* Antiquities; for other Nations let *Augustine* be trusted.

§. 2. The 70 years of the *Babylonish* Captivity being our chief mark of direction, we are to inform our selves truly therein; some begin from *Jechonias* Captivity 11 years before *Zedechias*, citing that of *Ezech. 40. 1.* for it. *Berosus* judgeth that it began the first of *Nebuchadonosor*, and 4th of *Joakim*, 2 *Chron. 36. & Dan. 1. & Matt. 1.* but cannot so make it good. Wretched *Porphyry* scoffeth at *St. Matt. 1. 11.* not knowing *Josias* Son had divers names, as *Epiphanius* shews: The wretch also affirms the Book of *Daniel* was written long after his death, at, or near the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, whom *Eusebius*, *Apollonius*, &c. have answered; and the Septuagint have translated it out of *Hebrew* 100 years before that. *Jaddus* also the High Priest shewed the Book to *Alexander the Great*, &c. True, the *Jews* ascribe it to *Esdras*, and equal it not to the Prophets, but put it among the *Hagiographs*, or Holy Books, which are *Daniel*, *Psalms*, *Job*, *Proverbs*, *Canticles*, *Ruth*, *Lamentations*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Hester*, *Nehemiah* and *Chronicles*. Our Christian Councils and Fathers acknowledge it Canonical, and our Saviour who cited no Apocrypha cited it, which is a proof exceeds all.

§. 3. That the 70 years Captivity began at *Hierusalem's* destruction, not *Jechonias* Captivity, is clear, *Jeremy* himself explains himself, and *Daniel*, cited by some to the contrary. Compare Chap. 25. 9, 11, 12. with Chap. 29. 10. where in the first place he expressly begins the Captivity of the 70 years at *Hierusalem's* destruction, and therefore certifieth the Captives in the second place: So also is it understood by themselves, 2 *Chron. 36. 19, 20, 21.* so *Dan. 9. 2.* The 70 years referred to *Jerusalem's* delolation.

§. 4. Touching the Kings reigning in *Babylon* for those 70 years, and the time of each, that helps out but little as to the times before or after, neither belike were most of all their acts worth recording; for as *Nebuchadonosor's* latter times were taken up either in delights or madness, so his posterity grew slothful, as Sons whose Fathers have purchased

chased enough to their hand; yet let us consider of men's opinions therein, and judge as we see cause. The surest opinion is theirs which follow the Scripture, which name only *Nebuchadonosor*, *Evilmerodach*, and *Belthasar*; and *Jeremy* seemeth to limit the dominion of *Babel* to Father, Son, and Nephew. To qualify this, I see no necessity, except prophane Authors were constant and probable in more successions, which they are not; *Josephus* reckons 5, citing *Berosus* for it, but far otherwise than doth *Jerom*, &c. *Annins Metastenes* 5, of which the 3 last were Brethren, but neither he nor the rest can qualify *Jeremy*.

§. 5. *Scaliger's* opinion is here handled and disproved, in beginning the 70 years from *Jechonias* transportation, and giving *Evilmerodach* but two years, *Balthasar* 15, of which he maketh four to be spent in his protection, and maketh him a Son of *Nebuchadonosor's* Daughter; but as *Jeremy's* Speech of *Evilmerodach's* raising up *Jechonias*, argueth a longer time, so he speaks of *Nebuchadonosor's* Sons Son in the succession; so *Daniel's* being employ'd in so high a station by the King, and after falling to a private life, could not have been forgotten of him in two years, or less; *Scaliger* also finds one *Nabonidas* after *Balthasar*, and allows him 17 years, and makes him to be *Darius Medus*, whom others make the same with *Balthasar*, to make good *Berosus*, whom *Scaliger* his chief Patron herein forsaketh. One of his grounds are out of *Daniel 5. 31.* *Darius* is not said to win but receive the Kingdom, which makes no strong conclusion, &c. The other is out of *Megastenes* in *Eusebius*, calling *Nabonides* a *Mede*; but I find it not, and if I did, I should little regard it, considering his other improbable reports with it; besides, the opinion agrees hardly with Scripture, which saith, the Kingdom should be divided between the *Medes* and *Persians*, so that either *Darius* was not *Nabonidas*; or else let us consider what *Persian* shared with him: Nay, both the Nations made the Empire, as *Daniel's* Ram sheweth, and the *Greeks* call the War made by *Xerxes* the VVars of the *Medes*; so that the notion of the Chronologers that held *Darius* to be Partner in *Cyrus's* Victories, was not well Condemned.

§. 6. *Lyra* and others hold, those only named in Scripture to have reigned in *Babylon* during those 70 years, which esteem more conformable to reason; for as to the years of their reign, it is clear that *Evilmerodach* began to reign the 37th year of *Jechonias* Captivity, from which deduct *Zedechias* 11 years, when the City was taken there remained 26

Of the 70, how to distribute the other 44 to the other succeeding Kings is not so needful, as long as the total sum is certain; yet to conjecture, I will be bold as others have done, to give to *Balthasar* 17 years with *Josephus*, so there remains 27, of which one may be taken for the first of *Darius*, so 26 remains for *Evilmerodach*; besides *Josephus*, all that can confound *Balthasar* and *Nabonidas* give him 17 years, and *Daniel's* being grown out of *Balthasar's* knowledge, who yet had served him his 3d year, argues some long time between; that *Evilmerodach* reigned some good time, is probable by *Jechonias* favour under him, and some of great judgment have given him 23 years, and more might be given as well as that.

§. 7. Touching the actions of these Kings, *Nebuchadonosor's* former years were victorious; in his 19th year he won *Hierusalem* and proud *Tyrus*, *Esay* 23. 15. The same year *Egypt* was aimed at as the fairest mark, but the petty Nations about *Judah* who desired the ruin thereof, were to be made sure, for fear of impeding his return from *Egypt*, if he sped not well; all these ill neighbours which made an account of gaining by *Judah's* fall as *Tyrus* had, and had followed the the Camp as Ravens, were suddenly oppressed by *Nebuchadonosor*, as the Lord had threatened, and brought into the case *Judah* was in, *Esay* 16. 14.

§. 8. *Nebuchadonosor* having freed the Coast behind through *Syria* and *Arabia*, leaving neither Friend to *Egypt*, nor Foe to himself, able to give impediment to his advance or retreat, he presently took it in hand, and according to our 3 great Prophets, had a victorious conquest over *Egypt*, altho some good Authors following *Herodorus* and *Diodorus* extenuate it to a spoil without conquest, and that *Apries* or *Hopra* their King was slain afterward in an insurrection of his Subjects, and *Amasis* chosen to succeed. But *Herodorus* and *Diodorus* are herein contradicted by such Authority as force our belief, as *Esay* 20. 4, 5, 6. *Jer.* 43. 10. and elsewhere. So *Ezech.* 29. 20, 30. & 32. 31. so that *Junius* who in one place took *Hopra's* Enemies to be *Amasis* and his Fellows, yet in *Jer.* 44. 30. he confesseth the *Egyptian* Priests had abused *Herodorus*; *Josephus* also herein is rather to be believed, reporting *Egypt's* Conquest, and Slaying of the King by *Nebuchadonosor*, who appointed another in his stead, all which is consonant to the Prophets.

§. 9. *Nebuchadonosor's* victories after the Conquest of *Syria*, more enlarged his Dominions than the former; for besides the conquest of *Egypt*, we are bound to believe he conquered *Phul* and *Lud*, with other Nations, as it seemeth, even to *Mauritania*. Hitherto *Egypt* hath flourished 1580 years, but from henceforth lived 40 years under a Vice-Roy, and was long after in getting strength, but never her ancient Glory, *Esay.* 19. 11. *Ezek.* 29. 13, &c.

§. 10. *Nebuchadonosor's* Actions are diversly dated, some from the beginning of his Reign, whose first ran with part of *Jehoiakim's* 3 year, when *Daniel* was carried Captive, another date was from the beginning of his Empire, which was after the Conquest of *Egypt*, as his dream, *Dan.* 2. 1. which could not be the second year of his Kingdom, considering the 3 years bringing up of *Daniel* before he stood before the King: as also that *Nebuchadonosor* was yet no such King as he was, when *Daniel* declared the dream, &c. After the Conquest of *Egypt*, *Nineveh* which rebelled, was destroy'd by him, as *Nahum* foretold, whose prophecy went between the destruction of *Egypt* and *Nineveh*.

§. 11. *Nebuchadonosor's* last times are found only in *Daniel*, as his buildings in *Babylon*, Cap. 4. 27. wherein he gloried so much, and no marvel if *Josephus* report out of *Herodorus* be true, of an Orchard born upon Arches as high as Mountains, reared up in 15 days; but his over-valuing his own greatness, abased him as low, and the Lord for his presuming to erect an Image to be worshipped to his dishonour, whom he had before acknowledged, cast such contempt upon him as never befel such a man; for after the Lord had convinced him by his miraculous cooling of the Furnace, and by a second dream warned and given him one years respite, he had humane sense taken from him, &c. but upon his restoration *Augustine* and others held him saved.

§. 12. *Evilmerodach* succeeded, in whose 19th year ended the 40th year of *Egypt's* desolation, and now brake the *Babylonian* yoke under *Amasis* their King. This fell out while *Astyages* the *Mede*, Grandfather to *Cyrus*, waged War with *Evilmerodach*, and had the better, which made *Egypt* bold. *Astyages* died in the 19th year of *Evilmerodach*, and left the *Medes* and *Persians* in arms against *Evilmerodach*, whom also they slew.

§. 13. This Section contains the Authors conjecture, how it might be that in *Nebuchadonosor's* 7 years of madness, *Niglifar* might govern by his Wife *Nitrocis* means, *Nebuchadonosor's* Daughter, and *Labassurdach* after him, but slain af-

ter 9 months, presently before *Nebuchadonofor's* restoring; but we shall pass it over.

CHAP. II.

Persians greatness, how it grew.

§. 1. **T**hat the *Medes* were chief in the overthrow of *Babylon*, the matchless witness of two great Prophets maketh good, *Esai.* 13. 17. *Jer.* 51. 11. 28. according to whom *Julius Africanus* proveth *Babylon* was taken before *Cyrus* began to reign, so that the Empire lost by *Balthasar*, the last of *Belochus* Line fell to *Cyaxares* or *Darius Medus*, the last of *Arbaces* Race, who succeeded his Father *Astyages*, &c.

§. 2. *Cyrus*, to whom alone the *Greeks* ascribed the Conquest of *Babylon*, was, and thought to be immediate successor to *Astyages* by some, who deny he had any other Son than this *Cyrus*, the Son of *Mandane* his Daughter. *Viginier* also probably reasoneth, that *Astyages* had no such Son as *Darius*, being unknown to so many Authors there named, but negatives from Authors are of no force and necessity. *Astyages* must be *Darius*, *Dan.* 9. which his time will not allow, or another successor before *Cyrus* must be granted, who for life commanded all; yet in regard he was old, and followed not the Wars in person, but *Cyrus* as his Lieutenant did all, the *Greeks* who heard only of him, ascribed all to him, as did the *Persians* in honour to him, who shortly brought all to them.

§. 3. *Xenophon's* report of the War between the *Assyrians*, and the *Medes* and *Persians*. The *Assyrian* having command of so many Countries, desired to bring under the *Medes* and *Persians*: knowing therefore their great strength, he persuaded *Cræsus*, the rich and strong King of *Lidia* to joyn with him, to which he easily yielded by reason of his quarrel with the *Medes*, who had War against *Alyattes* Father, those two together make up an Army of 200000 Foot, and 60000 Horse, but are overthrown by *Darius* or *Cyaxares*, King of the *Medes*, and *Cyrus* General of the *Persian* Forces, and the *Assyrians* King was slain, so that many *Assyrians* revolted, and *Babylon* was glad for her security to get mercenary strength, while *Cyrus* pursues his Victory to *Lesser Asia*, and took *Cræsus* prisoner. After this followed the attempt upon *Ba-*

Babylon, *Cyaxares* bearing the charge, and *Cyrus* being Leader, &c.

§. 4. *Achemenes* governed in *Persia*, when *Arbaces* did the like in *Media*, and both joyned with *Belochus* against *Sardanapalus*, and after held *Persia* for himself, as the others did *Media* and *Babylon*; yet *Arbaces* absolute command decayed, till *Dejoces* 140 years after, when *Salmanasar* reigned in *Assyria*, so that neither the *Medes* nor *Persians* thought it fit to stir; from *Dejoces* to *Astyages* there passed above 90 years, in which time *Phraortes* reigned, but not like to have conquered *Persia*, as *Herodotus* writ; for *Susiani* was under *Daniel's* charge for *Nebuchadonofor*, who also would hardly have ventured into *Syria* and *Egypt*, and leave such an Enemy on his back: It seems the successors of *Achemenes* did little worth remembrance, seeing in the *Persian* greatness nothing was published of their first Kings. *Xenophon* speaks of the Crown descended from Father to Son for many descents, and that *Cambyfes* begat *Cyrus*; so that the story of *Astyages* giving his Daughter to a base man to disable her Issue, whose greatness he feared, is unlikely. Two Races sprung from *Achemenes*, the first according to *Reineccius*, are *Darius*, *Cyrus*, and *Cambyfes*, *Cyrus* the great, *Cambyfes*, &c. of the 2d Race came the 7 Princes, who overthrew the *Magi*, and chose *Darius*, Son of *Hystaspes*, who was one of them, for King. *Persia* was first called *Elam*, of a Son of *Sem*, &c. their City called *Persepolis* in the 2d Book of the *Machabees*, is called *Elemais* in the first Book, and now *Syras*, but was built in another place, for that which *Alexander* destroyed at the request of the Harlot *Thais*. The first King known to us according to the Interpreters of *Gen.* 14. was *Chedorlaomer*, with whom *Amraphel* or *Ninias* joyn'd in the War against the *Arabians*.

CHAP. III.

Of Cyrus, the first Persian Monarch.

§. 1. *Cyrus*, saith *Strabo*, was so called of the River which watereth *Persia*; *Herodotus* saith it signifies a Father, *Plutarch* would have it to imply as much as the Son, but *Esai* named him almost 200 years before he conquered *Lydia*, and took *Cræsus* before *Babylon*, which he won in the 55th *Olym-*

Olympiad, and in the 58th Olympiad upon a Rebellion subdued it again.

§. 2. *Lydia* had *Lydus* the Son of *Atys* for her first King, which family was extinguished; *Argus* descended from *Hercules*, was chose by Oracle, and held it for 22 Generations to *Candaules* the last: *Ogyes* succeeded him in Bed and Kingdom, which he left to *Atys* the Father of *Sadyattes*, Father of *Halyattes*, who begat *Cræsus*, all their time was 170 years; *Cræsus* so enlarged his Dominion, that he was inferior to no King of that age, commanding *Phrygia*, *Bythia*, *Caria*, *Mysia*, and *Pamphlagonia*. He, in confidence of his good success, envying *Cyrus* Fame, and desiring to check his prosperous undertakings, asked Counsel of *Apollo* the Devil, who answered, *Cræsus* passing *Halis* River shall dissolve a great Dominion; an answer doubtful, because the Devil was ignorant of the event.

§. 3. *Cræsus* thus resolved, despises all *Sandanes* his Counsellours arguments to the contrary, as the barrenness of the Enemies Country, their hard manner of living, warlike nature, prosperousness and hardness, by whose fall he could gain only Fame, wherein he excelled, and if he were beaten, his loss could be hardly told, or soon conceived. *Cræsus* proceeded with a powerful Army, but is stayed at *Pterium*, a strong City of *Cappadocia*, which he sought to force while *Cyrus* came on: *Cratippus* answered *Pompey* well, that Kingdoms and Commonwealths have their encrease and periods from Divine Ordinance, so it was with these great Princes, whose Forces, meeting the *Persians* had somewhat the better, but night parted them; *Cræsus* doubtful of the next days success, quits the Field to *Cyrus*, and with all haste got *Sardis* over his head, and because of Winter sent home his Forces, not dreaming of any pursuit.

§. 4. *Cyrus* finding the *Lydians* gone, followed slowly after to avoid discovery, and having got intelligence of *Cræsus* proceedings, lingered till the Forces were disposed to their Winter Garrisons, when unexpectedly he surrounded *Sardis*, and within 14 days forced it. *Cræsus* thrusting in among the multitude was ready to be slain, had not his dumb Son, forced by passion, cried, spare *Cræsus*, who thereupon was brought to *Cyrus*, who judged him to be burnt; but being upon the Pile of Wood, he cried out, O *Solon*, *Solon*, *Solon*, and thereupon being urged to declare what he meant, answered, that he found *Solon's* words true, That no man knew his own happiness till his end: *Cyrus* hearing thereof called for him, and remembring his own mortal state, forgave

gave him, and ever after used him as a King and Companion. *Xenophon* reports, that *Cyrus* used him so without speaking of the design of burning him, belike thinking it a cruelty unworthy *Cyrus*, so to use his Great Uncle by his Grandmother, whose Brother he was; *Cyrus* ever after so trusted him, that in his Journey to *Scythia*, he left him to advise *Cambyses* his Son, &c.

§. 5. *Cyrus*, after the Conquest of *Lydia*, (as it seems) invaded *Scythia*, and took King *Amorges*; whose Wife *Sparetha* renewing the War, took *Cyrus* prisoner, and so by exchange recovered her Husband; he also reduced the *Phocians* and *Greeks* in *Lesser Asia* that had revolted, and having settled all his Provinces, prepared to attempt *Babylon*, as the height of his designs, whereto he bent both Head and Hand; *Cyrus* having spent ten years in ordering his former acquisitions, and preparing for *Babylon*, knowing the strength of it, being treble walled, of great height, and surrounded with waters, unformidable, and victualed for 20 years, despaired to carry it by assault, or to finish it in short time, or without great and assured Guard, considering the vast Circuit of the Wall, which was above 48 miles, and of 32 Foot thickness, and 100 Cubits high, wherefore he having weighed these difficulties, with the inconveniencies of lying long at the Siege with such a multitude, and the doubtful terms of conquered remote Provinces, with the dishonour of making shew to attempt what in probability could not be compassed, devised how to turn off the *Euphrates* by many Channels: *Balthasar* in the mean time, secure of any thing the Enemy could do, fell to feasting, &c. when the Lord of Heaven, against whom he exalted himself, sent him such a Messlage by a Divine Hand-writing, as marred all the mirth. The execution of that fearful sentence came on as fast, when in the same night *Cyrus* causing the Dams between the River and his Trenches to be cut down, *Euphrates* suddenly failed the City, and left the Besiegers a ready entrance upon a secure people drowned in their Cups. No Historian, if he had been present, could better set out *Babel's* calamity in that surprize, than *Esai* did 200 years before, and *Jeremy* above 70, whose Prophecies were now accomplished.

§. 6. *Cyrus* his last Wars and end are diversly reported; *Herodotus* and *Justin* tell us of his Wars with the *Massagites*, and his death by Queen *Tomyris*; but I believe with *Viginier*, that War was rather that which he had before with the *Scythian Sacians*, and that *Tomyris* was *Sparetha*; *Ctesias* reports he was wounded in warring with the *Derbician Scythians*.

thians, and died three days after; and *Strabo* reports, he was buried in his own City *Pasagardes*, whose Tomb *Alexander* the Great opened, saith *Curtius*. There is no likelihood of any such overthrow of *Persians* in *Scythia*, considering *Cambyfes* present Journey into *Egypt*, and therefore I believe he died at home, as *Xenophon* reports, setting down his Speech to his Son.

§. 7. *Cyrus* his decree for building God's Temple, was, in true consideration, the noblest of all his acts, as a service to the Author of all goodness, accomplishing what the Lord hath promised 70 years before, touching the return of the *Jews*, &c. restoring the Vessels of the Sanctuary, and rebuilding the House of God, yet was the Work hindered all the days of *Cyrus* by the *Samaritans*, and Governours of the Provinces, who, to hinder it, wrought upon *Cambyfes* in his Fathers days, and after, upon suggestion, that it was a rebellious City, &c. he reigned thirty or thirty one years, &c.

§. 8. *Cyrus* had 2 Sons, *Cambyfes* and *Smerdis*, and three Daughters, *Attafa* and *Meroe*, whom *Cambyfes* their Brother married, and *Aristona*, Wife to *Darius Hystaspes*, as was *Attafa* after *Cambyfes* death: *Codoman* mistakes her for *Hester*, because she was called *Hadassa*; but nearness of names confounds not the persons, where the one was the known Daughter of *Cyrus*, the other a *Jewish* woman, who, tho' a while she concealed her Kindred, yet she after did discover it, &c.

CHAP. IV.

The Persian Affairs, from Cyrus to Darius.

§. 1. The *Persian* Kings are diversly numbered, but *Eusebius* and most of the *Laines* follow the *Greeks*, and *Krentzheim* hath refelled all the rest, and *Pencer* maketh it good by Scripture; *Cyrus* reigned in all 30 years, named 2 *Chron.* 36. *Ezra* 11. and elsewhere; *Cambyfes* with the *Magi* 8 years, *Dan.* 11. 2. As for *Darius Hystaspis*, *Ezra* 4. 5. he reigned 36 years. Then *Xerxes* 21 years plainly set out, *Dan.* 11. 2. *Artaxerxes Longimanus* 40 years, *Ezra* 4. 7. being called also *Artosasta*, *Ezra* 4. 7. & 7. 7. *Darius Nothus* 19 years, *Ezra* 4. 24. & 5. 6. *Nehem.* 12. 22. *Artaxerxes*

erxes Mnemon 43 years, *Neh.* 2. 1. He was Father to *Artaxerxes*, *Ochus*, and *Arsames*, in whom the Line of *Cyrus* ended. *Ochus* reigned 22 years, *Arsames* 3, *Darius* the last was of another Family, and reigned 6 years. All these are by *Eusebius* fitted to the Olympiads.

§. 2. *Cambyfes* succeeded his Father, being like him only in a desire to encrease the Empire. In the 5th year of his sole reign, the 3d of the 63d Olympiad, he invaded *Egypt*, for that *Amasis* denied him his Daughter; but *Psammentus* reigning after is slain by *Cambyfes*, 6 months after *Amasis* death, others attribute to him 6 years.

§. 3. *Cambyfes* also forced *Evelthon* King of *Cyprus* to submit, he destroyed the *Egyptian* Images and Temples, and sent to do the like to *Jupiter Amon* in *Lydia*, but the Devil by a storm oppressed them with Sand, yet himself attempted it after in vain; he also slew *Apis* the *Egyptian* Bull. But shortly after, upon a dream that his Brother sat on his Throne, he procured *Praxaspes* his Favourite to kill him, intending to marry his Sister, he asked his Judges what Law permitted it, who answered, the *Persian* Kings were lawless, yet he caused *Sisamnus* a corrupt Judge, to be fleyed alive, and covered the Judges Seat with his skin, and put his Son in the Office. He shot *Praxaspes* Son in the heart, to shew his Father the Wine he delighted in had not taken away his wits; mounting his Horse in haste to go to *Persia*, upon hearing *Smerdis* a *Magus* upon a similitude to his Brother had usurped the Crown, his Sword falling out gave him his death wound. He built *Babylon* in *Egypt*, where *Latopolis* stood, and *Meroe* in *Nilus*, called by his Sisters name, whom he slew for weeping for *Smerdis*.

§. 4. The 7 Princes descended from *Achemenes* discovering the fraud of Imposture, with joyned Forces routed him out, and after consultation whether a popular Government, or a few chosen of men, or regal were best; the resolution is to make him King, whose Horse shall Neigh first after the Sun rising. *Darius*, one of the number, hereupon consulting with *Oebarus*, Master of the Horse, caused his Horse to cover a Mare in the Subburbs the night before, who coming the next morning by that place with the rest, made *Darius* Emperor by neighing first, *Her.* lib. 3.

C H A P V.

Of Darius, the Son of Hytaspes.

§. 1. *Darius* came of the second Race of *Achamenes*; Thus *Cyrus* the first begat *Teispus*, who begat *Ariannes*, the Father of *Arsannes*, Father of *Hytaspes*, who accompanied *Cyrus* into *Scythia*, when *Cyrus* upon a dream grew jealous of *Darius*, but after he followed *Cambyfes* into *Egypt*, married two of *Cyrus* Daughters; *Reineccius* gives *Hytaspes* 5 Sons, *Herodotus* but 4.

§. 2. *Darius* made many good Laws, gave his Subjects easy access, and was so mild, that many Nations offered subjection to him, yet he laid divers Taxes on them; *Babylon* having revolted in the time of the *Magies*, *Darius* besieged it, and *Zapins*, who, for his sake cut off his own Ears and Nose, and fled to the *Babylonians*, and complained of *Darius* cruelty, for disswading him from the Siege of *Babylon*, is made their Leader, he recovered it.

§. 3. He gave order for building of the Temple, and made a decree against all that shall hinder it, *Ezra* 6.

§. 4. *Darius* having recovered *Babylon*, invaded *Scythia*, passing over *Ister* or *Danubius*, by a Bridge of small Vessels, which he committed to the Guards of the *Ionians* and *Aetolians*, among whom *Miltiades* perswaded the *Asian Greeks* to break it down, thereby to distress *Darius*; but *Histiaus*, Prince of *Milet* of *Ionia*, disswaded them. *Darius* entering the Desert Countreys of *Bassaravia*, found neither people nor relief, the *Scythians* there being all Grasers and Horsemen, without any Town or Village, and living in Waggon, which at every station they set into the Order of a Town, as do the *Crim-Tartars* their posterity at this day. *Darius* wearied with seeking, and seeing his folly, sent to them, either to submit or try his valour, who for answer sent him a Bird, a Frog, a Mouse, and 5 Arrows. This dumb shew *Darius* took as a yielding to him all, even the Elements in which these Creatures live, and their weapons: But *Gabrias*, one of the 7 Princes, construed their meaning aright, by telling him he could not escape their Arrows, except by flight, diving, or hiding himself: This they made good by assailing his Camp, vexing it with continual alarms, and so fearless were they of this great Monarch, that they coursed

an

an Hare before him; *Darius* seeing this boldness, forsook his Camp by night, and hastened to the *Ister*, whether yet the *Scythians* came before him, missing him in their march. They perswaded the *Ionians* to depart, assuring them the *Persians* should never help nor harm them, which had proved true, if *Histiaus* had not proved firm, and stayed for them there.

§. 5. *Darius* escaping, the *Scythians* invaded *Thrace* and *Macedon*, transplanted the *Paonians*, and possessed *Chalcedon*, *Bizantium*, *Perinthius*, &c. and the best part of *Thrace*, then he sent to *Amintas*, King of *Macedon*, requiring his subjection by the Earth and Water, as the *Persian* manner was. He doubting his own strength, entertained well the Ambassadors, who offering rudeness to the Ladies at a Feast, were slain by the device of *Alexander* the Kings Son, who lent young women in Ladies attire to do it. *Darius* intending Revenge, is pacified by *Bubaris*, a principal Commander under *Darius*, to whom *Alexander* succeeding his Father, had given *Gygea* his Sister to Wife, who perswaded him how necessary the amity with *Macedon* was, in the intended War with *Greece*.

§. 6. The War with *Greece* grew upon the account of *Phisistratus*, who in time of the Annual Government, upon a division of two great Families in *Athens*, usurped the Government as in behalf of the people, who yet perceived he aimed at a Monarchy (which of all forms of Government they could not brook) they forced him to fly the first and second time, but the third time he hired Forces, and recovered and ruled 17 years after, and left it to his Sons *Hippius* and *Hiparchus*, which latter was murdered by *Hermodius*, for his unnatural lust to him. Hereupon *Hippius* fearful of himself, and falling to more severity than had been there used, they raise Armies with *Lacedemonian* aid, and forced him to resign and leave the City. Now he being allied to *Aantides* Tyrant of *Lampsacus*, was by him presented to *Darius*.

§. 7. The *Ionians* Rebel. The *Grecian* Colonies, on the Sea Coast of *Asia*, after 500 years liberty, were brought under by *Cresus*, and fell with him under the *Persian* yoke, are by the practices of *Histiaus* put into Rebellion, because *Darius* had taken him into *Susis*, and there under shew of honour detained him, as doubting his greatness in *Ionia*: This he perceiving, practised with *Aristagoras* his Cousin, and Deputy in *Miletum*, to break out, hoping to be sent to reduce them, as he was; for *Darius* hearing of this revolt, and of the

the *Athenians* joyning with them, was exceedingly provoked against *Athens*, being set on by *Hippias*: As for the *Ionians*, he sent *Histiæus* hither, who promised what he intended not, but before his coming, *Artaphernes* had broken their pride, being Vice-Roy in *Lydia*, so that *Histiæus* after divers vain attempts is taken, and lost his head.

§ 8. *Darius*, who at first pretended to War against the *Athenians* and *Airitæans*, for assisting the *Ionians*, and burning *Sardis*, seeing the good success of his Forces against them, sent and demanded acknowledgment from all *Greece*, who generally refused, and forced the *Ægænes* which had submitted to renounce it. *Darius* prepared 100000 Foot and 60000 Horses for that Expedition, which, as they passed over the Sea, took the *Cyclad* Islands, and so went to *Eretria* in *Eubæa*, and sackt it. From thence they pass into *Attica*, conducted by *Hippias*, who had been their King 20 years ago, which encamped at *Marathan* towards *Athens*. The *Athenians* sent *Phidippides* to the *Lacedæmonians* for succour, which he failed of; but in *Arcadia* a familiar Devil, (supposed to be *Pan*) promised the God's assistance, which much encouraged the multitude, who rely more on blind Prophecies than solid Reason. The *Athenian* Forces were 10000, and 1000 *Plateans*, which coming into the Field, the *Persians* scorned the paucity of them, and thought them void of wit to venture into the Field: But in conclusion, the *Greeks* fighting for all they had, and the *Persians* for what they needed not, necessity provoked the one, and confidence in their multitude making the other secure, the *Persians* are put to the Rout, fly to their Ships, whither as many of them as had not lost their wit with their courage, hastned. Of the *Persians* was slain on the place 6300, of *Greeks* 192, which they say fell out by strange apparitions, which frightened the *Persians*. *Milhiades* carried the honour of the Victory, but having broken his Thigh in the service, which he fought against the Isle of *Paros*, at his return, his ungrateful Citizens cast him into Prison, where in a few days he ended his life. *Darius* after 36 years reign, died.

C H A P.

C H A P VI.

Of Xerxes, Emperor of Persia.

§ 1. *Xerxes* succeeded, and inherited with his Crown a double War, one with *Egypt* ended without any account how, the other with *Greece*, as terrible in preparation, as ridiculous in success; from which War *Artabanus*, Brother to the late *Darius*, dissuaded him; but *Mardonius*, the Grand-child of *Hystaspes*, as was *Xerxes*, and his Brother-in-law by marriage of his Sister, perswaded it. *Herodotus* tells us of 1700000 Foot, but *Trogus* cuts it to 700000 and 80000 Horse, besides Camels, Charicots, and other Beasts for carriage. The Commanders were all Princes of the Blood, of which *Mardonius*, Cousin to the King was chief; only the Immortal Regiment which was ever supply'd with 10000 select *Persians*, was given to *Hydarnes*, the Gallies were 2208, and 3000 Transport Ships.

§ 2. This world of an Army made their Rendezvous at *Sardis*, whose whole company *Pithius* a *Lydian* entertained with food, and presented the King with 2000 Talents of Silver, and 4 Millions of Gold, wanting 7000, which *Xerxes* made up, and gave all back again. Yet the Tyrant cut one of his 5 Sons into two parts, whom the Father had entreated to be spared in this Expedition, to tend him in his old age. He cut a passage for his Gallies behind Mount *Athos*, and by cutting off the Isthmus, separated 5 Cities from *Thrace*. He also made a Bridge of 672 Gallies over the *Hellespont*, over which all his Army passed in 7 days, which he beheld in the Plain of *Abydos* from an high place. Here *Artabanus* put him in mind, that man's life is so much the more miserable than the end thereof, that the happiest man oft pleaseth himself more with the desire of death than living, &c. and laid before him two great dangers such a multitude was exposed to at Sea by storm, having no Harbour to command, or able to receive them, and at Land, the Country being not able to feed them, &c. He only reply'd, that great Enterprizes were never undertaken without great perils, which is a good resolution, if necessity force the Enterprize, which here it did not, &c. and such multitudes are rather heavy burdens than strong aids, impossible to be marshalled.

§. 3. *Xerxes* having transported his Army into *Thrace*, being to pass the Streights of *Thermopile*, of half an Acre breadth, between the Mountains which divided *Thessaly* from *Greece*, was resisted by *Leonidas*, King of *Sparta*, and 300 of his, besides 3 or 4000 other *Greeks*, till a Fugitive *Greek* taught the *Persians* a way by the ridge of the Mountains, by which part of the Army ascending came upon their Rear, yet *Leonidas* with his and 700 more stood to it, and slew 20000 of them, besides two of the Kings Brethren: in the end he and the rest were slain. This valorous resolution, especially of the *Lacedemonians*, frightened *Xerxes*, so that he asked Counsel of *Democratus*, a banished King of *Sparta*, who advised him to send sufficient Force in 300 Ships to spoil *Laconia*, so to hold the *Lacedemonians* and their Neighbours at work at home, while *Xerxes* subdued the rest. *Achamenes* the King's Brother, advised him to keep the Ships together near the Land Forces, considering 400 men were lately cast away in a storm. But the *Grecian* Navy lying at *Artemesium*, where the *Persian* Armada thought to inclose them, knowing they had sent 200 Ships about, met them in the night unlooked for, and defeated them: The other intending by a strong hand to repair that loss, set upon the *Grecian* Navy, but had the worst on't, leaving both place and spoil to the Enemy.

§ 4. *Xerxes* having entered the *Phocian's* Country, spoiled it, and the Regions adjoining, he sent also to spoil the Temple of *Delphi*, but the men were overwhelmed (they say) by two Rocks, which brake down from *Parnassus*; surely his attempt was impious, seeing he held *Apollo* to be a God, so that the only true God might give the Devil leave to defend himself against his own Servant which dishonour-eth him; for, saith he, *will a man spoil his God*, Mal. 3. 8. Jer. 2. 9, 10. Yea, the *Persians* had blamed the *Athenians* for burning the *Sybill's* Temple in the City of *Sardis*. He proceeded then to *Athens*, which was abandoned and burnt, both Cittadel and Temple.

§ 5. The *Athenians* had removed their Wives and Children to *Salamis*, &c. preferring the common liberty of *Greece* before private Interest, yet the *Greeks* resolved to abandon *Salamis* and *Agina*, had not *Themistocles*, Admiral of the *Athenian* Fleet, dissuaded them from that, as also from their purpose to fortify *Peloponnesus* only, and abandon the rest of *Greece* as not defensible, yet could he not prevail till he threatened, that the *Athenians*, whose Ships were the strength of the *Grecian* Navy, would take their Wives and Children

dren and remove to *Italy*, and there plant themselves. The *Peloponnesians* knowing then how desperate the case would be with them, were glad to yield.

§. 6. The *Persians* deliberate to offer the *Greeks* a Battle, which the King desired, and the Leaders to give him content, seem to approve of it; but *Artemisia*, Princess of *Halicarnassens*, advised the King to set forward to *Peloponnesus*, thereby to cause the *Grecian* Navy to separate, while every one would hasten to defend his own, and so being single they might be easily mastered, which conjoynd were too strong, because of their better skill in Sea Affairs. The *Peloponnesians* amazed at the approach, and fearing the attempts marched to *Peloponnesus*, as esteeming all *Greece* lost but that part, resolved to set sail for the Isthmus; *Themistocles* knowing he had no spare time to bestow on cares, shut up by fear, sent a trusty Messenger to tell the *Persians* of this intended flight, with speed to send some Forces about the Island. The *Persians* thinking that the *Athenians* did this to make their way for favour, as meaning to fall to the King, followed the advice. The *Peloponnesians* in the morning intending to weigh Anchor, see the Enemies in their way, and so were forced to the Fight in the Streights of *Salamis*, where they got a memorable Victory, forcing the Enemies Ships to fall foul one upon another, and so could neither fight nor fly.

§. 7. After the Victory, every Captain by scrutiny was commanded to write down his name, which merited most, and every man ambitious of honour, sat his own name first, and *Themistocles* next; affection serving her self first, and then content to yield to vertue next: *Xerxes* set a good face on it, as intending a new preparation, but the Princes which knew his temper discerned his faint heart, especially *Mardonius*, the Author of this War. He therefore to prevent the Kings indignation, accosted him with many fair words, laying the default upon the cowardly *Egyptians*, *Phenicians*, and *Cilicians*, which was no dishonour to the King, who had taken *Athens*, which was principally intended, and most part of *Greece*. Hereupon he desired the King to leave him with 300000 men to finish the work, and himself with the rest to return to *Asia*. The Kings liked this well, and so hastened away, hearing the *Greeks* intended to break the Bridge, as *Themistocles* had informed him under-hand, so to weaken the Army and ease the Country.

§. 8. *Mardonius* having undertaken to reduce *Greece*, removed to *Thessaly*, and from thence sent *Alexander*, King

of *Macedon*, with great promises to persuade the *Athenians* to come in, which the *Lacedemonians* understanding, sent likewise to persuade them to remain firm. The *Athenians* answer *Alexander* by renouncing amity with *Xerxes* as long as the Sun kept his Course: Whereupon *Mardonius* hasted to *Athens*, which was again left to him empty. From thence he solicited them with many fair promises in vain, yet the *Lacedemonians* grew cold in sending aid, till the *Athenians* began to threaten to take such a course as would little please them. A Councillour of *Sparta* thereupon said, our Wall upon our Isthmus will little avail us, if *Athens* listen to *Mardonius*, with which the *Lacedemonians* recollected another temper, and dispatched 5000 men, and gave orders for 5000 more to march.

§. 9. *Mardonius* Army of 300000 was encreased by 50000 *Macedonians*, *Thebans* and *Thessalians*, against which the force of *Greece* were 110000, of which 40000 were weightily armed. All these confronted one another in a convenient place belonging to the *Plateans*, who gave it to the *Athenians*, upon the Oracles promises of Victory, if the Battle was fought on *Athenian* Ground: So the Armies encounter each other. *Mardonius* is slain, his Army destroyed, and *Artabazus* with 3000 flies to *Byzantium*, and so shipped them over into *Asia*.

§. 10. *Xerxes* lying at *Sardis*, committed 60000 men to *Tigranes*, to keep *Ionia* and the Coasts, where his two Admirals lay at *Mycale*, who perceiving the *Grecian* Fleet coming, drew their Ships on ground, and fortified the place, and disarmed the *Samians* among them, and set the *Milesiens* far off to keep the Streight, suspecting them. The *Greeks* resolutely force them. The *Samians* in the Fight get what Weapons they can, and play them against the *Persians*, whose example the *Ionians* follow. So the *Persians* are overthrown, and those that fled the *Milesiens* had the slaying. This was in the evening of the same day. The Battle was fought at *Platea*, which yet was heard of in this fight. There are other examples of like swift reports, more especially that of *Antonius* defeat under *Domitian*.

§. 11. *Xerxes* not regarding these losses, was taken up with the love of his Brothers Wife, which rejected him; and after of her Daughter, Wife to his Son, whereof did follow the Salvage cruelty of *Amestris* his Wife, on his Brothers Wife, and his murder of his Brother *Masister*, her Husband.

C H A P. VII.

Of the Greek Affairs, from the Persian Wars to the Peloponesian, containing 27 years.

§. 1. THE *Greeks* having utterly beaten that *Persian* Army, consisting of 1700000, and left a few thousands of them, the *Peloponesians* returned home, leaving *Zantippus* and his *Athenians*, assisted with the revolted *Ionians* behind, who took *Sestos* in the Streight of *Hellepont*, (between which and *Abidus*, *Xerxes* Bridge had stood) and in the Spring returned home, taking their Wives and Children with them out of the Islands where they had left them. The *Athenians* neglecting their private concerns, fell presently to fortify their City, which the *Lacedemonians*, suspecting the *Athenians* power at Sea, dissuaded, but in vain, being held in suspense with fair words till the work was ended, and then were answered, That *Athens* knew what appertained to her safety, as they had shewn in the *Persian* War, without direction from others.

§. 2. The *Athenians* fitted out 30 Ships, the *Lacedemonians* 20, the rest of *Greece* adding thereto: *Pausanias* of *Lacedemon* had the Command, who having possessed themselves of many principal places in *Cyprus*, went from thence to *Thrace*, and recovered *Byzantium* from the *Persians*. After this *Pausanias* falling to play the Tyrant is called home, and *Docrates* put in his place, who also is disliked, as indeed a good Commander might be, in comparison of the wise and virtuous *Aristides*, Commander of the *Athenians*, much more men of ill desert. The *Lacedemonians* being weary of following the War, whereunto the *Athenians* were eager, returned home, and took their ease while the others got honour, and had all the rest of *Greece*, willing to be commanded by the *Athenians*, and to bear what charge they lay on them from the common defence of *Greece*, gladly referring themselves to *Aristides*; but just *Aristides* could not prevent the *Athenians* making Slaves of their Fellows, in short time imposing 1300 Talents by the year upon their Confederates; *Cimon*, the Son of *Miltiades* was General, who brought many of the inhabitants of *Greece* into the *Athenian* servitude, while, neglecting to follow the Wars, they were content to bear the charge, and so grew weak, and the others strong; *Cimon* having taken *Phasis*, entered *Eurimidon* in *Pamphilia*,

lia, overthrew the *Persian* Army by Land, took 200 Ships at Sea, and forced 80 sail of *Phenicians* to run aground and perish; all which constrained the *Persians* to make an honourable Peace with the *Athenians*.

§. 3. *Xerxes* becomes cruel to his Kindred, and those about him, which made his Uncle *Artabanus* to repose less safety in his fidelity, than in the hope of a Crown, by destroying a cruel, cowardly, and hated Prince. Thus by the means of *Mitridates* an Eunuch, the King is murdered, and his Son *Darius* charged with it and put to death; but *Artabanus* is surprized by *Artaxerxes* and slain.

§. 4. *Artaxerxes* making peace with the *Athenians*, *Themistocles* seeking to check the peoples insolvency in their Democratical Government, is banished ten years, who for safety fled to *Persia*, where, to avoid leading of Forces against *Athens*, he poisoned himself.

§. 5. *Athens*, contrary to the peace with the *Persians*, measuring honour by profit, thought to surprize *Cyprus*, a fit Seat for any State that would Trade with *Syria*, *Egypt*, *Cilicia*, &c. but *Cimon* with his one hundred sail, being solicited by *Inarus* King of *Lybia*, to joyn in the conquest and sharing of *Egypt*, accepted the motion, succeeded in the attempt, to the taking of two parts of *Memphis*, till *Magabazus* sent Forces to assist the *Persians* there, by which means the *Athenians* were forced to the Isle of *Protopiles*, and there slain, with the loss of their Gallies, and 50 more sent to aid them.

§. 6. The *Athenians* in these 6 years of the *Egyptian* VVar, yet held their own with advantage, they won *Phocis* and *Tamagra*, and spoiled the Sea Coast of *Peloponesus*, and then made peace with them.

§. 7. *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, to whom most approved Authors allow 40, and some 44 years reign, was he which so much favoured the *Jews*, as we see in *Esdra*s and *Nehemiah*; being that *Ahasuerus* that married *Hester*, lived in *Susan*, and reigned from *India* to *Aithiopia*, and therefore a *Persian*. Now as *Darius Hystaspes* his many Wives, the honour he left *Atossa* in, and *Jehoiakim*s being High Priest in the days of *Artaxerxes*, proves he was not *Hester*s Husband, so much less was *Xerxes*; and *Mordechai*s Age proves he could be none of the succeeding Kings of *Persia*.

§. 8. The *Greeks* prosecute their Civil VVar, leaving the *Persian* in peace for many ages. Their *Egyptian* expedition being come to nought, the *Lacedemonians* recover *Delphos*, which the *Athenians* regain, and commit to the *Phocians*, but the

the *Bæotians* recover their liberty from the *Athenians*, as did *Ainbaa* and *Megara*: And *Athens* seeks Peace with *Sparta* for 30 years, but after 6 years invades *Samos*.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Peloponesian VVar.

§. 1. *Greece* was never under the Government of one Prince till *Philip* of *Macedon*, and *Alexander* his Son, and by them rather united than subjected, as they were by the Kings following, who brought all *Greece* into servitude, except those two which deserved it most, *Athens* and *Lacedemon*, which distracted all by their private quarrels, drawing all the rest to side with them. *Lacedemon* having lived under one form of government 400 years, used only to war, as glorying only in valour: The *Athenians*, on the contrary, measured honour all by gain: The *Lacedemonians* were deliberate, grave, and resolute, for which all other States of *Greece* followed them: The *Athenians* were eager, sudden in concluding, and hasty in execution, obeyed perforce, and by means of their Ships forced the Islanders to hard Tribute: Now the *Lacedemonians* being Inlanders, and perceiving the *Athenians* grow great, became jealous of them.

§. 2. *Athens*, to enlarge her command, used to protect the weaker States against the stronger, though the former had been the others Colony, as *Corcyra*, which they protected, was to *Corinth*; this wrong *Corinth* complained of to *Sparta*, as others did, and when *Sparta* could not prevail by entreaty they resolve on force, which *Athens* prepare against; the *Lacedemonians* exceed them in numbers and quality; the *Athenians* them in Money, Ships, and absolute Subjects.

§. 3. *Athens* the two first years had all their Country about wasted, and the Town visited with a grievous pestilence, by the throng of People and Cattle fled thither; the *Lacedemonians* win *Plataea*, but cannot rescue *Mitylene* from the *Athenians* for want of Ships: Their Confederates also grew weary, so that the *Lacedemons* saw how little hurt they could do *Athens*, which was easily relieved by Sea; fell to building of Ships, but to no purpose, wanting good Sea-men.

§. 4. The *Spartans* hearing that a Fleet of *Athenians* by contrary winds staid at *Pylus* a Promontory, and began to

fortifie, hasted from *Attica* to put off such ill neighbours from planting so near *Peloponessus*, but finding the Garrison not so easily to be forced, they possess the Haven, put 400 men into the Island, and send part of the Fleet for stuff to block up the Garrison. The *Athenian* Fleet hearing of the Garrisons distress, returned, and overthrew the *Spartan* Fleet, &c. The 400 men in the Island the Magistrates of *Sparta* seek to recover, by sending to *Athens* to treat of a Peace, but in vain, for *Athens* weighed Honour by Profit, and held the advantage gotten, and in the end by force took the *Spartans* in the Island Prisoners, and sent them to *Athens*.

§. 5. The *Lacedemonians* in this distress labour for Peace, which the insolent *Athenians* neglected, till the overthrow their forces (by those the *Lacedemonians* employed in *Thrace*) received; which made the *Athenians* more moderate, and the *Lacedemons* more earnest to effect a Peace, especially considering that besides the *Athenian* power, the *Argives*, their ancient, and not to be neglected Enemies, were like to joyn with the *Athenians*, the 30 years Peace being expired. The Peace at last is concluded, but the Conditions impossible, for *Lacedemon* would not restore all the Cities which the *Athenians* had lost by their means, as the Cities taken into their protection refused to return to be subject to their old Lords the *Athenians*: But before any quarrel grew, the *Spartans* enter into a stricter alliance with *Athens*, by a league offensive and defensive, to disappoint the *Argives*: This league put all *Greece* into a jealousy that these two would prove Lords of all.

§. 6. The States of *Greece*, which had excessively admired the valour of *Sparta*, seeing it now to seek Peace upon terms not so honourable, began to condemn it, particularly the *Corinthians*, *Thebans*, &c. who cast their eyes upon the great rich City of *Argos*, and conceived great matters of it: This is the common base condition of most men, who curiously searching into other mens vices, cannot discern their virtues, and comparing our best parts with others worst, are justly plagued with a false opinion of that good in them which we know wanting in our selves. The *Corinthians* begin, by complaining the *Lacedemonians* had left some Towns in the *Athenians* hands; the *Mantinians* follow, who feared revenge, for that they had drawn some *Arcadians* from the *Spartans* to follow them: These begin to enter into Leagues with the *Argives*, and other Cities of *Peloponessus* follow. The *Lacedemonians* knowing the scope of this new Confederacy, send

send to *Corinth*, to stop the matter where it began, charging them with their Oath of old Alliance; which the *Corinthians* answered, saying the *Lacedemonians* had first broken it, in concluding with *Athens*, without care of restoring the Towns taken from *Corinth*, &c. The *Corinthians* thereupon enter into a league with *Argos*, and draw others in, only the *Thebans* were not so forward, because *Argos* was a popular State. The *Corinthians* also for further security sought Peace with *Athens*, and obtained a Truce, not a League. But in conclusion, as *Athens* by force had gotten an absolute command, and could perform what she promised; so *Lacedemon*, which had so many followers, but voluntary, could not do so; for whereas they should restore *Panaetie* held by the *Thebans* for recovering of *Pylus*, they could not do it, and so gave discontent to *Athens*. There were also in *Athens*, *Alcibiades*, a young brave Nobleman, and others; and some also in *Sparta* desirous of War, who set forward the breach of that Peace what they could. *Alcibiades* therefore sent to *Argos*, which had no thoughts now of Superiority, as lately she had had, but of Security, advising them to secure themselves by a League with *Athens*. The *Lacedemons* seeing that *Argos* took that course, sent to *Argos* to stay the proceedings, knowing the combination was not for their good, but by a trick of *Alcibiades* they lost their labour.

§. 7. The *Argives* presume upon their Allies, molest the *Epidarians*, which the *Spartans* were bound to defend, upon which occasion the *Athenians* and *Spartans* collaterally infest one another, and the *Corinthians*, *Boeotians*, *Phocians*, and *Locrians* follow the *Lacedemonians*, who in one victory recovered much reputation, so that the Nobles of *Argos* getting the upper hand of the Citizens, made a League with them, renouncing *Athens*, but the people recovering again, chased away their Nobles, and reverse all.

§. 8. *Athens* in the intermission of War at home, renew their hopes of subduing *Sicily*, and sent such a Fleet thither as *Greece* never fitted out, of which *Alcibiades* was one General. *Syracusa* is besieged, but relieved by the *Lacedemonians*, and the Fleet shut up in the Haven, neither could *Athens* rescue it through Domestick Factions, whence *Alcibiades* was driven to banish himself, and by reason *Sparta* in that absence of their Forces invaded *Attica*, the *Persian* lending Money, the *Lacedemonians* also by *Alcibiades* advice, (who fled to them) fortify'd *Decelia* near *Athens*, and harraß all the Country about; yet the *Athenians* in their obstinacy send another Fleet, which was quite vanquished in the Haven, and

and the Army by Land utterly overthrown. This befell the *Athenians* deservedly, by *Nicias* Resolution, who chose to venture little less than all the power of *Athens*, rather than to incur the *Athenians* censure upon his return to be condemned unjustly as other Generals had been. This resolution cannot be commended, seeing an honest valiant man should do what reason willeth, and measure honour and dishonour by a well informed Conscience, rather than the malicious report and censure of others; yet is excusable, considering the peoples injustice, and knowing an ill fact is nothing so pernicious as an unjust sentence, which begun upon one becomes a President; but his fear to fly, as he thought to do, was ridiculous, because of an eclipse that day, which made him defer it till 27 days after, with lamentable effect.

§. 9. The *Athenians* after this loss had also their Subjects abroad rebellious, which recovered their long lost liberty. At home all the principal Citizens, wearied with the peoples insolency, changed the Government, procuring the Captains abroad to set up an Aristocracy in the Town of their Confederates, as 400 usurped it at home; but the Army of *Samos* disliked that usurpation, and re-called *Alcibiades*, who was fled from the *Lacedemonians*, who had honoured him much till his virtue bred him envy, and was with *Tisaphernes*, the *Persian* Vice-Roy, with whom he was grown into such favour, that he perswaded him to decline his favour to the *Lacedemonians*, yet his revocation was not confirmed at *Athens* till the 400, wearied with the troubles of the time, and not prevailing with *Sparta* for Peace, resigned their Authority to 5000, which had been their assistance, who presently agreed to the revocation of him and his Companions.

§. 10. After this, *Alcibiades* joyning with the *Athenian* Fleet, after an overthrow of the *Lacedemonians* Fleet, commanded by *Minderces*, took *Cyzicus*, *Perinthus*, *Calcedon*, and *Byzantium*, and with this honour returned to *Athens*, where he was made High Admiral; but upon the loss of a great part of his Fleet by his Lieutenant in his absence, fighting contrary to his orders, he was again necessitated to banish himself, to a greater loss to *Athens* than before.

§. 11. After this also the *Athenians* Ships in a discomfiture were forced to the Haven of *Mytelene*, where they were hemmed in, so that *Athens* was forced to man all their Vessels to rescue them at *Argimusa*; yet the ten Captains which had the Victory of the *Lacedemonians*, were condemned at *Athens* unjustly, as afterwards appeared.

§. 12. *Ly-*

§. 12. *Lysander*, with the *Peloponesian* Fleet besieged *Lampacus*. The *Athenian* Fleet, consisting of 180 Ships, came to relieve it too late, and they put in at *Sestos*, and after at *Agos-Potamos*, from whence the men used to go by Land to *Sestos*, leaving the Ships. *Alcibiades* lived near, and saw their negligence might endanger the Ships, whereof he gave them warning, which they regarded not; so *Lysander* came suddenly upon them, overthrew them, and went to *Athens*, &c. with *Pausanias* and *Agrs*, the two Kings of *Sparta*, and summoned the City, which refused to yield till Famine forced her, which fell on them, by the *Lacedemonians* taking the Islands from them which used to relieve them; so that all her Subject Cities are freed, the Wall to the Port cast down, her Government restrained to her own Territories; and she to use but 12 Ships, and follow *Sparta* in all Wars. Thus ended the *Peloponesian* Wars after 27 years, and *Lacedemon* abusing the good success grew odious, so that many Cities of *Greece* combined against her; and *Thebes* under the leading of *Epaminondas*, who trained up *Philip* of *Macedon*, gave her a great foil.

CHAP. IX.

Matters concurring with this War, and a while after.

§. 1. *Persia* had after him *Artaxerxes*, *Xerxes*, and after him *Sogdianus* his Brother (who seems to be the Son of *Hester*) reigned but one year, whom *Darius Nothus* succeeded, who slew *Sogdianus*, as he had done by his Brother *Xerxes*: he reigned 19 years. *Amyteus* an *Egyptian* allied himself with *Greece*, overthrew the *Persian* Garrison in *Egypt*, and reigned, while *Darius* assisted the *Lacedemonians* with money, by the overthrow of *Athens* recovered what had been lost in *Asia the Lesser*, over which he made *Cyrus* his younger Son Lieutenant, but upon some dislike intended to have dealt sharply with him, had not death prevented.

§. 2. *Athens* after her overthrow had 30 Governours called Tyrants, chosen to execute the Law with Supreme Authority. These contriving how to retain that power in their hands, put certain troublesome Fellows to death without Law, which all men approved of, considering their lewdness;

ness; but not that it might prove their own case, if their Governours called them seditious, as it fell out, for these 30 sent to *Lacedemon* to desire a Garrison, pretending to cut off the seditious, but by entertaining the Captain to his liking, they grew bold with the chief Citizens, and shed much blood. *Theramenes*, one of them, shewing his dislike of it, after they had chosen 3000 Citizens of their liking to assist in the Government with privilege, in case of capital Crimes to be tried by Law, and not at Commandment of the 30. They call *Theramenes* in question as without that privilege, and put him to death. After this the Tyrant's outrage made many good Citizens flee to *Thebes*, where *Thrasybulus* and above 70 more resolved to free *Athens* of the Tyrants, and take *Phila*, a strong place in the Territories of *Athens*, which the Tyrants in vain sought to recover, their strength daily encreasing to thousands, with which they got *Pyraus*, the Suburbs of *Athens* in the port, and slew 70 of the 300 which came to expel them, and *Crytias* the chief Tyrant. The Tyrants send for aid to *Sparta*, and *Lyfander* is sent with Forces, and *Pausanias* followed, not to overthrow *Thrasybulus*, but after some shew to effect a Peace, which he did, sending the 30 and others which were the cause of the Tumult to *Sparta*.

C H A P. X.

Cyrus the younger his Expedition into Persia.

§. 1. *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, or the mindful, succeeded in *Persia*, established by his Father, who also at his Mother *Parasatus* earnest intreaty, pardoned his Brother *Cyrus* aspiring, and established him Vice-Roy in *Lydia* and those parts.

§. 2. *Cyrus* after such disgrace from his Brother, who spared his life only for his Mothers importunity, of whose favour he presumed, knowing also the affection of her people, and presuming upon the *Lacedemonians*, formerly aided by him, thought his interest to the Crown worth prosecuting: Wherefore he sends to the *Spartans*, who order their Admiral to be at his command, he seizeth on some Towns subject to *Tisaphernes*, furnishes Greek Captains with Money to raise Soldiers to be at his warning, then making a shew to be-

besiege *Miletus*, he calls over his Greek Forces, and suddenly sets forward toward *Persia*.

§. 3. *Tisaphernes* posting to the Court with the news, occasioned great exclamations and fear, and the King gathered an Army of 900000, with which yet he durst not venture the trial; the Greeks which followed *Cyrus* were hardly allured over *Euphrates*; but being over, they resolved to fight *Artaxerxes*, who was retiring to the utmost border of his Kingdom, had not *Teribazus* one of his Captains dissuaded him.

§. 4. *Cyrus*, with his Army of 100000 men, draws towards his brother, who had intrenched himself 40 miles in length, 30 foot broad, and 18 deep, and yet left it, at length when he thought he had been fled, was forced suddenly to arms. The Greeks, not used to encounter such a multitude, began to distrust their own valour, yet upon the onset found they had to deal with so many beastly Cowards, who fled amain: *Cyrus*, glad to see it, and being thereupon saluted King, yet desires to appear worthy of it, and therefore with 600 Horse he charged a Squadron of 6000, which fled before him, and being left by his own men, who pursued the enemy, he again spying the King in the midst of his Troops, brake in with a few, and pierced the Kings Curace, but was presently slain, and his Head and Right Hand being cut off, are shewed on a Spears point, which recalled the flying *Persians*, who before cried to *Cyrus* for mercy. After this, the King and *Tisaphernes* met, and followed the Greeks which knew not of *Cyrus* death; who seeing the King following, turned to him, but he wheeling about left them, and took an hill, from which they forced him, and then returned to their quarters.

§. 5. *Artaxerxes* could not joy in his success, when he thought what report the Greeks would make of the baseness of his people, which might encourage the Greeks to visit his Country with more force than he would like: The next morning therefore when they understood from *Arius* that *Cyrus* was dead, he sent *Phalinnus* a Greek unto them, to require their arms, and to sue for mercy, which they scorned.

§. 6. The Greeks next night came to *Arius*, a principal Commander under *Cyrus*, who tarried for them; but 400 Foot and 40 Horse all *Thracians*, were fled from them to the King. *Arius* being offered by them to make him King, wanted the vigour to venture for it, but was glad to covenant with them for mutual assistance in the retreat, which he had the conduct of. The next day they found the Kings Army, which gave them way, yea, the King sent to them about

about a Peace, and appointed them a place where to have Victuals.

§. 7. *Tisaphernes* came to them like a Fox to intrap them, pretending his love to them, being a neighbour to *Greece*, and promising his mediation with the King, if they would send a mild answer, and to conduct them home. Hereupon a League is sworn between them, and he returned to the King, and after 20 days came back to them, and set forwards; the *Greeks* grew jealous of his long stay, and would not have tarried, had not *Clearchus* their General, who relied upon *Tisaphernes* Oath, perswaded them to it. *Tisaphernes* after some days march, took opportunity, upon *Clearchus*'s seeking to assure him of the *Greeks* good mind to him (which he seemed to doubt) to draw all their Captains to his Camp, promising to tell them which of them it was which sought secretly to raise dissention between them; thus having drawn them into his snare, he sent *Clearchus* and other 4 Collonels to the King, but slew the rest; then he sent *Arians* as from the King to require the Troops to yield, but in vain.

§. 8. The *Greeks* amazed at the loss of their leaders, neglected to consult what supply to make, till *Xenophon*, whole Learning supplied his want of Experience, awaked them to it; who thereupon is intreated to take the charge of *Proxenus* Regiments, and chose Captains. *Xenophon* made Slings, took 50 Horses out of the Carriages, and set Men on their backs, and taught the Archers to shoot compass, which they had not used, and thus kept off the *Persian* Archers. Thus their valour made them way through all difficulties, so that *Tisaphernes* fell to his surest course, to distress them by burning all the Country before them.

§. 9. The *Greeks* passing through the *Carduchi*, a fierce swift people, and skilful Archers, with the Sling, were much troubled with them 7 days; and came to *Centriles*, which runs between them and *Armenia*, where forces were way-laid to hinder their passage, but finding a ford they chased away the *Persian* Subjects, and left the *Carduchi*, which seemeth to have inhabited the Mountain *Niphates*, not far from *Tygris*'s Spring, contrary to *Ptolomy*, who placeth them far East, upon the River *Cyrus* in *Media*.

§. 10. The *Greeks* being come from *Armenia* passed 60 miles to the head of the *Tygris*, and as far beyond peaceably, till *Teribazus* encountred them at the River *Teleboa*: He being Governour for the *Persians*, feigned to favour the *Greeks*, and made an agreement with them, but in their security lay in

in wait for them, yet was discovered by a Souldier taken by the *Greeks*, who found him out on the sudden, and made him leave his rich Pavilion behind him. Thence they went to the Northward, near the Fountains of *Euphrates*, where they found store of Victuals, &c.

§. 11. The *Greeks* came into the River *Phasis*, and passed the Nations of the *Phasiani*, *Taochi* and *Chalybis*, the first fled with all their Provision into strong holds, of which one was forced, and yielded store of Cattle. The fierce *Chalibes* disturbed them much, and fought with them hand to hand. The *Scythians* used them kindly at *Gyrmia*, whose Governour led them to Mount *Moschici*, whence they saw the *Euxine Sea*. Then they came to *Trapezond* or *Trapezus*, a Colony of *Greeks* in *Colchos*, whose people used them with Hostility, which was well requited while they rested at *Trapezus*.

§. 12. The *Greeks* at *Trapezond* desire Shipping for their more easy passage, which the *Lacedemonian* Admiral who lay there, promised to provide; but lying long in expectation of Shipping, and Victuals failing, they sent their Sick, with the Women, Children and Baggage by Sea, and the Army being 8600 men, went by Land to *Cerasus*, a *Greek* Town, as *Cotione* was their next Quarters, both Colonies from *Sinope*, as was *Trapezus* also. Here the Inhabitants discourtesy made the Soldiers use violence, which the *Sinopians* took ill, and threatened revenge. *Xenophon* excused it, as proceeding from necessity, which if it would not serve, he shewed how little he feared them. This upon consideration so qualify'd them, that they promised their best help.

§. 13. *Xenophon*, while Ships are preparing, intended to build a City thereabouts, which being discovered, the greatest part disliked of it, and *Sinope* and *Heraclea* much feared it, and to prevent the design, promise both Ships and Money. The Ships are sent without Money, which made the Captains fear a Mutiny, having held the Soldiers in hopes of it; but upon the coming of *Cherisophus* from the *Lacedemonian* Admiral with a few Galleys, and promise of Money at their arrival in *Greece*, they set out from the Port of *Sinope*.

§. 14. The *Greeks* drawing homeward, thought fit to chuse an absolute Commander, desiring *Xenophon* to take it upon him, which he refused, knowing the trouble of leading Volunteers. *Cherisophus* accepts the offer, but was soon deposed, for not favouring their intent to surprize *Heraclea*,

clea, which had been friendly to them, for 4500 of them, being *Arcadians* and *Achaans*, chose new Leaders and forsook the rest, but had been overthrown in *Bythinia*, if *Xenophon* and his Company had not come in.

§. 15. *Xenophon* forceth the *Persians* and *Thracians* in *Bythinia*, and ravaged that part of the Country about Cape *Calpas*, and carried the spoil to *Chrysopolis*, near *Chalcedon*, where he sold it; *Tisaphernes* fearing their coming into *Phrygia*, procured the Admiral of *Sparta* to waite them over into *Europe*, and so ended that famous expedition, which opened the way to the *Greeks* to visit *Persia* the second time, to the translating of the Empire.

CHAP. XI.

The Grecian Affairs, under the Lacedemonian's Command.

§. 1. THE *Greeks* understanding the effeminate baseness of the *Asiaticks*, desire to invade that huge unweildy Empire, but were hindred by home distractions, through the *Theban* War, which called the *Lacedemonian* power out of *Asia*. *Xenophon's* retreat from *Babylon* to *Greece* 481 miles in one year and three months through Enemies Countries, I know not whether any age can parallel. Indeed *Conan* the *Britan* with 6000 men came home through all the breadth of *Italy*, and length of *France*, in spite of the Emperor *Theodosius*, which retreat was rather like, than equal to it.

§. 2. *Timbro* the *Grecian* General in *Asia*, receiving *Xenophon's* men, took in Towns, which fell off from *Tisaphernes*, but for his oppression is deposed, and *Derocillidus* a *Spartan* succeeded, who bearing a grudge to *Pharnabazus*, not favoured by *Tisaphernes*, the other *Persian* Governor in *Lower Asia*, upon appointment with *Tisaphernes* entered *Aeolis*, and in a few days subdued it, wasted *Bythinia*, took *Marne*, a strong City, and *Cheromia* with 11 Towns in it. Then he was commanded from *Sparta* to attempt *Caria*, the Seat of *Tisaphernes*, in defence whereof *Pharnabazus* joyned with *Tisaphernes*, by which means the *Greeks* were overmatched, especially being forsaken of the *Ionians* and *Islanders*, yet *Tisaphernes* feared to fight, remembring *Xenophon's* retreat, and

and so contrary to *Pharnabazus* Counsel, a Truce on certain concessions on either side is concluded.

§. 3. The *Lacedemonians* take leisure now to revenge some private wrongs done by the *Aleans*, Presidents of the *Olympian* games, and forced them to free the Cities which were subject to them, and overthrew their own walls: This pretence of liberty was their usual ground of war, tho afterward they made the same Towns little better than Vassals to *Sparta*.

§. 4. *Agessilaus* newly made King of *Sparta*, desiring the honour of Victory against the *Persians*, with a great Army set forward to *Aulis* in *Boetia*, to do Sacrifice there, as *Agamemnon* did long before; but the *Thebans*, who were Lords of that Country, interrupted him: *Agessilaus* dissembling this contumely, follow'd his main enterprize, and landed at *Ephesus*, where *Tisaphernes* entertained him with a Treaty of Peace, seeking only to gain time, for the better furnishing himself with men and money; which being come, he sent to *Agessilaus* to be gone, or to maintain his post by force: *Agessilaus* answered, that he was glad he had to do with an enemy which by Perjury deserved vengeance from Heaven: So making shew to prepare for *Caria*, where *Tisaphernes* was ready for him, he went directly to *Phrygia*, which he spoiled, till *Tisaphernes* Horse came, whom he could not well repel for want of Horses, and therefore returned to *Ephesus* to furnish himself; and as soon as the season would admit, he entred and took booties in *Tisaphernes* Country, overthrew his Cavalry in the plains of *Meander*, for want of their Infantry, and took their Camp, which was very rich. The King his master distrusting him, and seeing how odious he was to the *Greeks*, thought fit for the procuring of Peace to take off his head, by *Tithraustes*, whom he sent to succeed him. This man sent to *Agessilaus*, to certify that the author of this War was dead, and that the King was content the *Greeks* should enjoy their liberty, paying him Tribute. The answer is referred to the Counsel of *Sparta*, and till it come, *Agessilaus* is content for 30 Talents, at his request, to transfer the War against *Pharnabazus*. Thus these Lieutenants cared not for the Kings affairs farther than in their own Provinces; the foolish custom of those Kings being to be guided by Eunuchs and Concubines, and rewarding or punishing the Provincials as they got or lost.

§. 5. *Agessilaus* wasted *Phrygia*, took *Pharnabazus* Palace, and drove him out of his Camp, &c. *Pharnabazus* seeks some good composition, alledging the many good offices done to
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the State of *Sparta* in the wars with *Athens*: *Agésilans* replied, that having war with his Master they were forced to offend him; but if he would revolt from the King, they would establish him a free King over his Province: *Pharnabazus* answers plainly, that while his Master trusted him he would be their enemy; but if the charge were taken from him, he would shift sides, and come over to them, so *Agésilans* removes out of *Phrygia*, having made a violent enemy of an honourable friend.

§. 6. *Tithraustes* perceiving *Agésilans* intended not to leave *Asia*, took a wise course, and sent 50 Talents to be dispersed among the principal men of *Thebes*, *Argos* and *Corinth*, to raise war against *Sparta*, whom they formerly hated: The quarrel is formed from the *Locrians* paying a rent to the *Thebans*, which the *Phocians* claimed, for which they strained; upon this the *Thebans* invade *Phocis* in an hostile manner, which sends to *Sparta* for aid. The *Spartans* send *Lysander* to raise men about *Phocis*, and to attend *Pausanias* the other King with forces out of *Peloponessus*, but *Corinth* refused to assist. *Thebes*, knowing how many aids *Lacedemon* would have of those which affected them little, sent to *Athens* to intreat assistance, and obtained it by *Thrasibulus* means; who in the time of the 30 Tyrants being banished, was courteously used at *Thebes*. While *Pausanias* stayed for the Confederates, *Lysander* was slain at the siege he laid to *Haliartus*, whither after *Pausanias* came, and that the *Athenians* aid was come to the *Thebans*, he departed; for which he was condemned, and fled to *Tegea*.

§. 7. The *Thebans* upon this success had the *Argives*, *Corinthians*, *Eubœans* and others come into Confederacy; so that *Sparta* seeing the danger, sent for *Agésilans*: *Pharnabazus* considering how much the *Greeks* division imported the King his master, as before he had advanced the *Lacedemonian* Sea forces to the overthrow of the *Athenians*, so now he seeks to raise the *Athenians*, and break the *Lacedemonian* power, who for 30 Talents had sold his love: He therefore furnished *Conon* the *Athenian* with 8 Ships, and gave him the command of a great Army, with which he destroyed the *Spartan* Fleet at *Cnidus*; in requital of the loss of the *Athenian* Navy at *Egos Potamos*, surprized by *Lysander*; *Conon* thus returned to *Athens* with a strong Navy, and much Gold.

§. 8. The *Lacedemonians* for some years hold their reputation, by some Victories gotten by *Agésilans*, till *Iphicrates* the *Athenian* General got a great Victory over them at *Lechaum*, and that by *Pharnabazus* persuasion, promising to rule them by

by their own Laws. The Cities in *Asia* expelled the *Spartan* Governours, *Abedus* only excepted; and *Thrasibulus* the *Athenian* with a Fleet had taken *Byzantium*, *Chalcedon*, *Lesbos*, &c.

§. 9. The *Lacedemonians*, not able to maintain war against men as good as themselves, assisted with *Persian* treasure, crave Peace of *Artaxerxes*, offering to leave the *Greeks* in *Asia* to him, and to set the Islanders and Towns in *Greece* all free; so that *Greece* should never be able to molest the King: This offer was not accepted, so the War was continued in *Asia* against *Strathos*, now the Kings Lieutenant there, and in *Greece* amongst themselves; but by the means of *Antalcidas* the King made Peace.

§. 10. *Olynthus*, a strong City in *Thrace*, began to grow terrible to its neighbours, having subjected diverse Cities, which made the rest even in *Macedon* to crave aid of *Lacedemon*, that brought it under, and in their way *Thebes* is surprized by Treachery.

§. 11. *Thebes* was recovered by a plot laid by certain banished Citizens, and *Phyllidas* a Scribe of the Town, who at a Feast promising to bring them the choice women of the Town to their embraces, if the attendants were removed, introduced the exiles in womens attire secretly, who slew them, and freed the City.

C H A P. XII.

Thebes flourishing condition, from the Battel of Leuctra, to that of Mantinea.

§. 1. THE *Lacedemonians* were stout and grave in all their proceedings, but dishonourable in neglecting all methods which withstood the benefit of *Sparta*, that often bred them shame and loss, when the execution was committed to weak conceited men: Thus *Thebes* began to hold them hard to it; and *Athens* began to surround *Peloponessus* with their Navy: But *Athens* seeing *Thebes* to encroach on her weak neighbours, of which some were dependants on them, whom yet they could not succour, being engaged in such Wars, resolve to make Peace in *Greece*, according to the form which *Antalcidas* brought from *Persia*: The *Thebans* being sent unto, agree and meet at *Sparta* with the rest,

where being required to subscribe to the freedom of the *Boetians*, *Epaminondas* insisted that *Sparta* should do the same for *Laconia*, as being no more subject to *Sparta*, than *Boetia* was to *Thebes*. *Agésilans* hating *Thebes*, did thereupon passionately dash the name of *Thebes* out of the League; and in haste sent away *Cleombrotus*, one of their Kings, with all his power, who was slain at *Leuctra*, and the flower of the Army; after which loss *Sparta* never recovered itself, but *Thebes* grew to such command, that in a short time they brought 70000 men to the Gates of *Sparta*.

§. 2. The *Athenians* taking upon them to manage the Peace, call the Deputies of all the Confederated States together, and conclude the general liberty of all Towns, both small and great: the *Mantineans* hereupon re-build their Town, which *Sparta* had forced them to raze, and ally themselves with such *Arcadian* Towns as most hated *Sparta*: But by a faction among the *Arcadians*, the *Lacedemonians* are called in, and *Agésilans* led them, but effected little. *Epaminondas* of *Thebes*, assisted with diverse other Countries which followed *Thebes*, joyning with the *Arcadians*, spoiled *Laconia*; where, since the *Dorians* entred 600 years before, never enemy had set foot; yet durst not the *Lacedemonians* issue out of *Sparta* to succour it; so he re-built *Messene*, long ago destroyed by *Sparta*, and called home the old Inhabitants.

§. 3. *Sparta* after this required no longer the heading of the Army, or any other badges of precedency, only the *Athenians* yielded them the leading by Land every five days successively with them: a conclusion of vain ambition, as the next invasion of *Peloponessus* shewed; and this example bred the like emulation in the *Arcadians*, who thereupon would have their turn to head with the *Thebans*, which insolency bred suspicion in the *Thebans*, and hatred in the rest; so that in the next enterprize of the *Spartans* upon them, their conceits overthrew them.

§. 4. The *Arcadians* misfortune made the *Thebans* rejoyce, as without whose aid enterprizes proved ill, and by whom the *Lacedemonians* were kept under, the *Thessalians* were protected, and the *Macedonians* quarrels so moderated, that *Philip* the Son of *Amyntas* was committed to them as a hostage: with this reputation (little short of a general command of all *Greece*), they sent famous *Pelopidas* to *Artaxerxes* for his alliance, which he granted; rejecting the contrary suits of the other *Grecian* States, who had been troublesome to him and his Predecessors, whereas *Thebes* had always shewed good affection

fection to *Persia*: Besides, as they were no Sea-men, and so the less to be feared in *Asia*, so their strength might secure him against the rest, who might much trouble him in the revolt of Maritime Provinces, by sending them aid, without which he easily reduced them; for the time set by divine providence for the *Persians* fall was not yet come: The *Thebans* thus made Protectors of the common Peace by the King, yet got nothing, the other States refusing.

§. 5. *Thebes* being grown great by the mutual envy of *Athens* and *Sparta*, which being brought low are glad to combine against her, all the other estates of *Greece* are divided between them: The *Arcadians* had renounced the *Lacedemonians* their old leaders, and are become doubtful adherents to the *Thebans*, without whose consent they had made Peace with the *Athenians*. *Epaminondas* with the *Thebans* thought fit to invade *Peloponessus*, before the *Arcadians* turned Enemies, and while *Corinth* in their way stood Neutral, and the *Arcadians* were yet in disorder, and had sent to *Thebes* to complain of their Captains in *Tegea*; this complaint was answered, that their peace with *Athens* was the cause, but *Epaminondas* would come by them, and prove their fidelity, by their aid in his intended War; the *Arcadians* amazed at this answer, send to *Athens* for help, and to *Sparta*; offering to assist against the Invasion, who kindly accepted it, and did not stand upon the main of leading.

§. 6. *Epaminondas*, besides great Forces raised out of all other parts of *Greece*, had all the strength that the *Argives* and *Messenians* could make, and while he staid at *Nemias*, he intercepted intelligence, that the *Athenian* Forces, which he intended to encounter, would come by Sea; thereupon he decamped and came to *Tegea*, which, with the most part of *Arcadia*, declare themselves to be his. The common opinion was, that *Epaminondas* would first make some attempt upon the revolted *Arcadians*; therefore the *Lacedemonian* Captains fortifie *Mantineia*, and send for *Agésilans* from *Sparta*, with the small Forces they had there, so that *Epaminondas* with speed and secrecy marching to *Sparta* had surprized it, had not *Agésilans* returned with precipitation, upon intelligence received of it by an unknown fellow. *Epaminondas* disappointed of this hope is presented with another, conceiving the *Mantineans* now fearing no danger, would disperse in the Fields about their Harvest; he thereupon sent his Cavalry to interrupt them; but the *Athenians* coming thither, and thinking to meet with their confederates, rescued the distressed *Mantineans* in the Fields, and presently after came

all the *Boeotians* power, and the *Lacedemonians* and their Friends were at hand.

§. 7. *Epaminondas* failing in both these attempts, to prevent the decay of the terror of his name in *Peloponessus*, resolved to check their courage in the first growth, and to leave a memorable character of this expedition. Having therefore encouraged his men to fight for the Dominion of all *Greece*, he made show himself, as if he declined battle, thereby to allay their heat and breed security, whereby he might suddenly strike amazement into them, by his sudden breaking in upon them, and it really came to pass. The *Thebans* had the honour of the day, by forcing all their Enemies out out of the Field, but lost their incomparable Commander *Epaminondas*, by the stroke of a Dart in his Breast, of which he died when the Truncheon was pulled out; but first advised the *Thebans* to make Peace, as wanting a General, when he heard that *Icidas* and *Diaphantes*, 2 of their principal Commanders were slain. Thus died the worthiest man that ever *Greece* breed, who was hardly matched in any Age or Country.

§. 8. The *Mantinean* Battle was the greatest that had been ever fought in that Country between the Natives, in which all *Greece* was interested, which never had better Soldiers, or braver Commanders; the issue made all desirous of a general peace, wherein it was concluded, every estate should enjoy what it then held, and none forced to depend on others. The *Messenians* being included in this league, for which the *Lacedemonians* refuse it. After this *Athens* and *Sparta* had leisure to seek wealth in Foreign Wars, as did *Agésilas*, who was sent to assist *Tachos* King of *Egypt*, descended from *Amyrtæus*, who rebelled against *Darius Nothus*; but *Agésilas* traiterously fell from the King to his Rebels, so that he was forced fly to *Persia*, and *Nactabennus* succeeded, who rewarded *Agésilas* with 230 Talents of Silver, but he dyed in his return home.

Of

Of the *Macedonian* Kingdom, from *Philip* to the race of *Antigonus*.

B O O K IV.

C H A P. I.

Of *Philip*, the Father of *Alexander* the Great.

§. 1. *Macedon* at this time was little valued by the *Greeks*, whose glory in the *Persian* Victory did so pamper them, that they neglected all nations but themselves, especially the *Macedonians*, lately weakned by neighbor Princes in the time of *Amyntas*, the Father of *Philip*; but it fared with the *Greeks*, as commonly it falleth out with men of note in the World, that they often fall by the hands of those whom they least fear, and they consider not at all, that great alterations are storm-like, sudden and violent, in which it is too late to repair decayed banks, when enraged Rivers are once swoln. The *Greeks* were far from taking care to rampier their fences between them in this inundation, they rather brake them down by wasting each other: So that as

Orestius said, the Cities of *Greece* lost all command, by striving each of them to command all. *Macedon*, so called of *Macedon* the Son of *Ostris*, borders upon *Greece* to the North, whose Kings were descended from *Temenus*, of the race of *Hercules*, and *Argives* by Nation. *Caranus* of *Argos* planted a Colony there upon the surprizing of *Edeffa*, about 6 years before *Arbaces* became King of *Media*. Here follows the Catalogue of Successors.

§. 2. *Philip* 2d, the youngest Son of *Amyntas* 2d, was educated under *Epaminondas* in *Thebes*, where he was an hostage, and escaped from thence in the first year of the 105th Olympiad, which was 393 years after the building of *Rome*; being returned to *Macedon*, which was environed with many enemies, he took upon him to command as a protector of his young Nephew, the Son of *Perdiccas* his Brother, late King, but his fruitful ambition soon overgrew his modesty, and so he was easily persuaded by the people to take upon him the absolute dominion; the necessity of the State then required a King both prudent and active; for as the King of *Thrace* sought to set up *Pausanias*, so the *Athenians* did by *Argæus*, the Son of *Æropus* the late usurper: So the *Illyrians* and *Pannonians* also made daily incursions on all sides. *Philip* to ease himself of these heavy burthens, corrupted the *Pannonian* Soldiers with money, and bought the *Thracian* King off from *Pausanias*, and then made head against the *Athenians* and *Argæus*, whom he overthrew, and forced the *Athenians* to desire peace.

§. 3. *Philip* hath now leisure to look Northward, and invaded his bordering enemies, and slew *Bardilius* King of *Illyrium*, recovered what he held in *Macedon*, and forced the *Pannonians* to tribute. Then hasting to *Thessaly* his South Neighbour, he took *Larissa* upon the River *Pencus*, but before he would proceed with *Thessaly* he made sure the entrance out of *Thrace*, by winning *Amphipolis* that is seated upon the bordering River *Shimor*. He also recovered *Pidna* and *Crenides*, which he called *Phillippi*: Besides, he made a league with the *Olynthians*, his Fathers mortal enemies, and gave them *Pidna*; but yet not intending they should hold it as their own.

§. 4. *Philip* in the 2d year of the 106 Olympiad, was drawn into *Greece* by the *Phocian* or sacred War, which was occasioned by reason that the *Phocians* having ploughed up one piece of ground belonging to *Delphos* Temple, were by the

the *Thebans* prosecution fined a great sum at the general Council of *Greece*, and for refusing to pay were condemned to the Sword. The *Phocians* hereupon sack *Apollo's* Temple, which yielded them 10000 Talents, with which they hired many men, but after three Victories are beaten by the *Thebans*, *Thessalians*, &c. In the mean time, *Philip* at the Siege of *Me-thone* lost an eye, and shortly after his Forces were overthrown in *Thessaly* by the *Phocians* and *Thracians*, whom in the next battel he overthrew, slew 6000 and took 3000 prisoners, and freed *Thessaly* of the Tyrant *Lycophron*, who had by force taken the City of *Pheres*.

§. 5. *Philip* after this quarrelled with the *Olynthians*, a powerful people, used to beat the *Macedonians*, for protecting 2 of his half brethren against his Sword, for his quarrels were ballanced by his Ambition, which made all things lawful that any way served his turn, whether murder of Brethren, breach of Faith, corrupting by money, and esteeming no place strong where his As laden with Gold could enter. He overthrew them twice and forced them to retire to their City, and having corrupted 2 Citizens which made him entrance, he slew his brethren, and sold the Citizens for slaves. Thus he conquer'd more by corruption and fraud than force, as *Philip* of *Spain* did.

§. 6. *Philip* at the request of the *Boetians*, sent them aid against the *Phocians*, sufficient to linger, but not to end the war, so to weaken the strength of *Greece*. *Artaxerxes Ochus* also lent them 180000 Crowns; but upon further request of his own pretence, to whom they promise to give entrance into their territory, he went thither with a power sufficient to give law to both parties, upon his coming *Phalecus* the *Phocian* Commander fearing to encounter with him, made his peace with him, and with a Regiment of 8000 men withdrew into *Peloponesus*, and so left the *Phocians* to his mercy, who made them slaves.

§. 7. *Philip* after this slew many thousands of the *Illyrians* and *Dardanians*, and brought *Thrace* to pay Tribute, but was forced to leave *Perinthus* and *Byzantium*, relieved by *Athens*, *Chios* and *Rhodes*; and when he sought Peace with *Athens* they refused it, upon *Demosthenes* eloquent persuasions: Putting up this affront, he supplied his Stores by taking 70 Merchant Ships, and with new forces entered *Scythia*, with *Alexander* his Son, but prospered not.

§. 8. *Philip* after 8 years spent Northward, was again called by the *Greeks* against *Amphissa*, which refused to obey the decree of the *Amphictions*, or general Council of *Greece*.

To this enterprize he needed no drawing ; but he forthwith entered *Phocis* won *Plataea*, and subdued all the Country. *Athens* by the persuation of *Demosthenes* drawing the *Thebans* to joyn with them, rejected *Philip's* reasonable conditions of peace, and put their Freedom to the chance of one battle at *Cheronea*, wherein they were overthrown, yet *Philip* attempted not their City as he did *Thebes*, into which he put a Garrison. He was soon after, chosen and stiled first Commander of all *Greece*, by the General States assembled at *Corinth*; whereupon he raised an Army of great strength against *Persia*, Commanded by *Attalus* and *Parmenio*, who transported it into *Asia*, while he was intent upon the marriage of *Cleopatra* his Daughter, to *Alexander* King of *Epirus*; at this Marriage Feast he was slain by *Pausanias*, one of his Guard, for not doing him right against *Attalus*, who had made him drunk, and then carnally abused him, &c. *Olympias* encouraged the murder of her Husband. *Justin* lib. 9.

§. 9. *Alexander's* greatness was so well founded by his father, that the finishing it was much more easie and glorious than the beginning was to *Philip*; for besides his subduing that famous Nation of *Greece*, he left after him many choice Commanders, as worthy of Crowns as himself. *Philip's* Disposition, Epistles, Stratagems, wise Sentences, and Children by many Wives, &c. we pass over.

CHAP II.

Of Alexander the Great.

§. 1. *Alexander* succeedeth his Father after 25 years reign, being a Prince no less valiant by nature, than by education enriched with all good sorts of Learning: He began his reign 417 years after the building of *Rome*, being 20 years old; whose young years encouraged his neighbour Nations to consult about the recovery of their Liberty, which he prevented with much expedition; for after having revenged his Father death, and freed his own Nation from all exactions, and bodily slavery, and winning with clemency such as feared his disposition to cruelty, and used authority to such as contemned his youth, he made a Journey into *Peloponesus*, and behaved himself with so much prudence among

among them, that by the Counsel of the States of *Greece*, he was elected General against the *Persians*, which Enterprize took up all his thoughts. But the *Persian* Gold having gilt *Demosthenes* Tongue, he perswaded the *Athenians*, with *Thebans* and *Lacedemonians*, to stand up for their Ancient Liberty, and gave it out that *Alexander* was slain. Indeed Policy, as it is now adays defined by Falshood and Knavery, holds that devised lies, tho they serve the turn but for a day or two, are greatly available; but in all my observations I have found the success as ridiculous as the invention; for men finding themselves abused by such Baits, at other times neglect true reports, which much concerns them to believe. *Alexander* much grieved to have his thoughts diverted, and timelost from his *Persian* enterprize, made such expedition, that he brought the first news himself of his preparations to *Athens*, which, as upon a sudden fainting, presently submitted, and were as easily pardoned through *Alexander's* desire to see *Persia*. Then he subdued the Nations bordering North of *Macedon*, but yet could not get out of *Europe*, till he had razed *Thebes*, who attackt his Garrison in the Cittadel, and obstinately refused to yield up the Authors of their Rebellion.

§. 2. *Alexander* having without cause put to death his Mother-in-law and Kinsmen advanced by his Father, and some of his own whom he suspected, took also with him into *Asia*, such Tributary Princes as he suspected, to secure all things by unjust cruelty. However, the end fell out contrary to his Policy, all his planting was soon rooted up, for whom he most trusted were the greatest Traytors, and his Mother, Friends and Children fell by as merciless a Sword as his own, and confusion left his dead body in the grave. He passed into *Asia* with 2000 Foot and 5000 Horse, all old Soldiers, which he landed near *Troy*: where at the River of *Granicus*, he was forced to climb up the deep Bank, guarded against him with many thousand *Persians*, of whom he slew 20000 Foot, and 2500 Horse. But this slaughter must be taken rather on the back than the breast; for had they stood to it, *Alexander* must needs have lost above 12 Foot and 22 Horse, especially if the *Persian* Cavalry had fought as fiercely, as the *Grecians* in *Darius* pay, who fought it out to the last man, as *Plutarch* reports.

§. 3. *Alexander's* Soldiers were greatly encouraged by gaining the passage, and all the Country was so terrified, that all *Asia the Lesser* yielded without a blow, for in all invasions where the invaded is beaten upon great advantage

tage of the place, they will easily be perswaded that such an Enemy upon equal terms can hardly be resisted: The Invader therefore in such cases of defending places, is to be opposed with the ablest Forces, yet fewest places of so great circuits are so fenced, where one extreame or other is not to be forced by an able Enemy: As the *Alps*, wherein *Francis* the *French* King found a passage to *Milan*, though the *Switzers* guarded them: *Xerxes* forced the entrance at *Thermopila*. *Cyrus* the younger, and *Alexander* found the Gates of *Taurus* open into *Cilicia*: *Julius Agricola* found fords into *Anglesey*, which made the amazed *Britains* submit, &c. It was therefore well done of *Alexander* to pass the River in the face of the Enemy, without looking for an easier passage, to beat off these Enemies in their strength, and to leave no hope of succour to their followers in such impotent protectors. After this *Sardis*, *Ephesus*, *Thrallis* and *Magnesia* yielded themselves, and so enjoyed their own Laws: But he razed *Halicarnassus* for its obstinate resistance. Then he entered *Coria*, and restored *Ada*, the Queen that had been expelled by *Darius* Lieutenant, *Lycia*, *Pamphilia*, *Pisidia*, and all the Sea Coast of *Lesser Asia*, and then entred *Celenes*, the *Meander*, and so through *Phrygia* towards the *Euxine*, so on to *Gordium*, where he cut the *Gordium* Knot asunder: He also expelled the *Persians* out of the Isles of *Lesbos*, *Sias*, and *Coas*, having committed it to two of his Captains, to clear the Sea Coasts on his back, and then removed to *Ancira*, on the River *Sanganus*, as is also *Gordium*, and so to *Paphlagonia*. Here he heard of the death of *Memnon*, *Darius* Lieutenant, which much heartned him, being the only Captain he respected of all his Enemies, for so much hath the spirit of some one man excelled, that it hath undertaken and effected the alteration of the greatest States, as the erection of Monarchies, Conquest of Kingdoms, guiding handfuls of men against multitudes of equal bodily strength, contriving Victory beyond all hope, and discourse of Reason, converting the fearful passions of his own Followers into Magnanimity and Valour, and of his Enemies into Cowardize. Such spirits have been stirred up in divers Ages to erect and cast down, and to bring all things, persons, and estates to the same certain ends which that infinite spirit of the universal, piercing, moving, and governing all things hath ordained, all which is seen in this Kings undertaking, &c. who not meeting with a spirit like his own, was opposed only with difficulties of passages, and tedious marches. The things performed by *Xenophon*

Phon discover indeed as brave a spirit as *Alexander*, working no less exquisitely, tho the effects were less material, as were the Forces and power of the Commanders, by which it wrought; but he which would find an exact pattern of a noble Commander, must look upon such as *Epaminondas*, that encountering worthy Captains, and those better followed than themselves, have by their singular vertue overtopped them that would not have yielded one foot to any other. Such as these seldom attain to great Empire, seeing it is harder to master the equal Forces of one hardy well ordered State, than an unweildy body of many servile Nations; and that only brave *Roman Caesar* is the example hereof, whose exquisite management obtained that greatness. *Alexander* hasteth to the Streights of *Cilicia*, to prevent *Darius*, which *Arsenes* the Governour had left to a weak guard, that abandoned it, when he, pretending to waste the Country, withdrew himself further off, so the Province came easie into *Alexander's* power.

§ 4. *Darius* approached with his Army, consisting of more then 290000 men of diverse nations, saith *Curtius*, 400000 after *Justine*, and 60000 in *Plutarch*; *Curtius* described the manner of his coming with pomp, riches, gorgeous apparel, a pageant of his Gods, train of Ladies, attending his Mother, Wife, and Children, with their Nurfes, Eunuchs and Concubines, all sumptuously apparelled, with 600 Mules and 300 Camels with laden Treasure, &c. Such was the train of this May-game King, so unmarshalled, effeminate, unarmed, but with gold and glittering garments, as would have encouraged the nakedest Nation in the World against them. We find by experience, that no discourse of magnanimity, national virtue, Religion or Liberty, or whatever else is wont to encourage virtuous men, hath any force with the common Soldier in comparison of spoil and riches; rich Ships are boarded upon all disadvantages, rich Towns furiously assaulted, plentiful Countries willingly invaded. Our *English* have attempted many places in the *Indies* in hope of Royals of Plate and Pistols, which had they been put to it upon like disadvantage in *Ireland*, would have turned pieces and pikes against their Commanders, and complained that they were brought without reason to Butchery and Slaughter. War is willingly made, and for the most part with good success against the richest Nations, for as the needy is adventurous, so plenty is wont to shun peril, and men which are well to live do rather study to live wealthily, than care to die honourably; for no man hasteth to that Market, where nothing is to be bought

but blows. This battel at *Iffus* is no where well described; but we may guess what resistance was made, if it be true that *Curtius* saith, that of the *Persians* there were slain 200000, and of the *Macedonians* but 280, of which number *Arianus*, and others cut off almost half, so that it seems, these died rather by over-labour in killing, than being killed. *Darius* found it true, now what *Caridemus* a banished *Athenian* told him near *Babylon*: That his rich delicate confused multitude would be more fearful to the Countries, through which they should pass, than to the long trained *Macedonians*, against whom it were sifter to oppose a competent number of *Grecians* of equal courage, he having such abundance of Treasure to do it with; for which unpleasing discourse the poor *Greek* was slain, &c. desperate is that Princes safety, whose ear judgeth too sharp what is profitable, and will entertain nothing that is unpleasant; for liberty in Counsel is the life of it, which vanisheth if it be taken away, &c. He slighted also another good advice given by the *Grecians* which served under him, he who entreated him not to fight in the Streights, but to retire to the plains of *Mesopotamia*, where he might environ the *Macedonians*, and to divide his Army into parts, not committing the whole to one stroke, &c. But the infinite wisdom of God, which works diversly, doth often in the alteration of Kingdoms and States, take understanding from Governors, not to discern Counsel. *Alexander* by the advise of *Parmenio*, stayed in a place where *Darius* could bring no more hands to fight than he, and utterly overthrew him; took his Treasure, Wife, Mother, Children, and Train of Ladies, which the *Grecians* had Counsell'd to leave at *Babylon*, and *Darius* casting off his Crown, hardly escaped; yet after this he writ to *Alexander*, about ransoming his women, and some proud conditions of Peace, which he scorned. *Alexander* after the Victory, made *Parmenio* Governour of all *Phenicia*, which presently submitted: *Zidon's* Kingdom committed to *Ephestion*, he gave to a Day-labourer of the Royal Blood, who desired he might bear his Prosperity as well as he did his adversity.

§. 5. *Alexander* coming near *Tyre*, received from them a Crown of Gold, store of Victuals, and other Presents, but could not be admitted to the City, as he desired, to offer sacrifice to *Hercules*, till he erected a Cawsey from the Main 800 Furlongs long to it, which he did in 7 months. He put 8000 people to the Sword, crucified 2000 on the Shore, and made 13000 Slaves, for that they had barbarously drowned his Messengers; The Government he gave to *Philotas*, the Son of *Parmenio*.

§. 6. *Darius*

§. 6. *Darius* sends again to *Alexander*, to stop his passing on towards the East, laying down the difficulties, threatening to encompass him in the plain Countries, and offering him his Daughter and many Kingdoms for a Dowry. *Alexander* answered, he offered him what was his own, that he was to give, not to take conditions; and disdain'd all resistances at Rivers, having past the Sea. *Parmenio*, full of years, honour, and wealth, told *Alexander*, if he were *Alexander*, he would accept the proffer, So would I, said he, if I were *Parmenio*. *Alexander* proceeds to *Gaza*, defended by *Belis*, for *Darius*, with much resolution, where he buried many *Macedonians* in the Sands, and was wounded in the Breast; yet he took the Town, and caused *Belis* to be drawn about, being weakned with many wounds, defending that piece of cruelty by *Achilles* his usage of *Hector*, from thence he went to *Jerusalem*, where *Jaddus* the High Priest in his Robes met him, whom he fell down before, &c. remembering he had in *Macedon* seen such a Priest, which professed the same God, and encouraged him in his design against *Persia*; so he gave the *Jews* what immunities they desired.

§. 7. *Alexander* returned from thence towards *Egypt*, where *Astaces*, Lieutenant to *Darius*, delivered *Memphis* into his hands with 800 Talents of Treasure. There doting after Deity, he took a desperate journey to visit *Jupiter Hamon* through the dangerous Sands, that the lying Oracle might acknowledge him to be *Jupiter's* Son, and so to be worshipped: Many prodigious fables feigned hereabout, looking like those of the *Spaniards* in the *West Indies*, *Curtius* his description of the place disproves: It is 200 miles from any Sea in the South of *Lybia*, having the *Nassamons* to the West.

§. 8. *Alexander* returned to *Egypt*, where he committed the Provinces thereof to sundry Governours, according to his Master *Aristotle's* rule, That great dominions be not committed to any one man: Then he gave order for the building of *Alexandria*, heard *Psammones* the Philosopher, who brought the haughty King to confess, that God is the Father of all men, but acknowledgeth good men for his Children. From thence he led his Army towards the *Euphrates*, where *Mazius* abandoned the defence of the passage, from whence he marched towards *Tygris*, that is so violent in his course and deep, that it had been easy to repel them, who could not use Bows or Darts, wading together arm in arm to withstand the Current. *Mazius* having cowardly forsaken his advantage at the Ford, which no valour of his Enemies

mies could easily win, presents himself with some Troops of Horse, setting fire on the Provisions of the Country, but too late, for *Alexander's* Horse-men saved much.

§. 9. *Darius* Forces, by *Curtius* report, were 200000 Foot and 50000 Horse; *Arianus* makes them 1400000 in all. It is probable they were 400000, with which multitude he thought to overpower his few Enemies in the Plain of *Assyria*; but skill and practice does more toward Victory than rude multitudes. *Alexander's* Army upon the occasion of an eclipse of the Moon are frightened, but are heartned by *Egyptian* Astrologers; for it had been contrary to rule, to lead an Army in terrour to fight. *Darius* offered great conditions of Peace in vain.

§ 10. *Alexander* is advised by *Parmenio* to assault *Darius* Camp by night, that the light of the multitude might breed no terrour, which Counsel is a ground of War, as oft as few must fight with many: but *Alexander* will have day-light to witneis his valour. Then he gave his Army rest and store of Food before the Battel, according to the rule of War, Men well refreshed will stand the better to it, for hunger fights more eagerly within than steel without. His Forces according to *Arcanus* were 40000 Foot and 7000 Horse, which I take to be his *European* Followers, besides *Egyptians*, *Syrians*, *Arabians* and *Scythians*. Of these *Curtius* saith 300 only were slain, and 40000 *Persians*; others differ, so that as in the former 2, so in this Battle, what can we judge but the *Persians* upon the first charge ran away, else had every one cast but a Dart or a Stone, the *Macedonians* could not have thought the Empire so cheap, neither could they have past the River so easily, if 60000 had been armed with Spades only to oppose them.

§. 11. *Darius* after the rout of his Army, recovered *Arbela* that night with his Treasure, intending a retreat into *Media*, while the *Macedonians* (as he supposed, but was deceived) would attempt *Babylon*, *Susa*, &c. rich Cities. *Alexander* pursueth and enters *Arbela*, and possesseth the Treasure, while *Darius* flieth, and then took his way to *Babylon*, which *Maxius* the Captain of the Castle surrendered with the Treasure. Here he rested 34 days, spent in such voluptuous pleasure, as made the *Macedonians* forget the hardness of their Military Discipline. He erected bands of thousands called *Chiliarches*, bestowed on such as in the late War had best deserved them. The drawing down of

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Footbands hath bred so many spurn cow Captains, as *Marshall Montuc* calls them. This City and Territory he left in charge with 3 of his own Captains, gracing *Maxius* with the Title of Lieutenant. Then he entred the Province of *Satrapene*, and so to *Susa* on the River *Euleus* in *Persia*, which *Abulites* gave up with 50000 Talents of Silver Bullion, and 12 Elephants, which he committed to some *Macedonians*, giving *Abulites* only the title of Lieutenant, as he did after to *Tiridates* of *Persepolis*; observing well, that Traitors to their own Kings are never to be truted alone in great matters, wherein falshood may redeem their last estate. Vassals of Fortune love only their Kings Prosperity, not Person.

§. 12. *Alexander* advancing toward *Persepolis*, was suddenly beaten by *Ariobarzanes*, at the Straights between the Mountains, which divide *Susiana* and *Persia*, but by a *Lician* which lived there, he found another way, and came suddenly upon *Ariobarzanes* and forced him, who not finding entrance into *Persepolis*, returned with a second charge on the *Macedonians*, and was slain; *Tiridates*, another of *Darius* trusty Grandees, sends to *Alexander* to make haste to *Persepolis*, before the people plundered the Treasury, which at that day was the richest in the world. This place *Alexander* committed to a Creature of his own, and left the body of his Army there, while he, not able to stand still, with one thousand Horse and some choice Foot, would in the Winter Season see those parts of *Persia*, that were covered with Snow, when his Foot were impatient of that extreme travel, he left his Horse to endure the same hardship with them: But I rather commend him to seek wisely to prevent extremities, than senseless fools who want what they have endured with common Soldiers. *Cesar's* first care was for Victuals, and he that will describe that Beast (War) must begin at his Belly, (says *Cologni*). *Alexander* returns to *Persepolis*, where he smothered all his reputation in Cups and familiarity with Harlots, of which *Thais* caused him to burn that sumptuous City of *Persepolis*.

§. 13. *Darius* in *Media* having about 40000 Soldiers, which he thought to augment in *Bactria*, hearing of *Alexander's* approach, resolved to fight, &c. *Nabierzanes* and *Bessus*, Governour of *Bactria*, conspire against him, and draw away 30000 of his Soldiers; neither durst his *Persian* Cowards (though offered the assistance of of 4000 *Greeks* led by *Patronus*) defend him from *Bessus*, who took and bound him, and put him in a Cart covered with Hides, and set forwards towards *Bactria*, in hopes either by delivering up him

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him to *Alexander* to make their Peace, or killing him to become King, but failed in both, God not suffering so great villany unpunished. *Alexander* hastning after with his 6000 Horse, and other selected Companies, best armed for speed, also mounted on Horseback, hearing by such as daily forsook *Bessus*, what was done, pursued as in Post; so that *Bessus* finding *Darius* unwilling to take Horse and fly with him, wounded him to death, and the Beast which drew him, and left him alone; *Polestratus* a *Macedonian* Priest being dry with the pursuers, while he stopt at a water, discovered the Cart, found *Darius* bathing in his own blood, at the point of death, and took commendations from his mouth to *Alexander*, to revenge him, &c. and refreshed him with Water.

§. 14. *Alexander* hearing of *Darius* death, persuaded the *Macedonians* to pursue *Bessus*, and leaving some Forces in *Parthanea*, enters *Hircania*, with some resistance of the *Mardons*. He passed the River *Zuboris*, which beginning in *Parthia*, runs under the Bridge of the Mountains, which part *Parthia* and *Hircania*, and after 300 Furlongs course, riseth again and falleth into the *Caspian Sea*. In *Zadracarta*, called *Hircania*, by *Ptolomy*, he rested 15 days, where *Patapherne* and other great Commanders of *Darius* submitted to him, and were restored; especially he commended *Artabazas* for his fidelity to his old Master. He also to his dishonour accepted the submission of *Nabarzans* the Traytor.

§. 15. *Thalestris* or *Minathea*, Queen of the *Amazons*, gave a visit to *Alexander*, and made suit to him for his company, till she were with Child by him, which she obtained and departed. *Plutarch* cites many Authors for this report, which yet is rather a tale than true, as not being mentioned by *Alexander* in his Epistle to *Antipater*, and laughed at by King *Lysimachus* of *Thrace*, a Follower of *Alexander*. Here by way of digression he cites *Pomp. Mela*, *Solinus*, *Ptolomy*, *Pliny*, *Claudian*, *Diodorus*, *Herodotus*, *Ambrose*, *Marcellinus*, and *Plutarch*, to prove there were such *Amazons* of old, and to justify his own report of such now in the South part of *America*, he cites *Francis Lopez* his *Indian History*, P. 2. Cap. 23. and *Ulricus Smidel*, and *Edmar Lopez* in his description of *Congo*.

§. 16. *Alexander* having begun at *Persepolis* to fall to the *Persian* Luxury, now took on him *Persian* robes and greatness to be adored, to esteem clemency, baseness; temperance, a poor humour fitter for the teacher of youth, than an incomparable King. His Court and Camp grew full of im-

impudent Curtizans, and Sodomical Eunuchs, and all other shameless manners of the vanquished *Persians*, which he had detested: but now exceeded that Monster *Darius*, from whose Tyranny he vaunted he had delivered many Nations by the assistance of the Gods he served, who detested the *Persian* Vices. His nearest Friends grew ashamed of him, crying out, he had more impoverished the *Macedonians* in their Virtues, than enriched them in their Victories, and made them more Slaves than the conquered themselves. *Alexander* understanding hereof, sought to pacify the wiser sort with gifts, and gave out that *Bessus* had assumed the Title of King of *Bactria*, and raised a great Army, persuading them to march on; but coming to an unaccessible passage on a Rock, he forced away the guard by the Smials of a pile of Wood, taking advantage of the wind, as in *Guiana* 300 *Spaniards* were smothered by strong withered Grass.

§. 17. *Alexander* at the entrance of *Bactria*, taketh the way of *Hircania*, and thence Northward toward the *Mardi*, on the *Caspian Sea*, and so over the Mountain *Coronus* into *Aia* to the East of *Bactria*, where the City *Artacoma* yielded to him after some resistance. Here upon a Conspiracy of *Demnus* and others against *Alexander*, *Philotus* is surprized for not acquainting *Alexander* with it, after that *Ceballinus* had discovered it unto him; But upon examination, his error of concealment appeared for want of opportunity to tell the King, was for *Parmenio* his Fathers sake, and his own good service, and his dead Brother, pardoned. But upon *Craterus* his Enemy's instigation, pretending a zeal for the Kings preservation, the Prince swallowed his promise, and made his Enemies his Judges; this skill to oppress a private Enemy, under pretence of duty to the King and State, a Poet of our own hath set out in his *Philotus*; *Alexander*, the evening of the same night he had appointed for *Philotus* apprehension, called him to a Banquet, and discoursed familiarly with him, as of old, but being in the dead of the night apprehended and bound, he cried out, O *Alexander*, the malice of mine Enemies surmount thy mercy, and is more constant than the word of a King; Among other circumstances urged by *Alexander*, this was not the least, that in answer to a Letter written to him by the King, of the Honour given him by *Jupiter Hamon*, he said he could but joy that he was admitted into the Fellowship of the Gods, yet he could not but grieve for those that should be under one, which would exceed the nature of a man: Hereby

Alexander gathered he was spited at his Glory, for so the Monster Flattery perswades Princes, of the men which cannot approve in them such things as are to be abhorred. *Philotes* next day is brought out bound like a Thief, to hear the Kings oration against him, and his absent Father, the greatest Captain of the world, and his two Brothers having been slain in the Kings service, which so oppressed him with grief, that he could utter nothing but tears, sorrow having wasted his Spirits: But when he would have answered in the *Persian* Tongue, which all understood, the King departed and said, he *disdained his own Language*. Thus all are encouraged to exceed in hatred against him, seeing the Kings resolution, so that his defence availed nothing, tho' none of the Conspirators upon torment accused him, yet by restless and unnatural torments devised by *Craterus*, *Cenus*, *Ephestion* and others, he accused himself in hopes to be slain outright, but was deceived, tho he confessed not what he knew, but what they best liked. Of this kind of judicial proceeding *St Augustine* complains, *De Civitate* l. 19. c. 6. *Seneca* speaking of *Alexander's* cruelty, says *Cruelty is no human vice, it is unworthy of so mild a spirit*. It is a beastly rage to delight in blood, which changes a man into a salvage monster. The like end had all the accused, only *Parmenio* yet lived, who with great fidelity had served both the Father and Son, opened the way into *Asia*, depressed *Attalus* the Kings Enemy in all hazards, led the Vanguard, was prudent in Counsel, successful in attempts, beloved of the Soldiers, and the person who had purchased for the King the East Empire, and all his Glory. This man being in *Media*, must be dispatched by *Polydamus* his best beloved Friend, having *Cleander* and others, who murdered him, reading the Kings Letters. Thus ended *Parmenio*, who had performed many notable things without the King, who did nothing without him worthy of praise.

§. 18. *Alexander* after this subdued the *Araspians* and *Aracosiens*, and came to the foot of *Taurus*, where he built another *Alexandria*, which he peopled with 7000 of ancient *Macedonians*. *Bessus* forsakes *Bactria*, of which *Artabazus* is made Governor, and *Alexander* followed him over *Oxus* into *Sogdiana*, where he lost more by drinking inordinately after great want, than in any battel with the *Persians*. At this River *Bessus* might have easily distressed him, he being forced to pass over his Army in hides stuffed with Straw and sowed together: But *Spitamenes*, *Ditaphernes*, *Catanes*, &c.

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Commanders of his Army, remembering how he had served *Darius*, laid hands on him, bound him, and with a Chain about his neck, led him like a Mastiff Dog to *Alexander*, who gave him to *Oxatres*, *Darius* brother, to punish him. Shortly after he came to *Maracanda*, which *Petrus Perondinus* takes to be *Samarchaird*, *Tamerlaine's* regal City, which was 70 furlongs in compass: But upon the Rebellion of the *Bactrians* and *Sogdians*, stirred up by *Spitamenes* and *Catanes*, he left the place, which they recovered while he was engaged in suoduing others, against whom he employed *Menedemus*. In the mean time *Alexander* marched on to the River *Jaxertes* (not *Tanais*, as *Curtius* and *Trogus* mistakes it, being 200 miles from *Sogdiana*) upon which he built a City of his name, 30 furlongs in circumference, which while the *Scythians* thought to hinder, as prejudicial to their excursions, some 60 *Macedonians* were slain, and 1100 hurt in passing that great River to expell them. *Menedemus* in the mean while, with 2000 Foot and 300 Horse are slain by *Spitamenes*, who flies into *Bactria* and forsakes *Sogdiana*, where *Alexander* kills and wasteth the Country without mercy. Here he received a supply of 19000 men out of *Greece*, *Syria*, and *Lycia* (as he had often before from thence and other parts) with which he repassed *Oxus*, on whose Southside he built 6 Towns near one another for mutual succour: but he is troubled with a new Rebel, *Armazes* a *Sogdian*, who with 30000 men held the top of an Hill, which *Alexander* could not win, till 300 choice young men crept up to the top thereof, upon promise of 10 Talents to the first, 9 to the second, and so to the rest in proportion, of which 32 were lost; thus wit effecteth what force could not.

§. 19. *Alexander* having committed *Maracanda*, and the Countries about it to *Clitus's* care, slew him soon after, for that in a drunken fit, he derided the Oracle of *Hamon*, and objected to the King the death of *Parmenio*. Thus in Cups the one forgot whom he offended, and the other whom he slew, which when he was himself, he would have revenged on himself but for *Calisthenes* perswasions, remembering too late, that he had saved his Life. Drunkenness both inflames and exposes every vice, it removes shame, which gives impediment to bad attempts, &c. *Spitamenes* shortly after is murdered by his Wife, and *Ditaphernes* is sent bound by the *Dalians* to *Alexander*, who proceeded into *cabaza*, where he lost 1000 men in a tempest; and the rest suffered hunger, cold, lightnings, &c. so he came to *Cohortani*, who welcomed him with Feastings, and a present of 30 fair Virgins, of which one

was *Roxane* afterward his Wife. Here he tore *Calisthenes* asunder on a rack, without any proof at all, for *Hermolaus's* Treason, but indeed for arguing at a drinking bout, against deifying of *Alexander*, which was propounded by *Cleo* a Parasite, and heard by the King standing behind a partition. *Seneca* calls this act his eternal crime, which no virtue or felicity can redeem, for whatsoever can be spoken to his praise is not answerable to this reproach. He slew *Calisthenes*.

Alexander with 12000 Foot and Horse entered the *Indian* borders, where and *Nisa* built by *Bacchus* was surrendered to him, from whence he went to *Dedala*, and so to *Acadera*, abandoned by the Inhabitants, so that they failed of Victuals, and were forced to divide the Army. Here he took *Marage*, *Nora*, &c. and came to *Indus*, where *Ephesion* had prepared Boats for him, and had persuaded *Omphis*, King of the Country, to offer his service to *Alexander*, and presented him with 56 Elephants. King *Abasaris* an Enemy to *Omphis*, hearing thereof, made his Peace with *Alexander*, so that *Porus* only remained, the other Enemy of *Omphis*; *Alexander* sent to command his homage at the border of his Kingdom, who answered he would attend him there, but for other acknowledgments he would take Counsel of his Sword. *Porus* attends him on the banks of *Hidaspis*, with 30000 Foot, 90 Elephants, 300 armed Chariots, and a great Troop of Horse. The River was 40 Furlongs broad, swift and deep, with many Islands in it, of which one was well shaded with Woods, where *Alexander* stayed, and sent *Ptolomy* up the River with a great part of the Army, which *Porus* supposing to be the whole, removed to oppose their coming over, while *Alexander* recovered the further shore without resistance, and advanceth towards *Porus*, who for a while took him to be *Abasares* his confederate come over the River to aid him: But finding it to be contrary, he sent against him his Brother with 4000 Horse, and 120 armed Waggons, having 400 armed men in them, but they were of small use by reason of the late Rains, and the *Scythians*, which galled the Horse, and made them overturn the Waggons: *Perdicus* came upon the *Indian* Horses, and made them all to recoil, which caused *Porus* to move forwards with the grofs of his Army, that the scattered parts of his Vanguard might recover his Rear, &c. The Elephants did much damage to the *Macedonians*, till being enraged by the Gallings of the Arrows and Darts, they turned head upon their own Foot, &c. After a long and doubtful fight, *Porus* forewound

wounded, and abandoned of all his men, and overmatched in number and skill of Commanders, fell into the Conquerors hands, who restored him and enlarged his Kingdom.

§. 21. *Alexander* having overthrown *Porus*, and hearing by these *Indian* Kings, that one *Aggamenes* beyond *Ganges*, commanding many Nations, was the powerfullst King of all those Regions, and able to bring into the Field 200000 Foot, 300 Elephants, 20000 Horse, and 2000 armed Chariots, was much enflamed to proceed on, but all the art he had could not persuade the Soldiers thereunto, only they are content to follow him to the South, having *Indus* for a Guide; so he returned to *Acessines*, intending to lay up his Fleet there, where he encountreth *Hydaspes*, by which two Rivers he built two Cities, *Neca* and *Bucephalon*. Here he received a fourth supply of 6000 Horse and 7000 Foot out of *Thrace*, and 25000 rich Armour from *Babylon*, which he distributed among the Soldiers: Hereabouts he won many Towns, and received an hundred Ambassadors from an *Indian* King, with a Present of 300 Horse, 130 Waggons, and one thousand Targets. Sailing Southward by many obscure Nations, among them he built another *Alexandria*, and took among many other places, one called *Samus*, whose Inhabitants fought with poisoned Swords; being come to the outlet of *Indus*, he sent to discover the Coast along towards the Mouth of the *Euphrates*: And after part of the Winter spent here, he marched in eighteen days to *Gedrosia*, in which passage his Army suffered so much misery for want of Food, that not the fourth part returned alive.

§. 22. *Alexander* came to *Carmania*, and drawing near *Persia*, he fell to imitate *Bacchus* triumphs in his Cups, which swinish hateful vice always inflamed him to cruelty, for the hangman followed the feast, saith *Curtius*, and *Aspastes* a Provincial Governour was slain by his Command. Here *Cleander* and his Fellows employed in the murder of *Parmenio*, brought in a supply of 5000 Foot and 1000 Horse, but upon complaint of their Outrages, *Cleander* and the rest with 600 Soldiers were committed to the hands of the hangman, to the joy of all. *Alexander* removed and came to *Pasargada* where *Cyrus* was buried, and was presented with many rich gifts by *Orsines*, a Prince of the race of *Cyrus*, whom *Alexander* put to death, by the practice of *Bagoas* one of his Eunuchs, because he was neglected of him, the accusation, that he had robbed *Cyrus* Tomb, was from 2 loose Fellows; *Phrates* was also slain

slain upon a suspicion of his greatness. So prone was he become to shed blood, and to believe false reports. *Calanus* an *Indian* Philosopher burnt himself, being 73 years old; foretelling *Alexander* his own death shortly after; *Alexander* removed to *Susa*, where he married *Statira*, *Darius* eldest Daughter, and his Sister he gave to *Ephestion*, and 80 *Persian* Ladies to his Captains, and at the Marriage he gave 6000 Cups of Gold to so many guests; *Harpalus* his Treasurer in *Babylon*, having been lavish of his Treasure, fled away with 5000 Talents, and 6000 hired Soldiers, but was taken and slain in *Greece*, to *Alexander*'s great joy. Great discontentment grew in his Army, knowing his purpose to send his decayed Soldiers to *Macedon*, and to maintain the rest whom he laboured to pacify in vain, till their passions were evaporated, when the inconsiderable multitude may be led, as a Whale with a twine thread is drawn to Land after some tumbling; *Craterus* is sent with those which were licenced to return, and made Lieutenant of *Babylon*, *Thrace* and *Thessaly*, which place *Antipater*, now sent for to the King, had held with great fidelity; *Antipater* could see no reason for his removal, but a disposition in the King to send him after *Parmenio*. With this *Antipater*, the King, for all his great courage, had no appetite to grapple; for jealous Princes do not always stand in doubt of every ill affected, though a valiant man: But where there is a kind of Kingly courage, compounded of hardness and understanding, that is often so dreadful to Kings, as that they take leave both of Law and Religion, to free themselves of such. *Alexander* after this went to *Media*, to set things in order there, where his great Favourite *Ephestion* died, on whose Monument he bestowed 12000 Talents. This King took the way to make all men weary of his Government, seeing Cruelty is more fearful than any Adventure that can be made against it: *Antipater* came not, but sent, not to excuse but to free himself, by his Sons *Cassander*, *Philip*, and *Follans*, who waited on the Kings Cups, and at a Drinking Feast, in a carouse in *Hercules* Cup, gave him a Draught of Drink stronger than *Hercules* himself, so he quitted the world within a few days; Princes seldom find good by making their Ministers over great, and thereby suspicious to themselves; for he which doth not acknowledge fideliey to be a debt, but that Kings ought to purchase it of their Vassals, will never please himself with the Prize given, only the restorative indeed that strengthens it, is the goodness and virtue of the Prince, and his liberality makes it more diligent. *Antipater*

Antipater had governed 2 or 3 Kingdoms 12 years, and peradventure knew not to play another part, as *Cesar* which forgot the act of obedience after his long governing of the *Gauls*.

§. 23. *Alexander*'s cruelty and pride are inexcusable, his drunkenness no less, *Augustus* justly derided his lamenting his want of employment, when he should have no more to conquer as if to govern well the conquered, were not sufficient to busy his brain. His Valour thousands in his Army matched. His liberality *Seneca* taxeth, and his Speech about a Kings gift is foolish, compared with other disturbers of the World. *Cesar* and others after were more glorious, for he never undertook a warlike Nation.

C H A P III.

Aridæus his Reign after Alexander.

§. 1. *Alexander* in his stubborn pride refused to establish any Successor, esteeming none worthy of it, and the great ambition of his followers learned of their Master to endure no equals, a lesson soon taken out by Spirits reflecting upon their own merit, wanting the reverence of a greater object; thus the question about the succession became difficult, *Alexander* having no issue but by *Barsine* a *Persian*, and *Roxane* a Woman of a base condition, both being excepted against, as being Natives of conquered Nations; *Ptolomy*, who was reputed to be the Son of *Philip*, who gave his Mother *Arfinoe* big with Child to *Lagus*, is of opinion the Government should rest in the chief Commanders, to order the same by voices: *Aristonous* another Captain, propounded *Perdiccas*, as designed Successor by *Alexander*, who at the point of death left his Kingdom to the worthiest, and delivered his Ring to him, who had succeeded his Minion *Ephestion* in favour and place. He being urged by many to take the royal estate upon him, and not content with the Soldiers acclamation, out of a counterfeit modesty put it off, expecting that every one of the Princes would entreat him to it, that so his acceptance might be the less envious. But as he who feigns to sleep may be eaten by a Wolf, so *Meleager* his enemy took advantage of his resolution, and inveighed against him, concluding that whosoever were heir to the Crown,

Crown, the Soldiers ought to inherit the Treasure, to which he invited them, who were not at all slow to share it.

§. 2. *Arideus*, natural Brother of *Alexander*, in this uproar is named by some one, liked by many, and brought forth, and commended by *Meleager* to the Army, who changeth his name to *Philip*, he was invested in *Alexander's* Robes, and proclaimed King, contrary to the mind of many of the Nobles, who yet by intercession of the old Captains were reconciled, thoneither side meant it faithfully; for *Meleager* now governing the King, who was no wiser than *Alexander's* Chair, in which he sat, attempted to kill *Perdiccas*, who understanding their approach, who were sent to do it, rebuked them with such gravity, that they departed honestest than they came; the Camp hearing of this attempt fell into uproar, which the King their creature could not appease, till he offered to resign the Crown unto them, and so upon the Kings motion, after sundry Embassies between him and the Nobles, *Meleager* is joyned with *Leonatus* and *Perdiccas* to the Government of the Army, so much love is protected, where none is meant, for presently after upon rumours spread against *Perdiccas*, purposely raised as if they proceeded from *Meleager*, to make him guilty of seditious rumours, he give way thereto, he to prevent that danger, perswaded *Perdiccas* to a general muster for purging the Army, by punishing seditious persons and other offenders, not meaning his special Friends, and such as followed him, when he interrupted the election of a King, by inviting the Soldiers to the sharing of the Treasure. The manner of this muster is solemn, having the Horsemen among whom the King must ride, the Elephants, *Macedonian* foot and Mercenaries set in Batalia, distinct from each other, and so to skirmish by way of exercise. The *Macedonian* Pikes called Phalanx led by *Meleager* are placed at a disadvantage, and so charged by the Horsemen and Elephants, as argued no jesting in the matter, and the King being now in *Perdiccas* possession, must command to be delivered to death such of the Infantry as *Perdiccas* required. Thus 300 of *Meleager's* Friends and Followers are cast to the Elephants to be slain, and *Meleager* flying to a Temple for a Sanctuary, when he saw what that sport meant, was there also slain. The Princes held a new counsel, divide the Provinces among themselves, leave *Arideus* the Office of a visiter, and *Perdiccas* his protector, and Commander of his Forces, and give to *Arideus* a Captain, the charge to bury the Corps of *Alexander* at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*.

§. 3. *Alexander* in his Life time, knowing the factious quality of the *Greeks*, had commanded that all their exiles should be restored, thinking by them to have a sure party in every City, but by that proud injunction, contrary to their Laws, lost the hearts of the rest, who esteemed it a beginning of open Tyranny. The *Athenians* and *Ætolians* withstood his decree, and upon *Alexander's* death, proclaim War against the *Macedonians*, and by *Leosthenes* their Captain, who called in the *Ætolians*, overthrew the *Boeotians*, which sided with *Antipater*, Lieutenant to *Alexander*; *Antipater* doubting his own strength sent to *Craterus* in *Asia*, whose coming into *Macedon* had so troubled his thoughts but a month before; so vain are the hopes and fears of men, which deceive all mortal wisdom, shunning or pursuing their destinies afar off, even when they seem near at hand. *Craterus* and the Captains in *Asia* nearest to *Europe* are solicited to make haste, for *Antipater* could raise in *Macedon* but 13000 raw Soldiers, and 600 Horse, besides the *Thessalian* brave Troops, whereas *Leosthenes* brought into the Field 22000 Foot and 2500 Horse, besides many Auxiliaries which came in: But before *Craterus* came, *Antipater* ventured a Battel, which he lost, and was forced to retire into *Lamia*, a fortified and well provided Town, to endure a Siege, which *Leosthenes* soon presented him with.

§. 4. *Perdiccas*, protector of *Arideus*, had no particular Province, but greater Forces than any other; with which, and his marriage with *Cleopatra*, *Alexander's* Sister, he hoped for greater matters; he first subdued *Cappadocia*, which had never submitted to *Alexander*, and committed it to *Eumenes*, whom he trusted most of all men.

§. 5. *Antipater* having in vain expected his Auxiliaries from *Asia*, offered to yield upon reasonable terms, but *Leosthenes* will have an absolute yielding, which the other having been his Commander, refused, so the Siege is lingered till the *Ætolians* grew weary and departed, so that the Trenches became thinly manned; upon this advantage *Antipater* sallied out, and slew many, with *Leosthenes* himself, but yet was not relieved of the Siege. *Leonatus* in the mean time is perswaded to haste thereto with 20000 Foot and 2500 Horse out *Phrygia* the lesser, which he willingly undertakes for *Cleopatra's* sake, which sent for him to *Pella* in *Macedon*. But *Antiphalus*, who succeeded *Leosthenes*, raised his Siege, and went to meet him, before *Antipater* and he joyned, and had a great Victory, and the greater by *Leonatus* death. The vanquished *Macedonians*, too proud to fly, but too weak to

renew the fight, betook themselves to high ground till the day following, when *Antipater* came, who also kept the high ground, as if he intended not to fight, which moved many *Greeks* to depart: This instability (incorrigible in Volunteers) was the more inexcusable, &c. *Craterus* with a strong Army at length is come and joyns with *Antipater*, making between them 40000 heavy, and 3000 light armed men, and 5000 Horse, of which number the *Greeks* wanted 1508 Horse, and 18000 Foot, who lost the day yet but 500 men: So the *Greeks*, not subject to one General, desiring to preserve their own estates, betrayed their Countries liberty by careless assistance, while *Thessaly* seeks her Peace.

§. 6. *Antipater's* gentle conditions to such as were forward to seek Peace, drew on the rest, only *Athens* and *Ætolia* are plotting to prosecute the War begun by them more bravely than wisely, till *Antipater* is come to their very Gates, when wanting wherewith to resist, they seek Peace, and absolutely submitted, as *Leosthenes* had proudly required of *Antipater*, who overthrew the popular government, raised a Democracy of 9000 of the most considerable persons, transplanted the tumultuous into *Thrace*, and slew *Demosthenes*.

§. 7. *Antipater* gives his Daughter *Phila* to *Craterus*, and after the marriage both go against the *Ætolians*, which had conveyed their impotent people and goods into the places of great strength, of which that rough Mountainous Country yields many, and the rest fortify their strong Cities. Here the two great Commanders are kept in play, till news out of *Asia* made them think every hour a mouth till they were gone, and so give the *Ætolians* what conditions they pleased. This Asiatick expedition grew from *Perdiccas* Plot, to bring *Arideus* into *Macedon*, by his pretence to make void the office of his Vice-Roys, that so himself that administred all under the titular Majesty of *Arideus* might obtain *Cleopatra*; but what followed thereon? *Antigonus*, Governour of *Phrygia*, whom he knew no way fit for his purpose, is called into question for life, but escaped with his Son *Demetrius*, and came to *Antipater*.

§. 8. *Perdiccas* perceiving his intentions were laid open, resolves to make them good with his Sword, and first he will begin with *Ptolomy* of *Egypt*, leaving *Eumenes* upon the Asiatick Coast, to withstand *Antipater* and *Craterus*, *Ptolomy* having won the *Egyptians* with his sweet behaviour, and added the Dominion of *Cyren* thereunto, hearing of *Perdiccas* coming to the *Camells Wall*, a little Town in *Egypt*, threw himself into it, and bravely defended it against him.

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Perdiccas removes to a place over against *Memphis*, where he attempted to pass over the *Nile* in vain, and lost 3000 men, drowned and devoured by Crocodiles, but such as fell into *Ptolomy's* hands alive he used courteously, and buried the Dead cast up by the River. The Captains hearing of this his humanity, fell to mutiny, thinking it unreasonable to make War on so virtuous and honourable a person, to fulfil the pleasure of an ambitious lordly man, that used them like Slaves. *Pithon*, who in the division was made Governour of *Media*, and hating *Perdiccas* for an affront offered him by the other, (who caused many *Greeks* to be slain who had yielded to him upon his promise) drew one hundred Captains and a good part of the Horse into a Conspiracy, entred *Perdiccas* Tent, and slew him, who could endure no greatness but his own. *Ptolomy* the next day came to the Camp, and was joyfully received, and offered the Protectorship which he thankfully refused, and procured it to *Python*.

§. 9. *Eumenes*, left by *Perdiccas* to withstand *Antipater*, *Alcetus* Brother of *Perdiccas* refused to assist him, as his Brother commanded. *Neoptolemus* pretended to be willing, but being summoned, he came in an hostile manner, as he had promised *Antipater*, and was shamefully disappointed and put to flight, leaving his Foot behind, who upon *Eumenes* charge submitted and took an oath to serve him. *Neoptolemus* being come to *Antipater*, perswades *Craterus* to march against *Eumenes*, assuring him, that upon sight of him, all the *Macedonians* with *Eumenes* would revolt. *Eumenes* being doubtful what *Craterus* pretence might work, peremptorily forbid admitting any Messenger or Trumpeter from him, placed in his Battle against *Craterus* such as knew him not, charging his Leaders to run on without giving any leisure to speak; and *Craterus* to encourage his men promises the spoil, as he which sells the Bears-skin that is not yet caught. *Eumenes* had the day, in which *Craterus* and *Neoptolemus* lost their Lives, but his own *Macedonian* Soldiers were incensed against him, hearing of *Craterus* death, which himself also took heavily.

§. 10. *Python*, Protector of King *Arideus*, was so interrupted by *Euridice*, the Kings Wife, Daughter of *Amintas*, *Philip's* Eldest Brother, and of *Cyna*, *Alexander's* Sister, a Lady of Masculine spirit, and well understanding her place, that he gave over his office, which she thought to supply, having been trained up to the Art of VVar by *Cyna* a VVar-like woman. The Soldiers disappointed her, and *Python* who

who hoped to be entreated by them to hold it, and chuse *Antipater*, who in few days arrived at the Camp, with his Army, and took it upon him, as the only powerful man then living of all *Alexander's* Captains, whom all acknowledged their better: *Antipater* taketh King, Queen and Princes into *Macedon*, leaving *Antigonus* General of the Royal Army against *Eumenes*, and ruler of *Asia* during that War, and besides his former Provinces, gave him the government of *Susiana*.

§. 11. *Antigonus*, Lieutenant of *Asia*, being to subdue *Eumenes*, *Alcetus* and *Attalus*, began with *Eumenes*, seeking to corrupt his Army by Letters, but failed therein by *Eumenes* cunning, who made shew as if he writ to them to try their faith to him. Then *Antigonus* dealt with the Captains, of which one broke out untimely, another called *Apolonius* held close till the Battel, and then turned to *Antigonus* with such of the Horse-men as he could perswade, being their General: But *Eumenes* overtook him and cut him off, though he lost the Battle: *Eumenes* not able to keep the Field, wished his men to shift for themselves, and retained with him only 500 Horse, and 200 Foot, with which he tired *Antigonus* in pursuing him. At last he entred *Nora*, a strong and well provided Fort, bordering on *Cappadocia*, where they parley together without agreeing; so *Antigonus* leaves *Nora* besieged, and with his other Forces entered *Pisidia*, and overthrew *Alcetus* and *Attalus*.

§. 12. *Ptolomy*, while the other Princes were quiet in their Government, sent an Army and won *Syria* and *Phenicia*, and took *Laomedon*, the Governour thereof Prisoner. *Antipater* being 80 years old, and reposing great confidence in *Polyspercon*, one of *Alexander's* most ancient Captains, committed to him the Protectorship and Government of *Macedon*, as being doubtful of his Son *Cassander's* sufficiency: he also gave charge that no woman should be admitted into the administration of the Empire, and so died.

§. 13. *Polyspercon's* skill was greater in War, than in so high an Office which he now undertook, being a man of a mean understanding, fitter to assist than to Command in chief, but the better to countenance his injunctions to the Governors of Provinces, he and his Counsel thought it fit to call Queen *Olympias* to Court, whom *Antipater* suffered not to be in *Macedon*; but *Cassander* the Son of *Antipater* (who thought himself the better man) was not satisfied with his command only over a 1000 men, his ambition soared higher, when he considered the love of those which commanded the garrisons, and all the rulers in the Cities of *Greece*, so constituted

stituted by his Father, besides he had that interest in Queen *Eurydice*, that was due only unto her husband, all which would not serve to bear out an open Rebellion; *Cassander* therefore finding what *Ptolomy* had done in *Syria*, and what *Antigonus* aimed at since *Antipater's* death (for whose sake he presumed upon them) and seeing their occasions required a Civil War, he went to *Antigonus* in *Asia*, and writ to *Ptolomy*.

§. 14. *Polyspercon*, upon *Cassander's* departure, to disappoint him of his hopes from *Greece*, decreed in Counsel to restore the popular Government in their Cities, and discharge the garrisons, and banish or kill the Governours placed by *Antipater*. Thus he dishonours the man that raised him, overthrows worthy men placed as Friends to the State of *Macedon*, and gives away *Macedon's* command of *Greece*, if he meant as he pretended, &c.

§. 15. *Athens* by this decree in all haste cast off their Governours, *Phocian* and others, who fly for their lives, but cannot remove the Garrison commanded by *Nicanor*, a trusty friend to *Cassander*; he possessing himself of one of the havens, found means to take the other called *Piræus*, to their great discomfort, but by the coming of *Alexander*, the Son of *Polyspercon* with an Army, they are put into Fools Paradise, as if he came to aid them, whereas he came to get what *Nicanor* held, if he could perswade him thereto. *Phocian* and his Fellows fly to *Polyspercon* for protection, but he finding he could not get the keys of *Athens* as he desired, without offending the other Towns of *Greece*, to cover his intent, as meaning well to *Athens*, he sent *Phocian* back unto *Athens*, who wickedly put him to death, being above 80 years old, who had been chosen 45 times Governour without seeking it, whose integrity was approved, whose counsel the City never repented, nor private men for trusting him; *Philip* and *Alexander* honoured him, but could fasten no gift upon him; *Athens* never after bred worthy men, &c.

§. 16. *Cassander* with such Forces which *Antigonus* lent him, entred *Piræus*, which drew *Polyspercon* rashly into *Attica* with an Army, but for want of Victuals departed, leaving *Alexander* with some forces to employ *Nicanor* till he in *Peloponessus* attempted *Megalopolis* which held for *Cassander*, but the Town, furnished with 15000 men, was so defended, and his Elephants so galled in their feet with nails driven through boards laid along, and lightly covered in the way, that he prevailed not; and wanting provision to stay long, he forsook the Siege: After this, his Admiral *Chytus*, after an overthrow given to

Nicanor in *Propontis*, is in the second encounter (*Antiochus* having recruited *Nicanor*) utterly defeated, which made *Athens* submit to *Cassander*, as did other Cities.

§. 17. *Antigonus* lying before the Fort *Nora* when he heard of *Antipater's* death, knowing *Eumenes* sufficiency, and his fidelity to *Perdicas*, thought no man fitter to be employed in his great designs; He sent therefore one that was a friend to them both, to deal with him to take an oath of fidelity to *Antigonus*, which he refused except *Olympias* and the children of *Alexander* were put in, which was yielded to, so he departed: *Antigonus* had before this taken on him (as Lieutenant of *Asia*) to remove Governours of Provinces, as *Arideus* of *Phrygia*, and *Clytus* of *Lydia*, who repaired to the Court for relief, but all failed in *Clytus* overthrow at Sea.

§. 18. *Antigonus* now commanding the greatest part of the Lesser *Asia*, was able to enter *Macedon*, and seize the Court, but was afraid of the reconciliation of *Cassander* and *Polyspercon*, thereby he also knew *Eumenes* fidelity to the Royal blood: Against him therefore he went with 20000 Foot and 4000 Horse, hoping to surprize him at *Cilicia*; *Eumenes*, tho a *Thracian*, being of all the old Souldiers the only faithful person to the Royal blood, obtained from the Court a Commission to raise an Army against *Antigonus*, requiring the Provincial Governour to assist, and the old Silver-Shielded bands to follow him.

§. 19. *Olympias* the old Queen intending to remove *Arideus*, and place *Alexander* the Son of *Roxane* on the Throne, joyning with *Polyspercon* enters *Macedon*, takes *Eurydice* and *Aristeus*, now forsaken of all that followed her, at the sight of *Olympias*, both are murdered, and 100 of *Cassander's* Friends with *Nicanor* his Brother.

§. 20. *Cassander* lying at the Siege of *Tegea* in *Peloponesus*, and hearing these ill tydings, compounded with *Tegea*, and shipped his Army into *Thessaly*. The *Aetolians* keeping the Streights of *Thermopila* by Land, in favour of the Queen, *Cassander* leaves *Callas* with part of his Forces, to divert *Polyspercon*, carrying the rest to Besiege *Pydna* a strong Sea-port Town, where *Olympias* lay with the Court: *Eotides* King of *Epirus* her Cousin hastened to her succour, but upon the difficulty of the passages kept by *Cassander's* men, his Subjects refuse to proceed, and upon his seeking to enforce them to it, they banish him, and joyn with *Cassander*; *Polyspercon* now is the Queens only hope, which also failed, for by *Callas* means corrupting the Souldiers, he was glad to make a swift retreat for want of men.

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The miseries of the besieged by famine and mortality was so great, that she is forced to yield to *Cassander* upon promise of life, and procured *Aristonius*, to whose care she had committed *Amphipolis*, to surrender the Town, which he did, and was killed by private Enemies, procured to do it by *Cassander*; *Olympias* then is publickly accused in an assembly of the *Macedonians*, and condemned for the murders committed by her, under pretence of Justice, and shortly after put to death; *Cassander* after her death celebrated the Funeral obsequies of *Arideus* and *Eurydice*, married *Thessalonica* the Daughter of *Philip* taken in *Pydna*, built the City *Cassandra*, committed *Roxane* and *Alexander* to close prison, and re-edified *Thebes* and restored it.

C H A P. IV.

Of Antigonus growth in Asia.

§. 1. *Eumenes*, with the *Argyraspides*, or Silver-shielded Bands, took his March towards the East, with his Commission to take possession of those Countries, having but small assurance of his Silver Shields, whose Captains scorned his Command. Yet *Ptolomy* and *Antigonus* could not withdraw them, *Python* and *Seleucus* which governed *Media* and *Babylon*, as he went, refused to let him pass till they could not help it; so he came to the East, where *Pucestes* and other Lords received him, yet through an opinion of self-worthiness, they contended for Superiority, but by his wisdom and command of the Kings Treasure, he won many of the most powerful of them to his Interest.

§. 2. *Antigonus* followed him, taking *Python* and *Seleucus* with him, to force *Eumenes* further off from the Kings Treasure in *Susa*, but passing over *Coprates* by small Vessels, when the greatest part of his men were over, *Eumenes*, who kept a Bridge on *Tygris*, came with one thousand Horse and four thousand Foot, and finding them disordered, forced the most of them into the River, and drowned them, and slew the rest, except 4000 which yielded in the sight of *Antigonus*, who with *Python* returned to *Media*, leaving *Seleucus* to besiege *Susa* Castle.

§. 3. *Eumenes* was desirous to lead the Army into the Province left by *Antigonus*, but *Pucestes* Governour of *Persia* drew

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drew

drew them thither, using all the artifice imaginable to win the Soldiers, which *Eumenes* prevented by a feigned Letter from *Orontes* Governour of *Armenia*, reporting *Olympias* had slain *Cassander*, and sent *Polyspercon* with a great Army to joyn *Eumenes*, which news bred much joy among them. *Antigonus* brings his Army out of *Media* to all their amazement; yet *Eumenes*, then sick in a Horse-litter, put himself in a good posture of defence, and though he were inferiour to *Antigonus* by one third, except Elephants, he held it out, and *Antigonus* was glad the next night to steal away into *Media*.

§. 4. *Antigonus* in the dead of Winter, being within 9 days march of his Enemy, through a difficult Wilderness, set forward, forbidding all the use of Fire by night, to prevent his being descried, which was observed for a while, but broken at last, and so it discovered them. *Pencestes* and the rest as men amazed fly, *Eumenes* stays them, promising to protract *antigonus* advance, till their Forces were drawn up, then taking some choice Companies, he disposed them on the top of Hills looking towards *Antigonus*, keeping many Fires thereon. *Antigonus* thinking he was discovered, and fearing to be forced, while his men were tired, turned aside to places convenient for refreshment, but upon advice, finding he was deluded, he endeavoured to revenge himself on them, who were gone. All the Eastern Army was come up, except the Elephants, which *Antigonus* sent to cut off, forcing the Horsemen which came with them, and had overthrown the Elephants, if some brave Troops sent by *Eumenes* to look after them, had not come in unexpectedly.

§. 5. *Eumenes* having gained the Honour of an expert General, got therewith the hatred of *Pencestes*, and the other Commanders, which conspired his death, but conclude to spare him till after the Battle was over with *Antigonus*, which argued their malice against his meer virtue. *Eudamas*, who had the charge of the Elephants, whom he had obliged, and others of whom he used to borrow Money when he needed not, to make them the more careful of his life, certified him of the Treason. Hereupon he made his Will, burnt his Writings of secrets, and considered what he should do. To make his Peace with *Antigonus* were contrary to his Faith given to *Olympias*, and the Princes, &c. he therefore resolved to withstand the Enemy, and afterward to look to himself, &c.

§. 6. *Eumenes* Soldiers, not knowing the cause of his perplexity, encourage him, only desiring him he would set them in Battle array, and they would play the men. *Antigonus* had the advantage in Horse, but his Foot-men advanced heavily, being to encounter the old Silver-Shields, who had beaten them so often, as now also they slew 5000 of them, without the loss of a man. *Antigonus* Horse and Elephants had the better, the rather by *Pencestes* his carrying off 1500 Horse; but while all the charge lay on *Eumenes*, *Antigonus* sent Troops of Horse about unto *Eumenes* Carriages undiscovered, by reason of the dust, and surprized them, so the night coming on they returned to their Camps.

§. 7. *Eumenes* finding the Silver Shields discontented for the loss of their Carriages, comforted them with the hopes of the recovery of them, the Enemy being weakened by their valour, and unable to draw the Carts through the Wilderness and Mountains. This availed him not, for *Pencestes* was gone, and other Captains would fight no more. *Tentamus*, one of the Silver-Shield Captains, to gain the love of the Troops, dealt secretly with *Antigonus*, and entreated him to restore the Booty, which was all the old Soldiers had got for many years service. This crafty man answered, that if they would deliver up *Eumenes*, he would do more for them, which they presently performed, and betrayed their worthy General, whom his Ambitious Adversary despairing to win, slew. This was the end of the wisdom, fidelity, valour and patience of him, whose courage no Adversary could lessen, nor prosperity his circumspection; but his virtue, wit and industry were all cast away, by leading an Army without power to command; besides, Gods purpose to cast down that Family he sought to uphold. *Antigonus* buried him honourably, burnt one of the Captains alive that betrayed him, and committed all the Silver-Shields to a Leader, to carry them into remote Countries, with a private charge to consume them all, as being perjured wretches, and never more to come near *Greece*.

§. 8. *Antigonus* and *Pythion* return to *Media*, where, while *Pythion* with gifts sought to gain the Soldiers, which he only wanted to become chief, *Antigonus* discovering it, took him up, condemned and slew him, going into *Persia*, *Pencestes* entertained him obsequiously, but lost his place.

§. 9. *Antigonus* visiting *Seleucus* in *Babylon* hath Kingly entertainment, and *Susa* Cattle with the *Persian* Treasure and riches, yet calls for a further accompt. *Seleucus*

doubling the meaning of his Friend, of whom he ever deserved well, fled to *Ptolomy* in *Egypt*.

CHAP. V.

Civil Wars between Alexander's Captains

§. 1. *Antigonus* riches and power made him dreadful, and caused *Ptolomy*, *Cassander* and *Lysimachus* to combine against him, notwithstanding his Ambassadors, by whom he entreated the continuance of their Amity. In this answer they require a share of the Eastern Treasure, encrease of *Cassander* and *Lysimachus* Dominions, and the restoring of *Seleucus*. He roundly replied, that he intended not to share his Victories with them that yielded him no help, and held what they had thereby, being freed from *Polyspercon* by his Arms.

§. 2. *Antigonus* prepares for War, guards the Sea Coast to stop *Cassander*, and invaded *Syria*: He set men on work in *Libanus* to build a Navy, took *Joppe* and *Gaza*, and forced *Tyrus* by Famine to yield, upon condition that *Ptolomy's* Soldiers should depart with their Arms. *Ptolomy* kept at home, not able to encounter the other in the Field, but sent a Fleet of an hundred Sail with *Seleucus* to strengthen *Cyprus*, by which also *Caria* held by another, *Cassander* took heart to hold out.

§. 3. *Greece* was courted on both sides as an aid of much importance, where *Antigonus* by his Treasure gained the *Lacedemonians*, and others of *Peloponesus*. He also sought to render *Cassander* odious for the death of *Olympias*, and the imprisoning *Roxane* and her Son, forcing *Thessalonica*, building *Cassandra*, and re-edifying *Thebes* in despite of *Philip* and *Alexander*. Upon these reasons he required the Army to declare *Cassander* a Traytor, except he restored *Roxane* and her Son, and submitted to the Lieutenant General (himself,) and that all the Cities of *Greece* should be set free; as for his regard of the Royal Blood, the world was not so soon perswaded to it, but the liberty of *Greece* had better success, which moved *Ptolomy* to do the like. *Antigonus* to make sure work, gave *Alexander* the Son of *Polyspercon* 500 Talents to make a War in *Peloponesus*; but he at the perswasion of one sent from *Cassander*, kept the Treas-

Treasure, and had the Lordship of *Peloponesus* put into his hands, making League with *Ptolomy* and *Cassander*; but this honour he held not long, being slain by a Conspiracy of the *Sycionians*, they hoping thereby to become free, but were subdued by *Cratesipolis* his Wife, &c.

§. 4. *Antigonus* with his 500 Talents having bought an Enemy, stirred up the factious *Aeolians*, but *Cassander* curbed them, and won from them *Ptolomy's* Fleet commanded by *Polyclitus*, who upon *Alexander's* defection from *Antigonus* left *Peloponesus* and returned homeward, but hearing of the *Rhodians* Fleet commanded by *Theodotus*, Admiral to *Antigonus*, he cunningly surprized it, nor one of them escaping. These ill tidings brought *Antigonus* and *Ptolomy* to meet about some accommodation, but to no effect.

§. 5. *Lysimachus* overthrew *Sewthes*, a King of the Wild *Thracians*, with the Cities which rebelled, and slew *Pausanias*, and took his Army sent by *Antigonus*. *Philip* also Lieutenant of *Cassander*, wasted the *Aeolians* Country, and drove most of the people out, and slew *Acides* King of *Epirus*, who had been lately restored. *Antigonus* in the mean time won *Caria*, sent Armies into *Peloponesus*, and other parts of *Greece*, bestowing Liberty on whom he took, and making shew to come over into *Macedon*, forced *Cassander* to hasten thither, and to leave many places weakly guarded, which his Army freed.

§. 6. *Antigonus* presence in *Lesser Asia* gave life to his Affairs there and in *Greece*, but *Ptolomy* took advantage of his absence in *Syria*, visited *Cyprus*, recovered it, and left a Lieutenant in it, and at his return made a Ravage in *Caria* and *Cilicia*, and so drew *Demetrius Poliarcus*, the Son of *Antigonus*, to the relief of them, and departed to *Egypt*, where with *Seleucus* he raised a Royal Army for the recovery of *Syria*: *Demetrius* being returned, and hearing of *Ptolomy's* coming, is advised to retreat, and not encounter two such Generals, but he rejects the counsel, as a cold temper of aged men, and will needs abide them at *Gaza*: *Ptolomy* had the advantage, but wanted Elephants, which he supplied with Pallisadoes sharpened, to gall the Beasts, and overthrew *Demetrius*, who fled to *Azotus*, 30 miles off, thereby giving him the opportunity to win *Gaza*, and the best part of *Syria*.

§. 7. *Seleucus Nicanor* now took leave of *Ptolomy*, with 800 Foot and 200 Horse, too small a Garrison to keep, much less to win one of those great Cities in the East, but

men enough to enter where the hearts of the Inhabitants are already won: *Seleucus* name, whose Government the *Babylonians* found so good, was sufficient for them to leave all the resistance to *Antigonus* his men, wishing them ill to speed: The defection grew so general, that the *Antigonians* durst stay in no strong Town, only they held a Castle full of Hostages and Prisoners, which *Seleucus* took, and therewith the possession of *Mesopotamia* and *Babylon*: *Nicanor* left in *Media* by *Antigonus* with an Army, came against the other with 10000 Foot and 7000 Horse. *Seleucus* having but 400 Horse and about 3000 Foot with him, withdrew into a Marish near *Tigris*, which *Nicanor* taking to be a flight, grew less careful to fortify his Camp, and so was surprized in the first night, and lost all, with *Susiana* and *Media*. Now began the *Era* or date of *Greeks*, used by the *Jews*, *Chaldeans*, and *Syrians*, whose first compleat year of *Babylon* was accounted from the end of the 438th year of *Nabonassor*, saith *Gauricus*.

§ 8. *Ptolomy* having taken *Gaza*, sent *Demetrius* his Goods, Pages, and Servants freely, with a courteous Message, that their War was upon terms of Honour, not personal hatred. This kindled in *Demetrius* an earnest desire of requital, which made him gather all the Force he could, and sent to his Father for a supply, against which *Ptolomy* sends *Celtes* with part of his Army, which was suddenly surprized by *Demetrius*, through *Celtes* careless march, as against a beaten remnant. Thus *Demetrius* repaired his honour, and requited his Enemy by restoring *Celtes*, and many other Friends, with many rich Presents. *Antigonus* hastes into *Syria*, to embrace his Son, and perfect the recovery of it upon his Sons Foundation, and *Ptolomy* at leisure returns to *Egypt*, disantling the principal Cities as he went, so that all fell to *Antigonus* presently; so easily did Provinces accept strange Lords, as Sheep and Oxen change Masters, having no Title to their own Heads. These people of *Syria*, *Egypt*, *Babylon*, *Assyria*, *Persia*, &c. were of no such manly temper, as at this time the States of *Greece* were, who took all occasions to recover their liberty, which these little esteemed, so that the *Persian* Nobles never strove to recover Liberty after *Alexander's* death, but easily submitted to any of his Captains that had more power than his Fellows. The reason hereof, *Machiavel* gives from the form of Government, for where the Subjects are sold as Slaves, as in *Turkey*, a Conquest is easily effected: But where ancient Nobility are in due esteem, it is hard to get all, and harder to keep it, as in

France.

France. In the *Persian* Empire all the Princes depended upon the meer favour of the King, so that even his Brethren were Slaves, as are all the *Batta's* in *Turkey*; add hereto a want of convenient liberty in the people, who, like *Aisop's* Ass, think that Enemies cannot load them more heavily than their Master; and if they find the Conquerers yoke more easie, they will not hastily shake it off, as the *Gaseons* under the Government of *England* heartily affected our Kings. *Antigonus* sent Forces into *Arabia*, which at a Mart surprized the *Nebotheans*, but in their return with the Booty they were all slain, except 50 Horse out of 600, and not a Foot-man of 4000 was left. *Demetrius* sent to revenge it, but was glad to make a Peace and returned, and then was sent against *Seleucus* with 15000 Foot and 3000 Horse, that did nothing but make a ravage about *Babylon*, *Seleucus* being in *Media*; neither durst *Antigonus* carry the War beyond *Euphrates*, lest *Syria* and *Asia* the less should be lost, having such ill affected neighbours.

§ 9. These ambitious heads, upon the slow advancement of their hopes, grew dull, and willing to breathe, till occasion might better serve, and agreed for the present, (1.) That each should retain the Provinces he had. (2.) That *Alexander's* Son by *Roxane* when at age should be made King. (3.) That all *Greece* should be set free. These two Articles concerned *Cassander* the most, who was sure by it to lose all, what shift soever the other made, who meant not to lose by it: But he by murdering *Roxane* and her Son to procure to himself an odious security, freed them also from all account to any superiour Lord: *Antigonus* pretended the liberty of all *Greece*, but *Ptolomy* to provoke the *Greeks* to stir in it, sent a Fleet along the Coast of *Asia* to molest *Antigonus*, and seeing them not to be moved thereat, he entred *Peloponnesus* to embolden them to take Courage: But long servitude had very near extinguished the ancient valour of the Nation, and their many unfortunate attempts had so spent their spirits, that they sat still, expecting it should fall into their mouths; yet *Cratissolis* yielded *Sycion* and *Cerinth* into his hands: When he saw the *Greeks* withheld the promised supply of money and victuals, he renewed his former friendship with *Cassander*: *Polypercon* had in his hand another Son of *Alexander*, by *Barsine* a *Persian*, called *Hercules*, whom he intended to bring into *Macedon*; against whom *Cassander* prepared an Army, which yet he could not trust against the only child of *Alexander*, and therefore tampered with the treacherous old Villain, who for the Lordship of *Peloponnesus* murder'd his own

Pupil. *Antigonus* in the mean time slept not, but was hammering upon a business which would give a goodly title to the Empire: This was by matching with *Cleopatra*, the Sister of *Alexander*, then lying in *Sardis*: But *Ptolomy*, for all his many Wives, which was his dotage, had prevented him in her affection, which had induced her to take a Journey into *Egypt*, but his mischievous practices with the Governour prevented it, by a secret murder. Thus was the whole race of *Philip* and *Alexander* extinguished by the Justice of God, for the cruelty of those bloody Princes, and the ambitious designs of those Tyrants, founded on innocent blood, were soon after cast down, overwhelming themselves and their Children in the ruines thereof.

§. 10. Royalty is now extinguished by *Antigonus* his last infamous murder, which he thought to overshadow with the glory of the freedom of *Greece*; for effecting whereof, he sent *Demetrius* with a strong Army, and a Navy of 250 sail, and 5000 Talents, with charge to begin at *Athens*, which he did, as also to *Megara*, for which the *Athenians*, which had forgot to employ their hands, adulterate the eloquence of their tongues to base flattery, decree the titles of Kings and Gods, the Saviours of *Athens*, to *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, chose a Priest, and call the Ambassadors to be sent to them, as to *Jupiter*, *Theodori* consulters.

§. 11. *Antigonus* recalls his own Garrison from *Imbros*, and set it free, and sent for *Demetrius* to *Cyprus*, which was kept by *Menelaus*, the Brother of *Ptolomy*, whom he beat, and forced him to fly to *Salamis*, to whose rescue *Ptolomy* hastened with 140 Gallies, and 200 Ships, with an Army; *Demetrius* encounters them with 118, but better furnished, with which he overthrew them, and put *Ptolomy* to flight with 8 only; so *Cyprus* was yielded: After this *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* stile themselves Kings, as did *Ptolomy*, *Lysimachus* and *Seleucus* soon after.

C H A P.

C H A P VI.

The War between the new Kings, till all were consumed.

§. 1. *Antigonus* hoping to swallow up all these new Kings, chose to begin with *Ptolomy* the strongest, against whom he prepared 18000 Foot, 8000 Horse, and 83 Elephants, all which he led in person; besides, a Navy of 150 Gallies and 100 Ships under *Demetrius*. He departed from *Antigonia* in *Syria* built by himself, and passing the desert with no small difficulty at mount *Cassia* by the *Nile* he saw his Navy in distress, being so beaten, that many were lost, and others driven back to *Gaza*; being come to *Nilus* he found all passages so fortify'd, that by no means, after that great loss, he could force them, besides the defection of his Souldiers that passed over to *Ptolomy*; so that had he not resolved to retreat, *Ptolomy* had driven him out of *Egypt* with small attendance; but to save his credit all those misfortunes were laid upon his Counsel.

§. 2. *Antigonus* for the future resolved to pursue his affairs in another manner, by cutting off the branches before he hewed down the Tree; he will begin with the dependants on his enemies, whom the Confederates must either forsake, or come to their relief, where military power and the advantage of provision promise him Victory. The City of *Rhodes* had held neutral, was grown rich by Trade, and kept a good Fleet at Sea, but in this troublesome time their affection was to *Egypt*, which *Antigonus* made an argument of quarrel, which he began with some petty injuries, till he prepared for an enterprize upon them, which he committed to *Demetrius*; and so terrified the Citizens, that they offered him their assistance against all persons whatsoever. *Demetrius* knowing this offer proceeded not from love, required 100 hostages, and the command of their Haven; which conditions being fitter for a conquered State than an assisting neighbour, restored the *Rhodians* to their lost Courage, who resolved to defend their liberties to the last man; to which end, they gave liberty to their able bond-men, wisely making them free fellows, rather than themselves should become fellow slaves: Thus they endured a whole years assaults, besides famine,

mine, wherein *Ptolomy* with hazard relieved them often: But by the *Greeks* Ambassadors entreating aid against *Cassander*, he is perswaded to give over, and took 100 private Hostages. The *Rhodians* presently erect Statues for *Lyfimachus* and *Cassander*, and make a God of *Ptolomy*.

§. 3. *Demetrius* chafeth *Cassander* beyond the Streights of *Thermopyla*, and recovered all that *Cassander* held there; the like he did in *Peloponessus*, setting all free, and translating *Syrian* to another place, called it *Demetrius*: Then he was proclaimed General of all *Greece*, and *Athens* declared all his commandments should be held sacred with Gods and Men; yet he was but a drunken pallyard. *Cassander's* case now oblig'd him to seek Peace for *Macedon*, but *Antigonus* will have absolute submission, which made *Cassander* solicit the Confederates, *Lyfimachus*, *Ptolomy* and *Seleucus*, who apprehending the common danger, agree to joyn forces against a common enemy: *Lyfimachus*, with part of *Cassander's* forces, begins, and passing the *Hellepont*, makes a sharp War in *Asia*, which *Antigonus* hasteth to oppose, but cannot force *Lyfimachus* home, who stayed *Seleucus* coming, and made him send for *Demetrius*.

§. 4. *Seleucus* is come and joyned with *Ptolomy's* Forces and *Lyfimachus*, made 64000 Foot and 10500 Horse, 400 Elephants, and 100 armed Carts; *Antigonus* had 70000 Foot, and 10000 Horse, and 75 Elephants. They met at *Ipsus* near *Ephesus*, where the only memorable thing was, that *Demetrius* encountered young *Antiochus* the Son of *Seleucus*, and so pursued him in his flight, that *Seleucus* interposing his Elephants between *Demetrius* and *Antigonus* Phalanx, with his many Troops of Horse, so forced it, that many easily revolted, and left him to death.

§. 5. *Demetrius* finding all lost, made a speedy retreat to *Ephesus* with 4000 Horse and 5000 Foot, thinking it long before he were at *Athens* the Worshipers of his Godhead, not knowing they had repealed his Deity, till he met their Messengers, not as *Theori*, to consult their Oracle, but as Officers to prohibit his entring the City, which base ingratitude afflicted him more than all the rest, yet he gave them fair words till he recovered his Ships out of their Haven. In the mean time the Confederates are dividing his Fathers Provinces, of which *Seleucus* seized on *Syria*, and part of *Asia the less*, whereat the rest repine, and consulted to oppose his greatness in time, whereof he was not ignorant, knowing the Law of State ought not to permit the overgrowing greatness of Neighbours; therefore to serve his

his turn of *Demetrius* against *Lyfimachus*, he married his Daughter *Stratica*, but to save his own Son *Antiochus*, who would die for her, he gave her to him: The like alliance was between *Ptolomy* and *Lyfimachus*, *Demetrius* and *Cassander*, *Demetrius* and *Ptolomy*, yet tyed neither of them to other, but for the present. As it hath also been with Christian Kings, whom neither Bed nor Book can make faithful in their Covenants, yet *Demetrius* repay'd this Fruit by *Seleucus* affinity, that he got *Cilicia* from *Plistarchus*, Brother to *Cassander*, who yet was pacified by *Phila* their Sister, wife to *Demetrius*, who also about that time married *Ptolomy's* Daughter; yet *Seleucus* had rather *Demetrius* had settled further off, having a mind to *Cilicia* (as *Ptolomy* had to *Cyprus*) and offered ready money for it in vain; for *Demetrius* found there twelve thousand Talents of his Fathers.

§. 6. *Demetrius* with 300 good Ships entred *Attica*, and besieged *Athens*, which forced with Famine (tho *Ptolomy* sought to retrieve it but could not) yielded, and was spared, for all their ingratitude, yet he put a Garrison into it to keep them honest by force: Then he went to *Peloponessus* against *Lacedemon*, but was hastily called away into *Asia*, where *Lyfimachus* had won many Towns from him, and *Ptolomy* besieged *Salamis* in *Cyprus*, where his Mother and Children remained; yet hearing of *Cassander's* death, and that his Sons *Antipater* and *Alexander* fought for the Kingdom, and that *Antipater* had furiously slain their Mother *Theffalonica*, for affecting his Brother, he chose rather to go to assist *Alexander*, who desired aid of him and *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus*.

§. 7. *Pyrrhus*, the Son of *Æacides* an infant, at his Fathers death was conveyed unto *Glaucius* King of *Illyria*, who at 12 years old settled him in his Kingdom, out of which 6 years after he was forced, and went to serve *Demetrius*, who married his Sister, and after the overthrow of *Ipsus* became an Hostage to *Ptolomy*, at his reconciliation with *Demetrius*. In *Egypt* he got the favour of *Berenice*, *Ptolomy's* principal Wife, and married her Daughter, and was restored to *Epirus*; he being requested of *Alexander* to aid him against *Antipater*, for his reward took *Ambracia* by force, as also *Acarmania* and much more, leaving the united brethren to divide the rest. *Demetrius* being also come after all is done, grew discontented, and pretending *Alexander* had plotted his death, slew him at a Feast, and seized on his part of the Kingdom: *Antipater*, who had married his

Lyfimachus Daughter, stormed so much hereat, that his Father-in-Law to quiet him took away his troublesome life: Thus the house which *Cassander* had raised with so much Treachery and Royal Blood, fell on his own Grave before the Earth was thoroughly settled. *Demetrius* after this access of Dominion, grows to such a dissolution in Wine and Women, and such idleness, that he would not endure the trouble of Petitions and administering Justice, so that the people grew weary of his idleness, and the Soldiers of his vanity; and having lost all he had in *Asia* and *Cyprus*, but his Mother and Children, which *Ptolomy* honourably sent him home, he went against *Thebes*, and won it twice; then he marched against *Pyrrhus* with two great Armies, of which one led by *Pentarchus* was overthrown, and he beaten by *Pyrrhus* upon a challenge hand to hand, which loss offended not the *Macedonian*, as much as the young Princes behaviour pleased them, to see a lively figure of *Alexander* in his best qualities. This esteem of *Pyrrhus* was encreased by the dislike they had of *Demetrius*, for his insolency and cruelty to his Soldiers, of whom he said, *the more of them died the fewer he had to pay*. In the end he grew sensible of their general hatred, which to prevent he intended a War in *Asia*, with a Royal Army of almost 100000 Foot, and 12000 Horse, and a Navy of 500 sail, of which many exceeded all former greatness. *Seleucus* and *Ptolomy* doubting the event, are earnest with *Lyfimachus* and *Pyrrhus* to joyn against him, who accordingly invade *Macedon*, *Lyfimachus* entering that part next to him, and when *Demetrius* went against him, *Pyrrhus* broke in on the other side, and took *Berrhaa*, which news set all the Camp in an uproar, few forbearing seditious Speeches, and many desire leave to return home; but he perceiving their purpose to go to *Lyfimachus*, their Country-man, led them against *Pyrrhus* a stranger, thinking thereby to content them, but therein he was deceived; for though they were as hasty as he to meet with *Pyrrhus*, yet was it not to fight with him, but to submit to him, insomuch, that many ran over into his Camp, and perswaded him to shew himself unto the *Macedonians*, who would salute him King. To try this, he rode forth in view of the Camp bare-headed, but was perswaded to put on his Helmet, whereon he wore two Goats horns, by which he was known. Hereupon all thronged about him, some wishing *Demetrius* to be gone, who in disguise stole away; so *Pyrrhus* entered *Macedon* with Triumph, where *Lyfimachus* met and shared the Kingdom with him, each hoping

to meet with a better opportunity to work his fellow out of all.

§. 8. *Demetrius* had left *Antigonus* his Son in *Greece*, with a great part of his Forces, with which he besieged *Athens*, but was pacify'd by *Crates* the Philosopher, and so went into *Asia* with 10000 Soldiers to attempt *Lydia* and *Caria* held by *Lyfimachus*, where he was successful, till *Agathocles* the Son of *Lyfimachus*, forced him to seek a Kingdom in the *Higher Asia*, and yet left him not so, but pursued him over *Lycus*, where he lost so many men, that he was forced to fly with the rest into *Cilicia*, from whence he wrote mournful Letters unto *Seleucus*, who durst not trust him till after some desperate Victories: He is left with a few Friends, who perswade him to yield to *Seleucus*, by whom he is put into a Peninsula under a strong guard, where he spent 3 years merrily, and then died.

§. 9. *Ptolomy* about the same time died also, who, besides other Princely virtues, was regardful of his word, which in those times was a rare commendation. *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, who had reigned with him 2 or 3 years, succeeded; *Ptolomy Ceraunus* being offended fled to *Seleucus*; The *Macedonians* after seven months fall off from *Pyrrhus* to *Lyfimachus*, who reigned alone five years, when his City *Lyfimachia* was destroyed by an Earthquake, after which himself having poisoned *Agathocles* his Son, by the instigation of a Mother-in-law, in a War with *Seleucus* in *Asia* was slain. *Seleucus* surviving all *Alexander's* Heroes, as Heir of all the Conquered World, passed over into *Macedon*, and took possession of *Europe*, where, within seven months, *Ptolomy Ceraunus* treacherously slew him, being seventy seven years old. *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot* was now become equal to any of those old Commanders in the art of War; yea, *Hannibal* preferred him before them all. *Supra* §. 7.

C H A P VII.

Rome's Greatness, and Settling of the Eastern State.

§. 1. *R*ome's greatness beginning now to encounter Princes, it is meet here to make a compendious relation of her growth from *Tullus Hostilius*, who having reigned 32 years, was burnt together with his House by Lightning. *Ancus Martius* Grandchild to *Numa*, succeeded, who walled the City, and built a Bridge over the *Tiber*, and after 24 years, died, leaving his Children in charge with *Lacamon* a *Corinthian*, who had fled from *Cypsilus* King of *Corinth*, and dwelt in *Tarquiny*, whereof he was called *Tarquinius*. He reigned 38 years, and was slain by *Ancus Martius* his Sons, but by the cunning of *Tanaquit* his wife, *Servius Tullius* her Daughters Husband was made Governour for a time, under pretence her Husband was sick, in which Government he continued by force 44 years, and then was slain. *Tarquinius Superbus* is proclaimed King by *Tullia* his wife, Daughter to *Servius*, who forced her Coach over his dead Corps. He took *Ocriculum*, *Suessa*, *Pometia*, and the *Gabii*, but for the Rape of *Lucretia* by *Sextus Tarquinius* his Brother, he and all his were expelled by *Junius Brutus* and *Collatinus* her husband. Hereupon the manner of government was changed from a King to two yearly Consuls, or Providers for the City, wherein these two began: Their first War was with *Porfenna* King of *Hetruria*, who came to *Rome* by force to restore *Tarquinius*, but was so long resisted by *Horatius Cocles*, upon the Bridge, till being overpowered he broke it down behind him; and so terrified by *Mutius Scaevola* his resolute burning of his own hand for killing the Secretary instead of the King, that he made a league with *Rome*. *Brutus*, slain in this War, was mourned a whole year for by the Ladies, as the Champion of their Chastity. *Adamelius Tusculanus*, Son-in-law to *Tarquinius*, with his *Latines* renewed the War, against whom *Aulus Posthumus*, in a new office of a Dictator, was sent, who overthrew them. After 16 years government by Consuls, upon a Tumult of the people the office of Tribunes was enacted, to follow the peoples causes as Solicitors: Then succeeded the Wars with the *Volsii* and *Aqui*,

Aqui, in which *Titus Martius* got the surname *Coriolanus*, for winning the City *Coruli*, but was afterward banished for raising the price of Corn too high: *Coriolanus* flies to the *Volsii*, whom he incensed, and was with *Attius Tullius* employed against *Rome*, and so far prevailed, that when neither force nor entreaty would serve, his Wife and Mother were sent, whose sorrowful deprecations prevailed. Not long after, 306 *Fabii* undertaking the War against the *Veii* in *Hetruria* were slain, and left but one Infant of the whole family, of whom came *Fabius Maximus*. In process of time the office of Consuls and other Magistrates was abrogated, and 10 men ordained, who enacted *Solon's* Laws, and two years after are forced to resign to Consuls again. After that they subdued the *Veients*, and the *Falisci* yielded to *Furius Camillus*, in respect to the Justice he had done upon the School-master of the Town, who having trained up many principal mens children, yielded them up to him for Hostages, but he sent him back bound with his Scholars whipping him: He also won the City of the *Veii* after ten years siege, but upon an unequal division of the spoil, they ungratefully banished him: While he lived at *Ardea*, the *Gauls* invading *Hetruria*, as they roved over the Country, being offended with the *Roman* Ambassadors, went to *Rome*, which was abandoned before their coming, and set it on fire, and had taken the Capitol defended by *Marcus Manlius* but for the gagging of Geese: After 7 months *Brennus* agreed to depart for 1100 l. weight of Gold, which while they were weighing, *Camillus* with an Army came upon them, and forced them away: At this time they had Military Tribunes.

§. 2. *Rome* 365 years after her building re-established Consuls, enacting that one always should be a Plebeian, when she began War with the *Samnites*, dwelling between *Apulia* and *Campania*, whom they invaded, and forced to submit to *Rome* for protection: This War continued 50 years, and drew the *Hetrurians* into it, at which time the *Latines* claimed freedom in *Rome*, and this bred a quarrel, wherein the *Latines* were overthrown: The *Sabines* were after subdued, and the *Tarentines* next, with the *Apuleans*, *Lucans*, *Mesepians* and *Brutians*, who drew the *Samnites* to rebel, and sent for *Pyrrhus* to assist them out of *Epirus*.

§. 3. *Pyrrhus* forsaken by the *Macedonians*, but impatient of Peace, accepted the conditions of these confederates, hoping to enlarge his Empire towards the West, as *Alexander* had done to the East, and then to live magnificently; as he answered his Counsellor *Cineas*, who replied, he might now

do so if he cou'd be contented with his own; *Pyrrhus* carrieth an Army of almost 30000 choice Soldiers to the *Tarentines*, who were nothing forward in Provision for War, which while he was employed to get *Levinus* the Roman Consul drew near, and ravaged the *Lucan's* Country, so that *Pyrrhus* was forced with his own, and some weak assistance of the *Tarentines*, to try the Roman Valour; but seeing them come on so bravely, he offered to mediate a peace between them and the *Tarentines*, but was answered they neither chose him for their Arbitrator, nor feared him as their Enemy. *Pyrrhus* upon view of their Camp, perceiving he had to deal with men well disciplined; set a strong *Corps de Guard*, upon the passage of the River, which when he saw them ford, he thought it time to bring on his whole Forces, before all the Army was come over, and all little enough, while Spear and Sword were used; but when his Elephants came in, the Roman Horse quickly turned head, and the Foot at the sight and first impression of those strong beasts, fled with such consternation, that they left their Camp to the Enemy; yet *Pyrrhus* by this experiment finding the Romans could better endure many such losses than he such Victories, sent *Cineas* to persuade them to an agreement with the *Tarentines*, which they refused as long as he was in *Italy*; this answer inflamed *Pyrrhus* to enter into a League with that gallant City, which refused to treat of Peace, except he first left *Italy*; However, they come to a second Battel, which he won by his Elephants, but with such loss of the Flower of his Army, that he desired any occasion to be gone with honour.

§. 4. *Pyrrhus* waiting an opportunity to leave *Italy*, had 2 occasions offered him, the first from *Macedon*, where *Ptolemy Ceraunus* (who had murdered *Seleucus* his Protector) was slain by the Gauls, who came out of their Country, with those that took *Rome*, and passing through many Nations, and making long abroad in *Pannonia*, at length came to *Macedon*, under one *Belgus*, after whom came *Brennus*, another Captain with 115000 Foot, and 15000 Horse, which *Sophenes* with the *Macedonians* avoided, by shutting up the Cities. At the same time also the *Cilicians* sent to *Pyrrhus* for aid against the *Carthaginians*, which opportunity he laid hold on, and with 30000 Foot and 2500 Horse, entred *Sicily*, expelled the *Carthaginians*, won *Eyre* a strong City, and in *Syracusa* began to play the Tyrant. But being again called into *Italy* by the *Tarentines* against the Romans, he was beaten by the *Carthaginian* Galleys, and forced out of *Italy* to *Epirus*, by *Marcus Curius* a Roman.

§. 5. *Antigonus*, the Son of *Demetrius Polyorcytes*, with an Army, Navy, and Treasury, came into *Macedon*, while *Brennus* with most of his Gauls was gone to spoil the Temple of *Delphos*, leaving 15000 Foot, and 3000 Horse behind. These sent to *Antigonus* requiring him to buy his Peace, to whose Ambassadors he shewed his Riches, Navy, Camp and Camels. This being reported at their return, inflamed the Gauls to hasten thither, of whose coming *Antigonus* having intelligence, left his Camp, and put himself and all his men into a Wood, so that the Gauls finding him gone, halted to the Sea side, as supposing him to have fled; but part of *Antigonus* Army having recovered their Ships, and espying the Gauls presumption and disorder, laid hold on the opportunity, suddenly went on shore, and set upon them with such resolution, that after the slaughter of many, the rest yielded to *Antigonus*: This success bred in the Barbarians a great opinion of *Antigonus*, but his own men had no better of him than of one who crept into Woods at the sight of the Enemies: This appeared shortly after, for when *Pyrrhus*, being returned to *Epirus* with a small Army of 8000 Foot and 500 Horse, came to ravage *Macedon*, in hopes to force *Antigonus* to compound with him for his Peace; at his entrance 2000 of the *Antigonian* Souldiers revolted to him, and many Cities yielded, by which good beginning he took courage to attempt *Antigonus* and his Army, and so gain the Kingdom: *Antigonus* had no inclination to fight, but to weary him by protracting time; but *Pyrrhus* forced a narrow pass, thereby overtook him, and slew most of the Gauls, *Antigonus* taking no care to relieve them: Which the Captains of the Elephants seeing, and fearing it might be their own case, yielded: Then *Pyrrhus* went to the Phalanx, which could not be charged but in front, which must be with very great danger, but perceiving they had no desire to fight, he drew near to them in person, persuading them to yield, which they presently did, so *Antigonus* with a few Horse fled to *Theffalonica*, but is forced by *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Pyrrhus*, (who pursued him) to fly to *Peloponesus*.

§. 6. *Pyrrhus* having got the Kingdom of *Macedon*, beaten *Antigonus* and the Gauls, thought himself without match in any of the Kingdoms of *Alexander's* Conquest; he therefore raised an Army of 25000 Foot, 2000 Horse, and 24 Elephants, as against *Antigonus* in *Peloponesus*, to free such Cities as he held there, but indeed to restore King *Cleonymus* to *Lacedemon*, tho he made shew of friendship to them: This dissimulation the *Lacedemonians* had used till none would

trust them, and yet they were not hurt by *Pyrrhus's* use of it; through his deferring the assault till they had fortified the Town, which was never done before: He assaulted the place three days together, and had won it the second day, but for a fall which his wounded Horse gave him; but the third day relief came unto them, so that despairing to carry it, he was content to go to *Argos*, whither one faction of the City invited him, promising to give it up, as the other faction called *Antigonus*, but both sides repented it when they were come, and desired their departure, which *Antigonus* assured them by Hostages; *Pyrrhus* promised also, but intended it not; for by night his accomplices opened him a Gate, through which his Army entred, till the Elephants came, which stopped up the Gates, and so gave the alarm, whereupon the Citizens arm, and put the Souldiers in the dark to great confusion, as not knowing of the streets; yet *Pyrrhus* got to the Market-place: *Antigonus* came to their rescue, and *Pyrrhus* is slain by a Slate cast upon him from an House, by a Woman whose Son was fighting with him.

From

From the settled Govern.
ment of *Alexander's*
Successors, till the Ro-
mans conquer'd *Asia*,
Macedon, &c.

B O O K V.

C H A P. I.

Of the first Punick War.

§. 1. *Livy* handles the question, whether *Alexander* after his Eastern Conquest could have prevailed against the Romans, which the experience between *Pyrrhus* and the Romans doth explain; for if he with his small power vanquished them in 2 Battels, and endangered their State, which was much stronger than at *Alexander's* death, what could he have done that was so abundantly furnished with all things needful for a Conquerour. His Forces at his passage into *Asia* were indeed not many more than 30000 Foot, and

4000 Horse, but what his power grew to, may be considered by the Armies of *Perdiccas*, *Antipater*, *Craterus*, *Enmenes*, *Ptolomy*, *Antigonus* and *Lysimachus*, who yet commanded but Fragments of his power; not to speak of his Treasure, Horses, Elephants, Engines, and Sea Forces, all which they wanted. I cannot see why *Greece* and *Macedon* alone, under the absolute command of *Alexander*, might not be a match to so much of *Italy* as *Rome* held at that time in an uncertain subjection: So that though the Eastern world afforded not many valiant men, yet the Wealth, Horses, Elephants, &c. were very great; and had *Alexander* came Westward, the *Silician Greeks* were likelier to submit to him than to joyn with *Rome*, as they did to *Pyrrhus*: so we may consider what *Carthage* would have done to him, who had such command in *Africa*, &c. To say no more, their sending as far as *Babylon* with their submission to him, may easily unfold their sentiments in this matter, &c. Here the Author prefers the *English* before either *Macedonians* or *Romans*, whose Conquests were furthered, either by the advantage of Weapons or want of Manhood in the conquered, whereas our Enemies exceeded us in numbers and all necessary provision, being at the same time as well trained as we; I mean the *French*, &c. against whom what other worldly help had we, but the Golden Mettal of our Soldiers. Read *De Serres*, the *Frenchman's* Testimony in the life of their King *John*, &c. I think it would trouble a *Roman* Antiquary to find an example of a King brought Prisoner to *Rome* by 8000 men, whom he had surrounded with 40000, better equipt and no less disciplined, &c. Read also our Battels, at *Cressy* and *Agincourte*, as well as this at *Poitiers*; and see several hundred better marks of our valour left in *France*, than of the *Romans*: our Long-bow compared with Cross-bow hath no odds, except a strong Arm draw it, and our Ancestors for the most part used to shoot point blank, so that in a flight or two the Army did close, when our Bows could be of no use. But the *English* come on with a conquering Bravery, as accustomed to gain (saith *De Serres*) every where, without any stay. It is true, our men perfected no such conquest as *Cesar* and others did, as being more Warlike than Politick: neither did they intend conquest (*Henry* the 5th excepted) whom it pleased God to interrupt by death; besides, to hinder our conquest of *France*, we had a Neighbour Nation in our own Island, equal to our selves, save some in number and wealth, strongly allied to them, &c.

§. 2.

§. 2. *Carthage* had stood above 600 years, when she contended with *Rome*, for *Sicily* surpassed *Rome* in Antiquity 150 years, as well as in Dominion, which extended from the West part of *Cyrene* to *Hercules* Streights 1500 miles, and wherein stood 300 Cities; it commanded *Spain* and all the Islands in the *Mediterranean Sea* West from *Sicily*. He had flourished about 730 years, when *Scipio* took it, who carried off with him 1410000 pounds, besides the Soldiers share. It was often re-built, and was invincible while it commanded the Sea, which almost compassed it. It was 20 miles in circumference, and treble walled, without the Walls and between them were Streets, with Vaults for 300 Elephants, and Stables for 4000 Horse, with Rooms for Provender, and Lodging for the Horse-men, and 20000 Foot, which never troubled the City, as it is at this day in *China*. The Castle of *Byrsa* on the South side was 2 miles and a half in compass, with an Arsenal, under which the Ships and Gallies did Ride. The form of the Commonwealth was like that of *Sparta*, having titular Kings and Aristocratical Senators: But in latter times the people usurped too much, which confusion in Government, with their trust of Mercenaries, together with Avarice and Cruelty, occasioned their ruin. They exacted of their Vassals one half of the Fruits of the Earth, besides Tributes; made merciless Officers by exaction to augment the Treasure, and put to death without mercy him that offended ignorantly; nay, even their Captains upon ill success, which made them often desperate to hazard all. The year after *Tarquin's* expulsion, *Rome* sought to make a League with *Carthage*, and the agreement was, that the *Romans* should Trade in no part of *Africa*, but no Haven in *Italy* should be shut against *Carthage*, &c. Their care was to keep the *Romans* in continual War in *Italy*, that *Sicily* being destitute of aid from thence, might the more easily be brought under by them. This made them offer aid to *Rome* against *Pyrrhus*, to prevent his interrupting their attempts in *Sicily*, at which time the League was renewed, especially against *Pyrrhus*, who yet defeated the purposes of *Carthage* there for that time. Some time before, a Troop of Campanian Soldiers who had served under *Agathocles*, and were entertained in *Messina* as friends, with perfidious cruelty slew those that had trusted them, and possessed themselves of their City, Wives, Lands, and Goods, and called themselves *Mamartines*, who afterwards molested the Neighbours, but were opposed by the *Syracusians*, and besieged: But being unable to

hold out, and divided, one side resolves to give themselves to *Carthage*, the other to *Rome*. The *Carthaginians* readily lay hold upon the offer, send Forces, and had the Castle surrendered, but the contrary Faction drawing that side to an agreement, expelled the Captain, for which he was crucified at home as a Coward and a Traytor. *Carthage* hereupon besieges *Messina*, and the *Syracusians* joyn with him by Sea and Land, while *Appius Claudius* the Roman Consul passing the Streights of *Sicily* by night, put himself into *Messina*, and then sent to the *Carthaginians*, and *Hierom* King of *Syracuse*, requiring them to depart from their Confederates, which Message being slighted, gave occasion to the *Punick War*.

§. 3. *Rome* undertaking the defence of the *Mamartines*, proved unjust, by their own justice done upon a Legion of 4000 *Roman* Soldiers, whom they had at request sent to guard *Rhegium*, against *Pyrrhus* and the *Carthaginians*, who dealt after the same treacherous manner with the people there, as the *Mamartines* had done with whom they confederated. The *Romans* upon complaint hereof sent Forces which vanquished them, and put all to death, so restoring *Rhegium* to its former liberties, to the great commendation of their Justice. But when the *Mamartines* defence was questioned, though they had given examples and aid to their Legion at *Rhegium*, yet Profit prevailed against Justice, which they used to pretend, and care to hinder *Carthage's* further taking footing in *Sicily*, perswaded them to defend the Villains, whose Fellows they had destroyed. *Appius Claudius* being sent to them of *Messina*, sallied out on that side which *Hierom* kept, and beat him and the *Syracusians*, who had foolishly joyned with *Carthage*, against whom they must have sought aid at *Rome*, if *Messina* had not been taken. *Hierom* knowing such another bargain would have made him Bankrupt, departed, and next day the *Carthaginians* sped so ill, that they left both Camp and Country to the *Romans*, who confederated with this nest of Thieves and Murderers, with whom no League was just.

§. 4. The Dominion of *Sicily* is now become the Prize for which *Rome* and *Carthage* contend, concerning which Island the general opinion of Antiquity is, that it was a Peninsula adjoining to *Italy* near *Rhegium*, and separated by Tempest; others say by Earthquake; others by strong Current. It excels all the Islands of the *Mediterranean Sea* in bigness and fertility, and is formed like a *Greek* Δ Delta, or a Triangle; for fertility *Cicero* calls it the

the Granary of the Commonwealth, and Nurse of the vulgar sort, furnishing the greatest Armies with Leather, Apparel and Corn; about *Leontium* and other parts, Wheat grows of itself, &c. It had 6 Colonies and 6 Cities, it bred *Archimedes* the Mathematician, *Euclid* the Geometrician, *Empedocles* the Philosopher, and *Diodorus* the Historian. It was peopled by *Sicans* out of *Spain*, after the first Inhabitants, which were Gyants, and the *Sicans* were driven out by the *Siculi* from *Italy*, who were expelled from the place in which *Rome* stands by the *Pelasgi*, and from these *Siculi* it has its name. After them came the *Morgertes* out of *Italy*, who were expelled by the *Oenotrians*, &c. Here many particular Cities and their Founders are set down; the *Trojans* came after, and then the *Phenicians*, who built *Panormus* or *Palermo*. The reports of Gyants first inhabiting the Islands I could reject, did not *Moses* make us know, that such were the first Planters of the Countreys about *Israel*, and did not other Authors confirm it, as *Augustine*, *Tertullian*, *Procopius*, *Isidore*, *Nicephorus*, *Pliny*, *Diodor*, &c. yea *Vespasian* in his second Voyage into *America*, saw the like there; and I wonder at this the less, seeing the same is written of all Nations that is written of one, touching their simplicity of life, mean fare, poor Cottages, cloathing of Skins, hunting Arms, manner of Boats, &c. in all which as we altered from the first simplicity to extreme curiosity, and excess in building, diet and apparel, so have we as monstrous persons, for oppression and all vices, all which as time bred and encreased, so shall it overthrow all at last.

The *Greeks* Plantation in *Sicily* was by *Theocles*, who being driven upon it by an East wind, at his return reported to the *Athenians* the excellency of the place, and upon their neglect perswaded the *Chalcidians* that were needy and industrious, to send a Colony of *Eubaeans* thither, who built *Naxus*: *Archias* with the *Corinthians* followed and built a part of that, which was afterward called *Syracusa*, adding 3 other parts as they increased, and possessing most of the Sea Coast, forced the *Siculi* into the Mountains at *Trinacria*. The *Chalcidian* also got *Leontium*, *Catana* and *Hibla*, which they called *Megara*, as the *Rhodians* and *Cretans* did *Gala*, whose posterity built *Agrigentum*. The *Syracusians* also built *Acra*, *Casmerir*, *Camerina*, *Emta*, &c. as the *Messinians* took *Zancle*, changing the name.

Agrigentum from a Popular Government, was by *Phalaris* brought to a Tyrannick one, who after thirty

one years was stoned to death, and their liberty was recovered; till *Thoro* long after usurped, as others did in other Cities, of which *Gelon* was of most note, who usurping *Gela*, forced *Naxos*, *Zancle*, and *Leontium*, and giving assistance to the Magistrates of *Syracuse* against the people, was chosen Prince on the 2d year of the 72d Olympiad, he aiding *Thoro* his Father-in-law of *Agrigentum*, against *Terillus* of *Himera*, slew 50000 Africans led by *Amilcar*, in defence of *Terillus*. The *Carthaginians* being well beaten sue for Peace, which he granted, on condition they should no more sacrifice Children to *Saturn*, and pay 2000 Talents, and two armed Ships, whereto they added a Crown of Gold worth one hundred Talents of Gold, so good are some natures made by chastisement. His Subjects loved him exceedingly, yea his Dog burnt himself with his Body at his Funeral. *Hiero* his Brother succeeded, and proved to be a cruel rude covetous man, but was better'd by *Symonides*, and the study of good Arts. His Brother *Thrasibulus* succeeded, who after ten months Tyranny, was forced by the Citizens to restore their liberty, and was banished; so *Syracuse* kept her liberty almost 60 years, and was in some manner acknowledged by all the *Grecian* Cities, by freeing them from *Dacetus* King of the *Sicilians*, except *Trinacria*. But *Leontium* being oppressed by *Syracuse* and seeking aid from *Athens* in the 6th year of the *Peloponesian* War, they sent one hundred Gallies and other Forces, which invaded *Syracuse*, winning and losing till both sides being wearied, agree, and *Leontium* is admitted into an equal fellowship, and the *Athenian* Captains sent home, whom the City banished, for gaining nothing in *Sicily*, as they expected. Shortly after fell out the most memorable War that ever *Greece* made; *Athens* aided *Egesta* oppressed by *Selinus*; and *Leontium* and *Catana*, wronged by *Syracusa*; the *Lacedemonians* joyned with the other party; *Alcibiades*, *Nicias* and *Lamachus* are sent from *Athens*, but did little the first Summer, so that *Alcibiades* is discharged; but now supplies on both sides are sent the next Spring: But *Syracuse* is almost blocked up, tho it cost *Limpacus* his life, before the succours from *Sparta* and *Corinth*, led by *Gylippus* and *Python*, came; yet after their coming, *Nicias* was broken, and forced to write for new supplies, which were sent with *Eurymidon* and *Demosthenes*, who the same day invaded the *Syracusans*, with more haste than good speed, receiving such loss as that they determined to return home to succour *Athens* then in distress: But *Nicias* on the contrary perswaded them to stay, upon intelligence that the Town

Town could not hold out long; yet had not the Moon been eclipsed, the superstition whereof caused them to defer it, they had departed. However, their superstition cost them dear, even the utter loss of all in two Sea fights in the great Haven, and in their retreat by Land towards *Camerina*, wherein 40000 men are overthrown, *Nicias* and *Demosthenes* taken, and contrary to the endeavours of *Gylippus* and *Hermocrates* the *Syracusian* Commanders to save them, they were barbarously murdered by the cruel multitude, &c. The *Egestans* now fearing the *Syracusians*, apply themselves to *Carthage*, to whom they offer their City, and *Hannibal* with 30000 men is sent thither, who in revenge of his Fathers and Uncles death, won and sackt *Himera* and *Selinus*, and buried 3000 *Himerans*, where *Amilcar* was slain: *Hermocrates* after his good service is thro the malice of his enemies banished by the ungrateful multitude: But returning from *Greece*, he began to repair *Silenus*, yet upon the perswasion of his friends in *Syracuse* he attempted to take a Gate, and was slain.

Dionysius, Son-in-Law to *Hermocrates*, being made Prætor and Commander of the *Syracusan* Armies, behaved himself so well that he got the good will of the People and Souldiers, and began early, being but 25 years old, that he might play the Tyrant long: He obtained his first favour by accusing the Noble-men, whom the baser sort desired to reign over them; then he obtained of them 600 men to guard his person, as *Pisistratus* at *Athens* had done, against the malice of his enemies; and to gain the Souldiers affections he got them double Pay, and procured the recalling of many Exiles, whom thereby he made his own: Then he made himself absolute Lord, by getting possession of the Citadel, where was great store of provision, and under which the Gallies moored, whereby the chief Citizens discerned his intentions, tho the people would not see it; yet after a foil given him at *Gela* by the *Carthaginians* (which the men at arms thought he was willing to) they left him, and hasting to *Syracuse*, in hope to free the City of him, they forced his Palace, ransacked his Treasure, and abused his Wife; all which he revenged, being at their heels, leaving none that he suspected alive: Then he grew so suspicious, being the greatest Robber that ever a State had, that he would not trust a Brother to enter his Chamber unsearched; yet being at the War, the Citizens rebel at home, so that with much difficulty he recovered the Cittadel, and thereby the command of the City,

City, and when the multitude were gathering in the Harvest, he disarmed the Citizens; after this he went to the Field with 80000 Foot, and 3000 Horse, and sent his Brother *Leptines* with 200 Galleys to Sea, and 500 Ships of burthen, which overthrew 50 Ships of War, 5000 Soldiers and many Ships of burthen, brought by *Himilco* from *Carthage*, while many Cities yield also to *Dionysius*, who yet lost a great part of his Army at *Egesta*. *Himilco* sent half his Army with *Mago* by Sea, who meeting again with *Leptines*, slew 20000 of his men, and took 100 Galleys, which made *Dionysius* hasten home, whom *Himilco* follows with speed, and besieged him by Sea and Land, but the plague having swept away 100000 of his men, and many others being slain by the City, with the help of the *Lacedemonians*, he sued for a peace, which the other sold him for a great sum of money, and on condition to leave behind him such as were not *Carthaginians*; but when he was gone to Sea, the Tyrant followed and slew many of them. *Mago*, who stayed behind to strengthen the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*, received a supply of 80000 men, which did nothing but make Peace with *Dionysius*, who went into *Italy* where he took *Rhegium*, and used much cruelty therein; after this in another Battel with *Mago*, he slew him and 10000 *Africans*, but *Mago's* Son slew his Brother *Leptines* and 14000 more, which made him now in his turn buy Peace; shortly after he dyed after 38 years Tyranny, and his Son *Dionysius* succeeded, being a man of his Fathers disposition, though to gain favour he dissembled, freed many Prisoners, and remitted divers Taxes; but slew his Brethren by another Mother, the Sister of *Dion* a valiant just man. This man prevailed so with him as to hear *Plato*, whom he had sent for, by whose wisdom he began to be reformed, but held not on; after this his Flatterers procure *Dion's* banishment, perswading the King that *Dion* sought to weaken his mind by Philosophy, and by the offer which he made to furnish the King with 50 Galleys, intended to make himself Master of the Kingdom. *Dion* was well beloved in *Greece*, where he gathered 800 brave followers, whom he carried to *Syracuse*, while the Tyrant was in *Italy*, he entred without resistance, and recovered the Cities liberty though the Tyrant held the Castle. After this the worthy man had the reward which popular States usually give, and was forced abandon the City, but returned twice from *Leontium* to help them against the Castle, that annoyed them, and at last recovered the Castle, but he was afterwards murdered by *Calippus*, who in a while was slain with

with the same Dagger. *Dionysius* after this recovered the City, and made many to fly to *Iceles* Tyrant of *Leontium*, who with the *Carthaginians* forced *Dionysius* into the Castle, and besieged him. Then comes *Timolion* with Forces from *Corinth* to free the City, who, by the *Carthaginians* forsaking, *Iceles* wins the City, and has the Castle surrendred by *Dionysius*, which he beats down, calling it the nest of Tyrants. *Syracuse* wasted by former Wars, is now peopled with 10000 *Greeks* by *Timolion's* means, who also overthrew *Asdrubal*; but *Amilcar* coming with 70000 *Africans*, 200 Galleys, and 100 Ships of burthen, vanquished *Iceles*, and slew him and his followers, suppressed all the Tyrants in *Sicily*, and died in Peace and Honour. *Sicily* after 20 years peace from *Timolion's* death, falls under the Tyranny of *Agathocles*, who rising by degrees in the Field, came from a Beggar to be a Prætor, and afterwards Tyrant of *Syracuse*: While he was Prætor, and in League with *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian*, he entertained 5000 *Africans*, and many old Soldiers, pretending to besiege *Herbita*; but in reality set upon the Senators, the rich, and all his enemies dividing the spoil among the poor, and giving liberty to the Soldiers for 2 days to plunder, murder and ravish all, calling it a brave Remedy for the violent disease of the Commonwealth, pretending now to reduce to Oligarchy the ancient and different Democracy. But having left none fit for Magistracy, he knew that those whom he assisted in their murders and outrages, would need his aid to beat them out, and therefore would make him King, which accordingly they did. This *Amilcar* was content with, in hopes that upon his wasting the Island all would fall into the *Carthaginians* hands; but the *Carthaginians* upon complaint send another *Amilcar*, and the former made away with himself rather than stand to give an account of what he did at *Carthage*. *Agathocles* before the *Carthaginians* came, had made the better part of *Sicily* his own, and so beat the first supplies that they returned home, and proved so successful against the second brought by *Amilcar*, that he grew presumptuous of that, which failed him. One misfortune is enough to overthrow a Tyrant without great circumspection, as it was with him, who after one great foyle was glad to sink home, and being there besieged with that wicked Rabble, which had been the Executioners of his Tyrannous entrance, he, to prevent the Famine that was like to follow, shipped himself with as many as he thought convenient, leaving the City to *Attander* his Brother, and went to Sea, when the *Carthaginian* Fleet was gone out

out to seize on certain Ships coming in with provision: These seeing *Agathocles* make towards him, who hasted towards *Africa* while the provision got into the City, but before he got land, the *Carthaginian* Fleet, weary with working to overtake him, was beaten, and routed by him: Being landed, after many plausible speeches to his company, as if he were master of all the Riches in *Africk*, he burnt all their Ships, except one or two, which he reserved for Advice-Boats: In this heat of resolution he wins two Cities, and razed them, to the great amazement of *Carthage*, who sent out against him *Hanno* and *Bomilcar*; which were professed Enemies; of whom *Agathocles* cut *Hanno* and his Army in pieces, the other looking on: This success drew on *African* Kings to joyn with him, as did *Ophillas* King of the *Cyrenians*, to whom he promised to deliver what he won in *Africk*, but indeed treacherously murdered him and entertained his Army. After this he made a start to *Sicily*, and pacified some tumults there, then returned to *Africa*, pacified his Soldiers that mutiny'd for want of pay, and might have brought *Carthage* to buy a Peace and give over all in *Sicily*, if his thoughts of the Conquest of *Carthage* had not abused him with an impression, which as light an accident as a flash of fire caused to vanish: For upon two fires in the night kindled by accident, both Armies fled, each being afraid of other. *Agathocles* in the dark falling on his *African* Soldiers who he took for enemies, lost 4000 men, which so discouraged him, that he thought secretly to steal away, which being understood by the Army, they slew his two Sons and made their peace with *Carthage*. *Agathocles* returning to *Sicily* grew more cruel, and exceeded even *Phalaris*; but in the end is driven to seek aid of the *Carthaginians*, against those that he had banished, who took up arms against him, and whom he subdued by their help, for which he gave up to them all the *Phenician* Towns he held in *Sicily*, and they supply'd him with Corn, and 400 Talents of Gold and Silver: After this he went into *Italy*, subdued the *Brutians*, and made the Isle *Lapara* buy its Peace for 100 Talents of Gold; but in his return with 11 Ships laden with Gold, all was lost with the Fleet, but his own Galley, which kept him to a more miserable end by grievous torment in his Sinews and Veins all over his body, in which he was forsaken of all, and dyed basely as he began. His fellow Souldiers after that traiterously possessed themselves of *Messana*.

§. 5. *Hieron*, Tyrant of *Syracusa*, is followed home with the Wars by *Appius Claudius*, but thought it wisdom to buy Peace for 100 or 200 Talents. Neither could *Carthage* be justly offended, seeing they made no haste to his relief, as knowing the City was not able to hold out now as when they attempted it; besides that *Rome* sought but their friendship, whereas *Carthage* strove for a command over them.

§. 6. *Hieron*, a just and good Prince, is beloved of his, as he sought their good, sided with *Rome*; *Lucius Posthumus* and *Quintus Mamelius* remove the Army to *Agrigentum*, which *Carthage* had stored with all manner of Munition and 50000 Souldiers, between whom, upon a Salley made by the besieged, was a fight, which made the one side to keep in, and the other strongly to intrench themselves before and behind: *Hannibal* in the City sends for succour to *Carthage*, who embarked an Army under command of *Hanno*, with certain Elephants, that landed at *Heraclea*, surprized *Erberus*, where lay the *Roman* provision; which loss had distressed the *Romans*, but that *Hieron* supplied them: *Hanno* after that assaills them, and by the pretended flight of his Horsemen, drew them further to the place where he lay in ambush, and so slaughtered many of them; but in the second assault he lost the day and fled to *Heraclea*, whether shortly after *Hannibal* with the remainder of his Army came riding in the night through the *Roman* Camp. The *Romans* which came to *Sicily* with no other design than to succour the *Mamartines*, and keep the *Carthaginians* from their own doors, now aspire to the Command of *Sicily*, and peradventure to visit *Carthage*. This is the disease of mortal man, to covet the greatest things, and not to enjoy the least; the desire of what we neither have nor need, taking from us the fruition of what we have already. The *Romans* send thither two new Consuls, *Lucius Verus* and *Titus Octacilius*, so the Inland Towns became theirs, as many Maritime places were commanded by *Carthage*, which was the cause the *Romans* determined to raise a Fleet, who before this knew not how to move an Oar. Having now built 120 Gallies, and trained men to row, *C. Cornelius*, one of the Consuls that year, with 17 of them, past over to *Messana*, and taking pleasure therein went to *Lippara*, whereof *Hannibal* Governour of *Panormus*, having intelligence, sent and surprized the Consul and his Gallies; and flush'd with this success, himself with 50 went out in hopes to surprize the rest, but was well beaten with great loss. *Cornelius* is redeemed, and *Duilius* his Fellow is made Admiral, who, considering the

the advantage the *Carthaginian* light Gallies had in rowing away from the *Roman* heavy ones, invented an Iron to grapple them when they met, and so got the advantage, which an heavy strong broader Vessel hath of a weaker and lighter, which are in danger of splitting; neither are they so steady, which is no small help in a fight, where the best use of the hand is in them which best keep their feet. Sea-fights requireth Skill in the choice of Vessels, and to know the difference between fighting loose and grappled, which was wisely considered in our encountring of the *Spanish* Navy, wherein our smaller and lighter Ships at large, though fewer, had the advantage, whereas had they been entangled with those huge Vessels full of Soldiers, we had endangered all, for one defender from above, is worth five assailants which board and enter. Here he makes it plain, that twenty good Ships, with the benefit of good sailing, have the advantage of one hundred as good Ships that are slow, whether drawn up in Squadrons or at a distance.

§ 7. *Rome* proceeds in a War by Sea, and sends a Fleet to *Sardinia*, while *Hannibal* had obtained a Fleet at *Carthage*, which now anchor'd in *Sardinia* Haven; which the *Romans* coming suddenly surprized, and *Hannibal* narrowly escaped; but was hanged at his return, for in War it is too much to offend twice: But *Hamilcar* lying in *Panormus* sent *Hanno* out, upon an intelligence of the *Romans* disorder in *Sicily*, who unexpectedly slew 4000 of them: *Panormus* was the next which the Consul besieged, but could not draw the *Carthaginians* into the field, nor force that great City, which was so strongly guarded; so they left it, and took some inland Towns. *C. Attilius* Consul next year was beaten, and lost 9 Gallies out of 10, but by the coming up of the rest of his Fleet the *Carthaginians* lost 18. Upon this, *Rome* raises a Fleet of 330 Ships, and *Carthage* another of 350, to try who shall command the Sea; the *Romans* having 140000, and the *Carthaginians* 150000 men on board. Both Navies meet, but *Attilius* had the better, who took 63, and sinking 30, with the loss of 24; which fell out by *Amilcar's* ordering his Gallies so, as that himself being forced, and not able to recover so as to joyn with his other Squadrons, that Squadron of the *Romans* which forced him fell back and helped their fellows. *Charles V.* advised *Philip* his Son, that fighting with the *Turks*, he should never fail to charge the *Janizaries* in the beginning of the fight, for the *Turks* confidence is most in them, and therefore reserves them entire in the rear to come

up in a gross body, when all the Troops are brought into confusion, and so carry the Victory: The *Romans* used the like order in their *Triarii*, which were some of their pickt men kept for a Reserve, which surely must be a great advantage.

§. 8. The *Romans* repair their Fleet and set forward to *Africa*, landing at *Clypea*, a Port Town, which yielded, and so gave them a Haven, without which all measures are foolish; *Amilcar* also is come to *Carthage*, and defence is prepared, while *Manlius*, one of the Consuls, with all the Navy is called home, with 2000 captive *Africans*, leaving but 15000 Foot, 500 Horse, and 40 Gallies with *R. Attilius* behind, who besieged *Adis*; wherein to oppose him, *Amilcar*, *Hanno* and *Besser* are sent with an Army, who design to weary him with protracting of time, place themselves on the top of an Hill, *Regulus* discovering the advantage, that neither the *Carthaginian* Horse nor Elephants could do service there, set stoutly upon them, and forced them to leave their Camp to the spoil, after which they proceed to *Tunis*, 16 miles from *Carthage*, and take it, to the great terror of *Carthage*, which being pestered with multitudes that fled into it from the *Romans*, could not hold Famine out long, which would let in the *Romans*. *Attilius* finds the advantage, but fearing lest they might stand it out till his year expired, and so the next Consuls have the honour, he treated of Peace with *Carthage*, that he might reap his own Fruit, ambition seeking it self only: But *Attilius's* conditions were so unworthy, that the *Carthaginians* disdaining them, changed their fears into a courageous resolution to defend their liberty to the last man. To strengthen their resolution, *Xantippus* a *Spartan*, and a very expert Soldier, with a great body of *Greeks* formerly sent for, came, who shewing the errours in the Commanders at the former overthrow to the Senate, is made General of 12000 Foot and 4000 Horse, and 100 Elephants, which were all the Forces *Carthage* could raise at home, to fight for liberty, lives and all; but such as use mercenaries, as they did, are stronger abroad than at home, as we see in their Foreign Armies consisting of 140000, and 150000 at Sea, &c. *Xantippus* so ordered this Army in a level ground, that he utterly overthrew the *Romans*, took *Attilius* and 500 others, and slew all the rest but 2000, &c. Thus one wise mind overmatcheth many hands. *Attilius* upon his word went to *Rome*, to treat about the exchange and ransom of Prisoners, which he dissuaded, considering the loss *Rome* should have thereby,

by, and returning to *Carthage* dyed by Torture, as a malicious obstinate enemy, whose vain-glorious frowardness, rather than necessity of State, the *Romans* afterwards slighted, and made the exchange: *Doria* having *Venice* at the like advantage, made the like demands from *Genoa*, and had the like issue, losing all he had gotten and more; as did the Earl of *Flanders* at *Gaunt*, Anno 1382.

§. 9. *Carthage* by this Victory recovered all in *Africa* but *Clypea*, that was kept by the *Romans*, to whose succour 350 Galleys are sent, which being encountered by 200 from *Carthage*, they took 114 of them, and taking on board their besieged men at *Clypea*, return for *Sicily*, hoping to get all there that *Carthage* held: The Pilots perswade the Commanders to put into Harbour, the season threatening a storm, and assured them, that the South part of *Sicily* had no good Ports: But these men being Conquerors, desperately oppose the Elements, which near *Camerina* wrecks all their Fleet save 83, so that the Sea devoured their late great Victory. The *Carthaginians* hoping to recover their dominion of the Sea, send *Asdrubal* with 200 Galleys, with all the old Soldiers, and 140 Elephants, which he lands at *Lylibæum*, while the *Romans* make up 120 Ships, which with the remainder of their wreck, they sent to *Panormus*, and surprizing it by Sea and Land take it; then they visited *Africk* again, make a small ravage, but in their return between *Panormus* and *Italy*, *Neptune* spoiled them of all that *Mars* had given them, with the loss of 150 Ships, so that now the Sea hath devoured 406 Ships and Galleys, and made them resolve to keep the Land; and upon experience of *Artilius* loss by Elephants, they feared to fight in Champaign Countries; but finding how impossible it was to succour the places they held in *Sicily* by Land marches against a speedy passage by Sea, they change their minds again. Here the Author shews how impossible it is for Land forces to defend any Maritime Country against a powerful Army at Sea. *Canutus* by the expedition of the Ships entred and ravaged where he pleased, while *Edmond Ironside* with wearisome marches came in vain to the relief. Count *Maurice*, one of the greatest Captains that ever was bred, by the advantage of speedy and easie marches by water took *Zutphen*, *Hulst* and *Nimeguen* before the *Spaniards* could come by Land. So Sir *John Norris* could not be hindered from bringing *Don Antonio* to *Portugal*, nor his landing, &c. Armies neither fly, nor run post, saith the Marechal of *France*. A Fleet of Ships may in a night pass over more space than a Land march will do in 6 days, &c. Neither

ther is *England* without a Fleet able to hinder any Enemy from landing: So my self at *Fayal* landed with the small Company which followed me, and with God's assistance took it from 5 or 6 Companies which lay with Muskets upon the Walls, by whom we were more hurt in our march than in our landing.

§. 10. *Cecilus* with half of the *Roman* Army in *Panormus*, is attempted by *Asdrubal* and his Forces from *Lylibæum*, who sending his Elephants before against a Legion, which came by appointment to draw them on under pretence of retiring, till they came to a Trench which they could not pass, where being galled by the Soldiers in it, they were enraged, so that they turn on their Footmen that followed, and disordered them. *Cecilus* perceiving the advantage sallied out, slew many, and took the Elephants. *Rome* hereupon hoping at once to end the 14 years War of *Sicily*, prepared a new Fleet of 200 sail, which is sent to *Lylibæum*, the only place of importance in the *Carthaginians* hands. This *Himilco* with a Garrison of 10000 men held against them, and *Hannibal* the Son of *Amilcar* is sent thither with 10000 more, which he led into the City in despite of all resistance. During this Siege, a *Rhodian* undertook with a very swift Galley to enter the Town, through the *Roman* Fleet, and performed it, coming back to *Carthage*; neither is it hard for a valiant judicious Man of War to pass by the best provided Fort, if he waits his time for Wind and Tyde, as did *William Burrough* in the *Admiron* at *Elfenor* Streights. After the *Rhodian*, others performed as much, which made the *Romans* sink so many Ships with Stones, that the Passage was stopped, so that at his next coming he was taken, as was another *Carthaginian* Galley before him. *Lylibæum* begins to be distressed by continual watching and labour, till in a storm some of the *Roman* Engines are cast down and fired by a *Grecian* Soldier, which the *Romans* will not repair, but resolve to storm the Besieged. *Marcus Claudius* the Consul arrives with 10000 men and reinforces the Army, and propounds the surprize of *Trepænum* on the other side of the Bay, which all embracing, they embark and arrive there. *Adherball* the Governour, a valiant and prudent Captain, exhorteth his men rather to fight abroad than to be penned up, and thereupon puts out to Sea. The Consul's Fleet being in haste to surprize, and not in order to defend, is forced into a Bay, in which he wants room to draw up. In this Streight he forceth his way through with 30 Galleys and fled, leaving 94 Ships for his

Enemies entertainment. *Lucius Junius* is sent from *Rome* with 60 Gallies to take the charge upon him, who met the remainder of the Fleet at *Messina*, except some in *Lilibæum* port, and made up 120 Gallies and 800 Ships of Burthen, and at *Syracuse* sent the Questors or Treasurers, with half of the Provision and some Gallies for Convoys. *Adkerball* upon his Victory is not secure, but he sends *Carthalo* with 100 Gallies to try what he can do in *Lilibæum* Port, who surprized, took and burnt all the Gallies in it, and Coasting along the South part met with the Consul *Junius* Victuallers, and forced them into a Road full of Rocks, where *Carthalo* took some of them, and waited for the rest, who could not stay long among the Rocks. In the mean time the Consul is discovered, against whom he put out, who is also glad to take into a dangerous Creek. *Carthalo* takes a station fit to watch which will stir first, but discerning a storm at hand, he hastened to double Cape *Pachinus*, and left the Consul to the boisterous South wind, which utterly wrackt all his Gallies, &c. *Rome* at the report hereof again renounced the Sea, which yet they must undertake, or quit *Sicily* and *Africa*. But commendable is the *Spaniards* patience against difficulties in their enterprizes, which makes them worthy of all their Paradoxes.

§. 11. *Junius* the Consul, to regain the honour he had lost at *Sea*, resolves to attempt *Erix* on the Mount, which he took and fortified, as a fit place for a Garrison between *Lilibæum* and *Panormus*. Shortly after in the 18th year of this War, *Amilcar* surnamed *Bartus*, the Father of Great *Hannibal*, is sent with a Fleet and Army, with which he so wasted the *Locrians* and *Brutians*, that he repayed *Roman* spoils. In *Sicily* he settles himself between *Panormus* and *Erix*, and for three years molested the *Romans*, and after found a way into *Erix* before the Guards at the bottom of the Hill, or on the top knew it, and there he infested them for two years. *Rome* knows no way to be rid of this obstinate Warrior till they can command the Sea, which requires a Fleet, and they having exhausted the common Treasure, the private Citizens must do it; it is agreed on, and 200 Gallies are according to the *Rhodian* way built, and committed the care of *C. Lucatius Catulus*. *Hanno*, Admiral of the *Carthaginian* Fleet, was well provided as he thought for them at *Erix*, but yet neither with good Mariners nor choice Soldiers, as quickly appeared; for *Catulus* the Consul having well exercised his in rowing, lightened

lightened his Gallies, and stored them with choice Land-soldiers, in all which *Hanno* was so deficient, that at the first encounter he had 50 stemmed, 70 taken, and 10000 men made Prisoners. *Carthage* here with utterly discouraged, send to *Amilcar*, referring it to his wisdom what to do, who considering the present necessity, sent to *Lucatius* to treat of a Peace, who upon like consideration of *Rome*, is present poverty, agreed on conditions, which were sent to *Rome*, who thereupon sent Commissioners, which concluded the Peace. *Carthage* is excluded out of *Sicily*, restores all her Prisoners, and paid 3200 Talents in a certain term of years.

CHAP II.

Of what passed between the first and second Punick War.

§. 1. THE *Carthaginians* thus divested of *Sicily* and Islands about it, have leisure to think how to help themselves in the following War, rather than be content in the present Peace; for Conquerors give, and the Conquered receive Laws; but *Rome* forgot in this affair, what had been answered a Senator, demanding what Peace *Rome* may hope for, or be assured of, if they quitted the present advantage over them. It was answered, If the Peace you give us be good and faithful, it will hold, if it be ill it will not. The Senate approved the answer as manly and free, for who will believe that any will endure an over-hard condition longer than necessity requires: They therefore grossly flatter themselves to think the *Carthaginians*, inferior neither in Power nor Pride, will sit down longer by the loss and dishonour, tho strength fails to them to revenge, which occasion kept them off for a while. The Army of the *Carthaginians* was to be transported home, which *Amilcar* committed to *Gesco*, who considering the great summs *Carthage* did owe the Souldiers, even more than the City was able to pay, sent them over by small numbers, to be dispatched, and sent away with what they could get, with which it was easie to perswade them to be satisfied, or over-rule them. The Governours on the contrary put them off till all were come, and to avoid the disorders of such law-

less guests sent them to *Sicca*, till their fellows came. Then *Hanno* is sent to persuade them to be content with part of their pay, considering the Cities want. They which had expected the utmost farthing, with some Donative, hearing this, are enraged, and resolving to demand their due nearer home, remove to *Tunis*, within a little way of *Carthage*, which now began to see her error, against that old Rule, *Have special care that Valiant Poverty be not oppressed with too much Injury*. Many other errors, besides the first drawing together so many in arms whom they intended to wrong, were committed, as thrusting out their Wives and Children, who might have been Hostages, and to send Senators daily with promises to them to satisfy all their demands. By these shiftings the Soldiers perceived the Cities fear, and thereupon start other demands besides pay. The differences grew hot, and they are requested to refer all to any that had commanded in *Sicily*, who thereupon chose *Gesco*, who had peaceably concluded all, but for two seditious persons, *Spendius* and *Matho*, who so far prevailed with the *African* Soldiers, that all is unhinged. Neither could *Gesco's* offering to pay the whole stipend pacify them, who now seek a Quarrel rather than Money. They therefore chose *Spendius* and *Matho* to be their Captains; and upon a further Speech which *Gesco* made that discontented them, they cast him and those that came with him into Irons, and lay violent hands upon the Treasure he brought for them. *Matho* and *Spendius* send Ambassadors to solicit all *Africa*, easily stirred up against *Carthage*, which now must hear of her oppressions, in exacting half their Corn, double Tributes, and severity in punishing small offences; for adversity hath ever been told of her errors. Now all that are able fly to Arms, and the very women bring forth their Jewels; so that besides 700000 *Africans* which came in, their Treasure vastly increas'd.

§ 2. Tyranny must use the help of Mercenaries, which commonly are false, as the War against Tyrants is cruel. Tyranny is a violent form of Government, respecting the Commanders pleasure, and not the good of Subjects; violent it is, seeing no man can yield willing obedience where his life and welfare is not regarded.

Tyrants which are most cruel, seem mild sometimes to some for their own advantage; but in large dominions, where he cannot take such knowledge of men, he which cannot endure the face of one so honest as will put him in mind of Moderation, will not bound his desires. The sweetness of oppression from a few inflames his Appetite to spare none, see-

seeing no cause to respect one more than other, and covetousness is never satisfied, having squeez'd from all, yet every one could have spared more, and he knoweth many pretend want without a cause, and therefore he deviseth new tricks of Robbery, which please him as much as the gain, devouring being the recreation of his wit. He knowing he is hated for it, therefore seeks to turn hatred into fear by cruelty towards the suspected persons, whether justly or no, so that the Conspirator can be no more fearful of his Tyranny than the Innocent, wherefore thinking on his own security, he must disarm all, fortify himself in some strong place, and take a Guard of lusty Soldiers, but not of Subjects, lest any one become sensible of the common calamity; but of strangers which neither have wealth nor credit at home, to make these his own, they shall be permitted to do as he doth, to Rob, Ravish, Murder and satisfy their own Appetites.

The Tyranny of a State or City may seem more moderate, but is many ways more intolerable. A City is jealous of her dominion, but feareth not her life, so as that she needs use Cruelty; she is not luxurious, and so needs the less to oppress: If the necessities of War calls for more than ordinary supplies, it is excusable; and she cannot provoke her Subjects by indignity, in shewing a neglect of their toiments, as particular Tyrants do: In all which respects she needs not such guard of Cut-throats as *Dionysius* or *Agathocles* had; she can hold in perforce all malecontents: On the other hand, the desire of one may be satisfied or wearied, he cannot search all corners, his humours may be gratified, years or counsel may change him, or some other accident; at leastwise his Successor may prove better, and the Tyranny may be changed into Monarchy: But under a tyrannical City there is no such hope, the Mistress being immortal, and will not slack in the reins till they be pulled out of her hands: New Flies and hungry ones fall upon the old sore every year, by a new Governour, attended all by poor kindred and friends, who intend to fill their empty Hives with Wax and Honey, neither can any Flower in the Province escape their search: If you gain him with gifts, or being more loving than were to be wished, in regard of a fair Wife or Daughter, the next years Successor often proves of a contrary faction, a bitter enemy to the former and all his friends, &c. From hence proceed Civil Wars, which bring many Calamities, &c. The *Romans* had a Law *de Repetundis*, or recovery against extorting Magistrates, yet could not wholly restrain their Provinci-

al Gouverneurs; but at *Carthage* the oppression of one was a president to another; and he was held the best Statesman whose robbery encreased the common Treasure; whereas *Rome* would not endure to hear that their Empire was grievous, for which they frequently condemned noble Citizens.

Mercenaries, as also foreign Auxiliaries, are more dangerous to them whom they serve than to the enemy: As *Machiavel* said of Mercenaries, They are seditious, unfaithful, disobedient, and waiters where-ever they serve, and in extremities often refuse to fight, yea, revolt to the contrary side. Thus *Charles VIII.* of *France* won *Naples*; *Sforza* forsook *Joan Queen of Naples*. *Francis Sforza* his Son being entertained by the *Milanois*, forced them to become his Slaves; and *Lodomick* his Son was as well served by the *Switzers* entertained by him, who delivered him up into the *French King's* hands. The Emperor of *Constantinople* hired 10000 *Turks* to aid him, which occasioned the servitude of the Christians that soon followed. *Demetrius* being called to aid *Alexander*, slew him, and possessed *Macedon*. *Syracen* the *Turk* served *Sonar Soldan of Egypt* in the same manner; the *Saxons* dealt so with *Brittain*; and the *English* with the *Irish*. As for the *United Provinces*, whose good success hath proceeded from such Foreign Auxiliaries, their case is seldom met with; for as absolute necessity constrain'd them, so they used such as had a regard to the cause against an Enemy, which all 3 Kingdoms had cause not to affect, both in regard of his Religion, and upon other respects of injuries received, and wisely suspected: And for serving themselves, our Queen refused the offered Sovereignty; and as a Patron was entrusted with the Custody of most important places, as he who reigned in *Scotland* was too just to wrong them, and too wise to help him, which sought the Conquest of his Inheritance, yet they did not speed so well while only Mercenaries were used, as the fruitless attempts of the Prince of *Orange* can witness, which forced them to seek a Protector, and which had also like to have had unhappy success under the Duke of *Anjou*, in attempting to surprize *Antwerp*, though the next Protector, our renowned Queen, began their happiness, and never failed them after.

What kind of Soldiers did the *Romans* use? If Subjects, why feared they no Rebellion? If Strangers, how were the former inconveniences avoided? The Answer. Their Armies usually were their own Citizens, and *Latines* of an equal number, which by consanguinity and priviledges were made almost equal to these, much about ten Legions (tho
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seldom employed) as need required they added *Campansians*, *Hetrurians*, *Samnites*, or other of their Subjects, but fewer in number, and such as might be trusted, and in process of time, these and others had such liberties, as they esteemed *Rome* the common City; yea the freedom of *Rome* went to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, and other remote Cities, so that their subjection by *Rome's* moderate Government was no burthen to them. This moderate use of Sovereign Power being so effectual to assure peoples obedience to their Lords, in establishing and enlarging Dominions contrary to the effects of Tyranny; it may seem strange that Tyranny hath been so common in all ages: The like may be said of all Vice and Irregularity, into which our passions lead us, tho the way of Justice and Honesty (whatever others think) be less difficult; yet it is less a wonder in any than in this of Tyranny, especially in a City in which it is hard to desert the passion which should so mis-lead a multitude of such different humours: Doubtless Tyranny is a distinct vice, as it is proper to man to be *Animal politicum*, apt by nature to command or obey, every one in his proper degree; other desires are common to other Creatures, but a desire to rule belongs to the nobler part of Reason, which being corrupted, nourishes a vice more hurtful than any other to mankind: Dull Spirits having the burden of rule, whereunto they are unfit, put upon them, will permit any thing, and therefore where Laws are, it will permit the execution of them, and some Friend or Wife helps to supply his defects: But over-active Spirits are of such vehemency as cannot be limited by reason, by too much activity, so as that nothing under such is lawful, which under colour of Law he will not punish: defect in government, thro a dulness of Spirit, that endures all things, is without name as a vice unknown, but Tyranny is bold, and would be known, and reported honourable. *There is no reward or honour* (saith *Peter Charon*) *appointed to men that know how to encrease and preserve humane nature; but all honour, riches, empire, triumphs and care assigned to the afflictors and destroyers of it.* *Cesar* and *Alexander* have each of them destroyed millions of men, but neither made, nor left any behind them; yet such is the error of mans judgment to value things according to common opinion: But the true name of Tyranny, when it grows to a ripeness, is no other than Fierceness, that is worse than any Vice; and those which used their bodily strength to destroy men, as *Scyron*, *Procrustes*, and *Pirycampes*, are no better examples than *Phalaris*, *Dionysius* and *Agathocles*, whose mischievous

heads were assisted by the hands of detestable Russians; the same barbarous desire of Lordship transported them all beyond the bounds of reason, not knowing the use of dominion, nor the difference between Free-men and Slaves. The rule of a Husband over his Wife, and of Parents over Children is natural, and from God, being always and simply lawful and good: The former is as the dominion of Reason over the appetite, the latter is the whole authority which one freeman can have over another, and the rule of a King is no more than of a common Father over his Country, which he that knows what the power of a Father is, or ought to be, knows to be enough. There is a more masterly Dominion which God gave to *Adam*, and renewed to *Noah*, *Gen. 1.* the execution of which power hath since extended it self over a great part of Mankind, and though the disability of many to govern themselves, proves them (according to *Aristotle*) to be naturally Slaves, yet I find no warrant in Scripture to oppress men with Bondage, except *Exod. 21. 21.* *Numb. 30. 40.* do insinuate it; yet the custom is ancient, *Gen. 9. 21. & 12. 16.* As for the Christian Religion, it hath not abrogated it, as we see by *Paul's* entreating for *Onesimus*, *v. 5.* craving it as a blessing, and not urging it as a duty: So *1 Cor. 7. 20, 21.* *Aristotle* hath well proved absolute Dominion to be natural, and I think our Laws of Villinage are still in force; and since Slaves which were of great use, were made free, there are grown up a Rabble of Rogues and other Slaves in nature: and surely we find no such Latitude of difference in any other Creature as in man's nature, wherein (to omit the infinite distance there is in the state of elect and reprobate) the wisest excel the most foolish, by much greater degree than the foolishness of Men do surpass the wisest of Beasts: Therefore when commiseration hath given way to reason, we shall find that nature is the ground of masterly power, and of servile obedience; these things being so, we find no cause to marvel how Tyranny hath been so rise in all ages, as well in whole estates as particular persons, though the contrary way be more honourable, and more commodious, as all the ways of virtue are. If our inferiour affections have been so ill-used, how can we expect the most noble should not be disordered, as in the Government of a Wife and Children, some are so careless as by dull connivance to mar all, others by masterly rigor hold their own blood in a state of servitude; to be a good Governour is rare, and to prefer the publick good before all other respects,

is a vertue justly termed Heroick, of which the examples are rare, of this sort *Hector* is named by *Aristotle*. But if we consider that the love of the general good cannot be perfect without reference to the Fountain of all goodness, we shall find no moral vertue can deserve the Title of Heroical, therefore we must search the Scripture for the Examples of *David*, *Jehosephat*, *Josias*, &c. and of Christian Kings, if we can find one religious, &c.

§ 3. *Carthage* calls us back to proceed with her Mercenaries in arms against her, at the Siege of *Utica* and *Hippagreta*, seated on the West Haven of *Carthage*, the rest of their Forces encamped at *Tunis*. *Hanno* is sent with an Army against them from *Carthage*, whose sudden coming made them forsake their Tents to fly to a rough high ground, to avoid his 100 Elephants; but perceiving he was entered the City, they return, force his Camp with great slaughter, and took his Provision, and possessed all the passes from *Carthage*. The *Carthaginians* upon this loss send *Amilcar* with 10000 Foot and 70 Elephants more, whose passage of the Bridge of *Macra* or *Bagradas* the Mercenaries having taken by *Hanno's* oversight, *Amilcar* was forced to use the same opportunity formerly observed by him, when the Rivers mouth was stopped with Sand and Gravel, and so passed over, to the Enemies amazement who yet took heart by the coming in of 15000 men from *Utica*, besides 10000 which guarded the Bridge. This Army now far exceeds his, they watch their advantage, but with some disorder, which *Amilcar* espying, he made haste in his march as if he fled, by which he drew the Enemy to follow him confusedly, as to an assured Victory, but upon his wheeling about upon them, 6000 of them were slain, and 2000 taken. After this *Naravasus* which led 2000 *Numidian* Horse, left to the Mercenaries and went over to *Amilcar*, being moved thereto with a respect to his fame, with whose assistance *Amilcar* set upon *Spendius*, and slew 10000 of his men, and took 4000 prisoners, whom he kindly used. *Mutho*, *Spendius* and the other leaders, to prevent the defection of their men by the allurements of *Amilcar's* lenity to such, procure a general content to put *Gesco* and his Fellows to death, thereby to make them odious to *Carthage*, and decree further to kill all *Carthaginian* prisoners, which execrable fury and desperation was like the Counsel of *Achitophel*. *Utica* and *Hippagreta* now fall off from *Carthage*, and slew their Garrison. So that *Hanno* cometh with his men to joyn *Amilcar*, but the hatred between them, gave but little furtherance to the common

cause; infomuch, that by the Judgment of the Army, *Hanno* was sent home and *Hannibal* succeeded him; here is shewed, that as the command of 2 in chief is good to prevent the ambition of one, who has often proved a Tyrant over the Commonwealth, so in managing the War itself, it commonly succeeds not so well. The Mercenaries with 50000 are come near *Carthage*, but are too weak to assault or starve it, the Sea being open, by which it received succour from *Syracuse*, and *Rome* made shew of the like assistance; *Amilcar* is at their back, and keeps them in, and when they durst not leave their higher ground, for fear of *Amilcar's* Elephants and *Haravassus* Horses, *Amilcar* to prevent what despair might put them to, enclosed them with a Trench and Rampart, so while they expect aid from *Matho* at *Tunis*, famine forced them to eat their prisoners, and then one another; in this extremity they force *Spendius* and two more, to go to *Amilcar* to sue for Peace, which was granted them upon condition he should pick out any 10 of them, and the rest to depart in their Shirts. *Amilcar* chose *Spendius* and the two that were with him, and with his Army goeth to chuse the rest, which the Mercenaries thinking to be to assault them, ran to arms in confusion, and were all slain to the number of 40000. *Amilcar* proceeds to *Tunis*, in the Siege whereof *Hannibal* is taken by *Matho*, and crucified as *Spendius* had been, upon which loss *Hanno* is sent thither, upon a feigned reconciliation with *Amilcar*, who shortly after overthrew *Matho*, and ended the War that had continued 3 years and 4 months.

§. 4. *Carthage* being endanger'd by her *Sicilian* Mercenaries at home, was also troubled with her Mercenaries in *Sardinia*, who murder'd the Governor, against whom another *Hanno* was sent, with as many Mercenaries as *Carthage* could spare, who also slew *Hanno*, joyned with the first, and expelled all the *Carthaginians*: Then expecting to succeed in the Command of the Island, the Inhabitants withstood them and expelled them, neither would the *Romans* invited by them undertake it, as they likewise refused to accept *Utica*, that offered itself to them. This might have served as an example of *Roman* faith to posterity, if they had not thrust themselves into it after *Carthage* had ended her domestick Wars, and prepared for *Sardinia*, which the *Romans* pretending to be against, *Rome* itself made the ground of a quarrel to proclaim War, which forced *Carthage* in her present weakness to renounce her right in *Sardinia*.

§. 5. *Carthage* having met with her own Punick Faith and deal-

dealing at the hands of *Rome*, learned how necessary it was to make herself strong, or resolve to submit to *Rome*, and because the *Roman* jealousy forbade them to attempt any thing in the *Mediterranean Sea*, they resolve upon an expedition to *Spain*, which they commit to *Amilcar*, who in 9 years time, subdued the greatest part of that Country, and was then slain in Battel against the people who then inhabited *Portugal*; *Asdrubal* his Son-in-Law succeeded, enlarged their Dominion, and built *Carthagena* in the Kingdom of *Granada*. *Rome* grows jealous, but knows not how to ground a quarrel, having no acquaintance in *Spain*. They send to *Asdrubal*, requiring him not to pass the *Iberus*, hoping his resolute Spirit would give them a ground to work upon; but they are deceived by his appearance to conform to their will. The *Saguntines* on the South of *Iberus*, perceiving how *Carthage* gave way to *Rome*, entered into a Confederacy with her, which the *Carthaginians* now grown strong, thought to be an ill example and to their prejudice, and remembering old injuries prepare against *Saguntum*.

§. 6. *Greece* during the first Punick War after *Pyrrhus* death, had somewhat recovered her Liberties, through the dissensions in *Macedon*, which after *Pyrrhus* was established in *Antigonus*, the Son of *Demetrius*, and his issue, as *Egypt* was in the *Ptolomies*, and *Asia* and *Syria* in *Seleucus*. *Antigonus* being after *Pyrrhus* driven out by *Alexander*, the Son of *Pyrrhus*, was restored by his own Son *Demetrius*, who also expelled *Alexander* the *Epirot* out of *Epirus*. *Demetrius* also got his Father possession of the Cittadel of *Corinth*, which was the entrance by Land into the *Peloponesus*. *Demetrius* succeeded *Antigonus* in *Macedon* for 10 years, and left *Philip*, a young Son, his Uncle *Antigonus* being protector, who held it for Life, and by the dissensions of *Greece* got no less authority therein, than old *Philip* had done by the same means. The *Achaians* in his time were grown the most powerful people of *Greece*, unto whom many other Cities united themselves by the means of *Aratus* a *Sycionian*, who having freed *Sycion* from the Tyrant that held it, for fear of *Antigonus* entred into the confederacy, he also surprized the Cittadel of *Corinth*, and the *Magarenians* fell from him, and joyned with *Achaia*, as did other States; *Aratus* freed *Argos*, *Megapolis* and *Hermion* from their Tyrants, and by money won the Captains of the Garrison in *Athens* to free that City. Now also the *Achaians* were powerful; but after the ravages made in *Peloponesus*, they were glad to crave aid of *Achaia* against *Demetrius*, yet unthankfully they sought to set the *Lacedemonians*

monians against them, and drew in *Antigonus*; *Lacedemon* at that time was in a weak state, but by *Cleomenes*, one of their Kings, it was raised to such hopes, that he was so bold as to claim the principality of *Greece*. *Aratus* seeing the danger of *Achaia* from the *Lacedemonians* rising, which he knew not how to prevent, he dealt with *Antigonus*, and gave him hopes of the *Achaians* submitting to him. But it had been more honourable, if *Aratus* had ended the War, which drawing *Achaia* to yield to *Cleomenes*, seeing he had so freed his Country from further trouble, and the *Macedonians* command; but as disdain at the *Lacedemonians* rising over them, carried them to *Antigonus*, so *Aratus* that wrought it, lost his honour and life by the *Macedonians*, who might have been equal to *Cleomenes*, with whom *Ptolomy* joyned, and forsook the *Achaians*, with whom he had been in League. After this *Cleomenes* gave them such an overthrow, that they sue for Peace, which was willingly granted them upon fair conditions; That the *Lacedemonians* should head in the Wars, and should restore all places and persons that had been taken. *Aratus* opposed this as much as he could, so that *Cleomenes* went on with his War, and many Cities became subject to him, whereupon *Aratus* hasteneth *Antigonus*, who promises help, if he may be put in possession of the Cittadel of *Corinth*, which *Aratus* promised, and sent his Son for an Hostage. The *Corinthians* importune *Cleomenes* to prevent this, which he sought to do by all fair offers to *Aratus*, which he rejected, and surrounded it with Trenches, but all in vain; for upon the danger of losing *Argos*, *Cleomenes* went to rescue his Garrison there, and in the mean time *Corinth* yeilded to *Antigonus*, who following *Cleomenes*, disappointed him at *Argos* also, and after took in many other places, so that *Sparta* shortly lost all to *Antigonus*, whom *Aratus* honoured even as a God, offering sacrifices to him at his being at *Sycion*, which examples the other Cities of *Achaia* followed: for though *Cleomenes* performed many brave services, and put many affronts upon *Antigonus*, yet at length in a Battle at *Silesia* he was overthrown, all his Forces broken, and himself returned to *Sparta*, perswaded the little remainder of them to yeild to *Antigonus*, and so departed from them embarking for *Egypt*, where *Ptolomy Evergetes* lovingly entertained him. Thus ended the Glory of *Lacedemon*, which, as a light ready to go out, had with a great, but not long blaze, shined more brightly of late, than in some ages past. And *Cleomenes*, a generous Prince, but the Son of *Leonidas*, who had wretchedly brought worth

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thy King *Agis* his Fellow, with his Mother and Grand-mother unto a bloody end, slew himself in *Egypt*, and his own Wife, Son and Grand-children, were murdered by this vicious young Prince *Ptolomy Philopater*. *Antigonus* after this entred *Sparta*, whereunto the force of an enemy could never make way before; he kindly entreated the Citizens, and left them to their own Laws, but he could not hinder the *Illyrians* from wasting *Macedon*, whom he overcame, but by straining a vein died shortly after. *Philip* the Son of *Demetrius* a Boy succeeded in *Macedon*, as did *Antiochus* the Great in *Asia*, and *Ptolomy Philopater* in *Egypt*, who was also young.

§. 7. *Rome* subdued *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, and the *Illyrians*, while *Carthage* is conquering *Spain*. The *Illyrians* inhabited the Country now called *Slavonia*, whom *Demetrius* King of *Macedon* hired to rescue the *Mydionians*, so distressed by the *Atolians*, that they dispute about dividing the Booty before the Town is won, as did the *French* at *Poitiers*, and *Agin-Courte*; but the *Illyrians* ended the controversy, slew many, took more, and divided their Baggage. The *Illyrians* growing proud of worsting the stoutest of the *Greeks*, *Tenta* their Queen gave them liberty to rob at Sea whom they could, Friend or Foe, and sent an Army by Sea and Land, which invaded *Epirus*, and took *Phenice*, by the treachery of 800 *Gauls* in Garrison there, who were driven out of *Sicily* by the *Romans*, for like treachery. While they lye there, they made Prize of many *Italian* Merchants, and being called back took a ransom of the *Epirots* for the Town and Prisoners, and returned home. *Rome* sent to *Tenta*, requiring satisfaction for the *Italian* Merchants, but she refused, and answered, *Kings use not to forbid their Subjects to get what they can*; and when one of the *Roman* Ambassadors replied, that their manner was to revenge such private Injuries, and would teach her to reform her Kingly manners, without any regard had to the Laws of Nations, she slew him. The *Romans* to revenge this injury, sent an Army by Sea, and another by Land against her. Touching the Law of Nations concerning Ambassadors, it seems grounded on this, that seeing without Mediation there would never be an end of War, it was thought of equal benefit to all Nations, even by the light of Nature, that Ambassadors should pass safely between Enemies; yet if any State lay hands upon their Enemies Ambassador not sent to them, but to solicit a third Nation against them, or should practice against the person of the Prince to whom

whom he was sent, this Law would fail him. *Tentac* sends out a great Fleet commanded by *Demetrius Pharus*, of which part took *Corcyra*, an Island in the *Adriatick* Sea, and the other belleged *Dyrrachium*: Then the Queen called home *Demetrius*, I know not why; who for fear of her chose rather to yield *Corcyra* to the *Roman* Consul, and also the *Illyrian* Garrison, and went with him to *Apollonia* not far off, which *Pintus* calls *Sissopolis*, where the other Consul with Land forces meets them, and went to *Dyrrachium*, and raised the Siege; from thence they enter *Illyrium*, and force the Queen to fly to *Rizon*, prosecute the War, force her to sue for Peace, to quit the better part of *Illyrium*, which they commit to *Demetrius*, and to pay Tribute for the rest to *Rome*.

§ 8. *Rome* took the next arms against the *Gauls* in *Lumbardy*, a fierce unadvised people, more than Men at the first onset, but less then Women after, by whom *Italy* had many alarms but few Wars, especially when *Rome* had to do with other great enemies, as *Pyrrhus* or *Carthage*, when they might have put her hard to it. The *Romans*, 3 years before *Pyrrhus*, had set upon the *Gauls* at home upon a Slaughter, which the *Senones* a tribe of the *Gauls*, had made of *Lucius Cecilius* and his Army at *Aretium* in *Hetruria*, and had expelled the *Senones*, and placed a Colony of *Romans* in their room. This made all the Tribes of the *Gauls*, with those which dwell on both sides of the *Alps*, to enter into a league with them, to prevent their own expulsion. The *Boii*, the *Isabrians* Inhabiting the Dutchy of *Millan*, &c. who also hired the *Gessates* on the *Rhone*, and made an Army of 50000 Foot and 20000 Horse, all choice Men, besides the *Seno Galli* before expelled. The *Cenomanes* and *Venetians* adhere to *Rome*, which upon that occasion caused a review of all their own and Allies Forces to be made, set down by *Polybius*, where may be seen the power of *Rome* in those days, 700000 Foot and 70000 Horse, but all heads are not fit for Helmers. The one Consul with his part of the Army, which was 4 Legions, and 30000 Foot of the Allies, and 2000 Horse, met them in *Tuscany*, where by a plain Stratagem of a feigned flight the *Gauls* slew 6000 of the *Romans*, but upon the coming of *Lucius Aemilius*, the other Consul, they resolve upon a Retreat; This had been good before the enemy had been in sight, but extreme dangerous at the head of the Enemy, and all in fear, as the *French* found it at *Naples*, and the *Gauls* now, who being followed by one Consul and met by another, are beaten, and lost 40000 men, with their Courage; and

and e're long all they had in *Italy*: Thus the *Romans* spent the 23 years Peace with *Carthage*.

C H A P. III.

Of the Second Punick War.

§. 1. *Hannibal* about 26 years old being chosen General of all the *Carthaginian* forces in *Spain*, is envied by *Hanno* and his accomplices, who were neither able to tax the virtue of their enemies, nor commend themselves by any service to the Commonwealth, except in dissuading her from War, and advising her not to provoke the *Romans*: But the Senate and People, who knew the *Roman* Oaths were no security to *Carthage*, unless she would become their subject, did the more highly esteem *Hannibal*, as they did *Amilcar* his Father, who had saved them; knowing therefore the Peace continued but till *Rome* could find an advantage, they wished the beginning of the War rather while their estate was in a good condition, than to stay till being fallen into distress the enemy should begin it. *Hannibal*, who well understood this, as also the advantage there was in getting the start, thought upon it long before they could have any intimation of his purpose; which could not be hid if it were publickly to be handled, besides the hinderance there would be by slow and timorous proceedings therein; before therefore he would provoke the *Romans* by attempting *Saguntum*, he wisely ended the conquest of all that lay between, as the *Olcades* near *Tagus*, and *Vaccaei* in *Old Castile*, where they took *Salmantica* and *Arbucala*. But the Spring following, all that had escaped joyned with the *Toletans*, to the number of 100000 able men, stopped *Hannibal* on the banks of the *Tage*, which runs by *Lisbonne*, supposing his accustomed Courage would now neglect discretion, as he seemed to do at other times. But he that is a Crystal for every eye to see through, makes himself an ass for every man to ride on or drive; whereas wise and honest men, in that which is just and virtuous, are like Coffers with double bottoms, which appear not all at once. Before he was General he was of all the most venturous, but it doth not always become a General, and therefore he now dissimulates Courage, and retreats from the River, as fearing

to foord it, thereby to draw his Enemies unto it; but, when he saw them thrusting themselves disorderly into the swift stream, he returned with his Elephants to entertain them at their Landing, and pressing in with his Horse above and below upon them, made a great Slaughter, which amaz'd the *Spaniards* on that side of the River *Iberus*. The *Saguntines* hereupon post their Ambassadors to *Rome*, which proceedings *Rome* likes, and thereupon deliberates, sending Ambassadors to and fro, while *Hannibal* prepares, and found out also a pretence like unto that the *Romans* made with the *Mameritines*, for the *Turdetanes* wronged by the *Saguntines*, implored his help. The *Romans* were as glad of the quarrel, but were not yet ready; and therefore temporize, till they could raise an Army, to remove the Seat of the War to *Saguntum*. In the mean time *Demetrius Pharus*, whom the *Romans* had made King of *Illyrium* rebelled, against whom *Æmilius* was sent; but before his landing in *Illyria*, *Hannibal* set down before *Saguntum*, where in a Sally made by the Citizens, he was dangerously wounded, but before it was long he put them all to the Sword. Many shut themselves in their Houses, and then fired them. See the like Chap. 4. §. 8. *Rome* storms at the News, and will be revenged; she sends to *Carthage*, to know whether *Hannibal* has their leave for it, which question *Carthage* calls insolent, and gives them an impertinent answer, forgetting, as *Polybius* thinks, to charge *Rome* with breach of Oath, in taking *Saxdinia* from them; but at last both sides resolve upon a War, as being that which both desire: This is plain dealing, and no wrangling about breach of Covenants, which they only stand upon, that are unwilling to fight; for Kings understand the obligation of a Treaty, by their own advantage, and commonly the best advised begin with the Sword, and then with the Trumpet, as the *Arraganois* did with the *French* in *Naples*, and *Phillip 2d* of *Spain* with *England*, by taking all our Ships in his Ports. *Hannibal*, besides the forwardness of *Carthage*, had also been sworn by his Father to pursue *Rome* with immortal hatred, while but 9 years old; and I doubt not, but some Kings now at peace with us, were charged by their Predecessors to declare themselves our Enemies, when their Coffers were full.

§. 2. *Hannibal* upon this resolves to visit *Rome*, trusting in the mean time *Asdrubal* his Brother, with the Government of *Spain*, and sends as many Troops of *Spaniards* into *Africk*, as there were *Africans* in *Spain*, to be pledges each Nation for other, even 13850 Foot, and 1200 Horse, with 4000 young Gentlemen of quality out of the best Cities, to be garrisoned

in *Carthage*, and with his Brother he left 57 Gallies, Twelve Thousand *Africans*, and other Strangers, besides 2000 Horse, and 21 Elephants. Then he sends to the Inhabitants of the *Pyrenean Hills* and *Gauls*, to have a quiet passage and Guides, and in the Spring passeth over *Iberus* with 90000 Foot and 12000 Horse, with which he conquer'd *Spain* on the East of that River, and left one *Hanno* with 10000 Foot and 1000 Horse to govern it. At the borders he dismissed the *Spaniards* that desired it, and so with 50000 Foot and 9000 Horse he entred *Gaul*, and by fair words presently passed to the *Rhone*, where the *Vivarets* to berid of them gave way, and directed him; yet he was put to some trouble on the other side, and in passing over his Elephants on rafts of Trees covered with Turf and towed over. Then the *Gauls*, *Cisalpine* in *Piedmont* and *Milan*, lately revolted from *Rome* came to *Hannibal*, and furnished him Guides over the *Alps*, yet was he exceedingly molested by the *Savoyards*, and put to the loss both of his Carriages and the Men, besides 15 days tedious march over the mountains in the beginning of winter.

§. 3. The *Cisalpine Gauls* before *Hannibal's* coming had revolted from *Rome*, and besieged the *Roman* Commissioners in *Modena*, when they could not force *Cremona* and *Placentia*, two *Roman* Colonies; but seeming weary, and desirous of Peace, *Rome* sends Ambassadors to them, whom they detain: *Manlius* the Prætor, who lay in those parts with an Army, coming to relieve the besieged, is overthrown by the *Gauls*, by the means of an ambush laid by them in a Wood, and *Artilius* his fellow Prætor, sent with another supply, is beaten, &c. *Rome*, not dreaming that the *Carthaginians*, after so many indignities slavishly endured, would grow so brave as to look into *Italy*, had sent *Cornelius Scipio*, one of the Consuls, with an Army into *Spain*, hoping to find *Hannibal* there; but he hearing at *Massilia* that *Hannibal* was past over the *Rhone*, sent his Brother *Curius Cornelius Scipio* with the greatest part of the forces to *Spain* to try *Asdrubal*, and himself with some choice bands hastened after *Hannibal* by Sea to *Pisa*, and so to *Lombardy*, where he gathered the broken Troops of the beaten Prætor.

§. 4. *Hannibal*, after 5 months tedious march, having passed the *Alps*, hath but 20000 Foot and 600 Horse left of those he mustered on the *Rhone*, as the monument he raised in *Juno's* Temple witnesseth; besides the *Gauls*, *Ligurians*, &c. that lately all joyned him. In *Piemont* he forced the City *Turin*, which had refused his Friendship, which drew many

Gauls and others to joyn him, and disposed others to it, which yet held off, upon hearing of the Consul *Scipio's* coming. This wavering made both Generals to hasten the Tryal; *Ticinum* was the place where they exhort their Armies to fight, and where *Hannibal* set before him the desperate fight of his *Savoian* Captives, that he had used so miserably, that he which was slain by his Fellow thought he sped well, tho he which overcome had liberty, with an Horse and Money. This he shewed his Soldiers was their case, whose life without Victory, would be a bondage worse than death; but which Victory would be well rewarded. *Scipio* encouraged his Army, by the Victories of their Ancestors even over the *Carthaginians*; that these were but a Troop of Rebels, feeble by hard Travel and many wants. In the Battel *Scipio* was dangerously wounded, and had been left on the place, if his Son (after surnamed *Africannus*) had not brought him off. The Consul seeing his Horsemen beaten, and the rest discouraged, made his retreat to *Placentia*. *Hannibal* after 2 days got over *Ticinum* and presented himself before *Placentia*, but no man lookt out; whereupon the Consuls *Gauls* fell off from him to *Hannibal*, who sent them home with kind usage, the better to perswade their Nation to confederate with him, the Consul steals away in the night, but had been overtaken by the *Numidian* Horsemen, if they had not stayed to rifle his Camp, while he recovered the Banks of the *Trebia*, where he fortified himself, expecting his Fellow Consul to come up. The *Gauls* fall off daily to *Hannibal*, who is in want of Victuals, but relieved himself by taking *Clastidium*, in which all the *Roman* Store and Ammunition lay, which was betrayed to him. *Rome* hearing of these disasters, will revenge it by *Sempronius* the other Consul, with his Army at *Arminium*, which being brought to *Trebia*, where *Scipio* lay ill of his wound, *Sempronius* will have the honour of the day, before the other recovers, or his own office almost out, does expire, neither can he be diswaded from it; *Hannibal* by the *Gauls* in their Camp understanding this, put his Brother *Mago* in an Ambush in a low place, overgrown with Reeds, and pressing the enemy in the rear, while the other charged them in the front and flank, 26000 of the *Romans* were slain. *Sempronius* erred first in fighting in a Champion Country, to the advantage of *Hannibal's* Elephants. (2.) In not discovering the ground. (3.) In leading his weary hungry men thro the River immediately to fight with fresh and well fed men.

§. 5. Winter is welcome to the beaten *Romans*, who kent themselves warm in *Cremona* and *Placentia*, whom yet *Annibal* kept waking, &c. The *Ligurians* joyn with *Hannibal*, and put into his hand 2 *Roman* Quarters or Treasures: 2 Collonels, and 5 Senators Sons, of which he kept the *Romans* in miserable bondage, but sent home their followers. Having wearied those *Gauls* where he wintered, when the year was well advanced, he passed the *Apenine* Mountains with such difficulty, that he chose to make through the Fenns, in which he lost his Elephants, and the use of one eye by the severity of his march, and so came to *Arctum*, where wasting all the Country about, he set it on Fire under the Nose of *Flaminius* the Consul, and hot headed popular Orator, he who intending to quench it with *Carthaginian* Blood, fell unadvisedly into *Hannibal's* Trap, between *Cortona* and the lake of *Thrasimene*, where he and 15000 of the *Romans* were slain, and 6000 escaped to the Mountains, where being espy'd they stayed not, but yet were overtaken by *Maherbal*, to whom they yielded upon promise of liberty, which conditions *Hannibal* would not allow, being made without him; a trick learned of the *Romans* to break Covenants. Now he had Fifteen Thousand *Italian* Prisoners; of which the *Romans* he kept to hard meat, but freed the rest, in hopes to gain the *Italians* to his party, but an ancient reputation is not so soon lost. *Servilius* the other Consul, not knowing what was done, sent *Centronius* with 4000 men to reinforce the Army, but *Maherbal* interrupted them; slew half, and the rest yielded. The news thereof made *Servilius* hasten to the defence of *Rome*: thus we discern the Fruits of popular jealousy, in changing the Commanders in War yearly, which both endangered and retardeth the growth of the Empire, for the best wit in the World cannot inform itself, in the Compass of one year, of all the good helps requisite to the prosecution of a War, to the best advantage, as *Cesar* did in *Gaul* by 10 years continuance. Our *Irish* Deputies, though continuing 3 years, yet come home commonly as wise as they went, the best are called home when they begin to learn, and new apprentices succeed, to the prejudice of both Kingdoms.

§. 6. *Rome* amazed at this success, and danger likely to follow, fly to an old Remedy long out of use, and create a Dictator, whose Office was above a Consul, and scarcely subject to any controul; the people, as having Supreme Authority, chose *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, the best Soldier in the City, who chose *M. Minutius Rufus* Master of the

Horse, to be his Lieutenant. *Fabius* began with reformation in Religion, a commendable beginning, if the Religion had been good. The *Sybill's* Books were consulted, which directed vows to *Mars*, a Sacrifice to *Jupiter*, and a Temple to *Venus*, &c. which Trumperies prove the books written by an ill Spirit. *Fabius* set out with 4 Legions, and received *Servilius* Army, and sent him to Sea, to pursue a *Carthaginian* Fleet, which had interrupted the supply sent to *Scipio* in Spain. *Hannibal* in the mean time refreshed his men, armed his African Soldiers after the Roman manner, and so coasted towards *Apulia*, not staying to take any City by a long Siege, which breaks the force of a great Army; but seeking to weaken the Roman reputation, desired to be master of the Field, which would soon open the City gates to him, therefore he presented *Fabius* with Battle as soon as he saw him, but he would not bite, knowing the difference between old victorious Soldiers and Novices, whom he would acquaint with dangers by degrees, and to look on the Lion afar off, before they would set foot on his Tail. *Minutius* had a contrary disposition, being fiery like *Flaminius*, and taxing *Fabius* with Cowardize; but that moved not this well advised Commander, who knew the danger of pursuing misfortune, which wasteth itself by suffering sooner than by opposition. It is the invading Army that desires battel, and *Hannibal's* was also Victorious; therefore *Fabius* suffered him to fall in the rich Territory of *Campania*, himself keeping the Hills, being weaker in Horse; but winter drawing on, *Hannibal* cannot stay in that wasted Country, and could not get into a fresh one, but must pass by the Dictator, who presumed that he now had him fast; but was deceived, for *Hannibal* in a dark night tying Faggots to the horns of 2000 Kine, and setting them on Fire, drives them over the Hills, which terrible sight caused *Fabius* to keep within his Trenches, as fearing to be circumvented. So *Hannibal* passed by, *Fabius* is called home about some matters of Religion, and left the Army with *Minutius*, yet with peremptory charge not to fight; but *Minutius* finding the Army of his own mind, resolved to Fight, tho' it were death to transgress the Dictators Command. His success in the encounter was good, having taken such advantage, that he dared *Hannibal* in his Camp, and came off with the better. The Army applauds *Minutius*, but the people of *Rome* more, and by the motion of *Metellus*, a Tribune, seconded by *Terentius Varro*, a popular Fellow, and enemy to the nobility, who had been Prætor the last year, *Minutius* is joyned in equal authority with *Fabius*. When they

they met, *Fabius* divided the Army with *Minutius* by Lot, which the other liked not so well, as commanding the whole by turns, but took his Lot, and encamped a mile and half from the Dictator, being desirous to have occasion to fight, as *Fabius* was to the contrary; *Hannibal* intended to try *Minutius* courage the next day, and in the night laid an ambush of Horse and Foot in some large caves in the Valley, and early in the morning gave *Minutius* the like opportunity as before, which he gladly took, but sped worse, and had lost all if *Fabius* had not come to rescue him.

§. 7. *Fabius* is commended by the principal Citizens, but the inferior sort cry out against his cold protracting of the War, and doing nothing all his year. *Terentius Varro* took advantage to put in for the Consulship, which far exceeded his own worth, without the favour of the multitude, who supply all his wants, especially having *Bibulus Herrennius* a kinsman, and Tribune of the people on his side, who by his place might speak what he listed to farther him. This bold Orator inveighed against the Nobility, as the cause which drew *Hannibal* into Italy, who now could not be expelled without a Plebeian Consul. The Fathers labour to hinder this, first by the choice of a Dictator, which took not, and by an Interregnum, which was a Government of 10 of the Fathers for 5 days, wherein the heat of the multitude might be allayed, and all begin again but after the 5 days, no other but *Terentius* will be heard of, so that to bridle this violent hot headed Fellow, *Lucius Paulus Æmilius*, a worthy honourable person, is chosen for the second Consul, and then a great Levy was made, which made the Army under the Consuls 80000 Foot, and 6000 Horse. While this preparation and other business are ordering at *Rome*, *Hannibal* who wintered at *Gerion* in *Apulia*, won the Castle of *Canne*, where much of the Roman Provision lay; but *Servilius* the old Consul must do nothing till the new come. At their departing *Fabius* gravely exhorted *Æmilius*, not only to play the man against the *Carthaginians*, but also in bridling the rashness of his Colleague, who answered, he would do his best for his Country; but would rather fall upon the enemies Sword, than the Citizens malice.

§. 8. *Æmilius* with his Colleague being come to the Camp, began with an Oration to encourage the Soldiers, by a consideration of their old Victories against the *Carthaginians*, yea Nations more hardy, the present great number even all that *Rome* could make, that *Hannibal's* success was by slight, not valour, and how destitute he was of the help they had.

They apprehend all this, and the comfort of following such a leader as they knew him to be, but mistook him; as if they should lose the patience of waiting for a convenient season, and only presume upon their advantage: But indeed there was one inconveniency, than which few are more dangerous, which they consider'd not, dissention between their chief Commanders; while *Varro* upbraided *Amilius* advice to wait for such an opportunity, to favour too much of *Quintus Fabius*, and *Varro's* haste by *Amilius* is compared to *Flaminius*. *Varro* in his day of command removed into the plains close by *Hannibal*: *Amilius* the next day entrencheth and will not stir, and sent part of the Army to the East of the River, *Aufidius* entrenching them. Here *Livy's* different relation from *Polybius* is probably disproved; the ranging of both Armies described, with *Hannibal's* brave Oration to his Soldiers, and answer to *Mago* his Brother, and the commendation of excelling even himself that day, in the perfection of Military skill and greatness of Spirit. The want of skill in *Varro*, and his obstinate resolution against his Fellow Consuls prudent Counsel was great in suffering the Roman Army to be drawn along by *Hannibal*, to fight in a place for the Enemies most advantage for his Horse, and in ranging his Army in a form, good against Elephants, which the enemy had not, but unprofitable against Horse, in which the enemy had the odds. The Battel was began by *Asdrubal* falling upon *Amilius*, whose Roman Gentlemen were overmatched in number, and Horsemanship of the boisterous *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, who forced them to recoyl, so that *Amilius* put himself on Foot among the Legions, while *Asdrubal* pursued and slew almost all his broken Troops; The Consul *Amilius* being forced to leave his Horse through the danger, in a Troop of Roman Gentlemen rid about him which rescued him, and did also alight with him, to help their distressed Foot, which *Hannibal* esteemed a yielding; *Terentius Varro* his Colleague in the left wing is troubled with *Hanno* or *Maherbal*, when 500 Numidian Horse came in and cast down their Arms in token of yielding, whom he willed to stay behind the Army till all were done; but these crafty Adventurers armed under their Jackets with short Swords, observing their time fell on the hindmost of the Romans to their great terrour, which *Asdrubal* having slain, the Roman Troops highly increased, and joyn- ing with these Numidians, forced *Terentius* to trust to his heels. The Numidian light Horsemen pursue him, while *Asdrubal* with the *Gauls* and *Spanish* Horse fall on the rear of the Roman Foot disordered by *Hannibal*, who had envi-
roned

roned them on three sides; thus being as it were surrounded, a horrible slaughter was made of them, wherein it is probable *Amilius* died, and not that he got out, wounded as *Livy* reports, he was found by *Lentulus* in this flight, offering him his Horse; all the Roman Army except 4000 Horse and 200 Foot fell in this Slaughter with *Amilius*, as for *Terentius* he escaped to *Venusia* with 70 of his Company at most, and about 2000 became prisoners to the Numidians. The Roman Camps were a while defended; but in the end yielded, 8000 of which became prisoners, tho *Livy* tells us but of 3000 Foot and 200 Horse taken; *Hannibal* lost but 5500 Foot and 200 Horse, and had he pursued his Victory as *Maherbal* persuaded him, and forthwith marched to Rome, it is not doubted but the War had ended, as he was told he knew how to get, but not to use a Victory.

§. 9. *Hannibal* having plundered the Roman Camp made head towards *Samium*, where many Towns seemed to favour *Carthage*, of which *Cossa* opened her Gates to him, where he laid up his Baggage, and left *Mago* to take in other places, while himself halted into *Campania*, whereas in all the Cities of Italy, so especially there, the multitude generally affected him, for his sending home all their Citizens whom he had taken with much kindness; this fruitful Country of *Campania*, and *Capua* the head of it, had a purpose to open to him in *Fabius* the Dictators days, if his nearness had not hindered it, which after the Victory at *Canne* was taken away; yet having 300 principal Gentlemen serving in *Sicily* under the Romans, whom they desire to recover before they fell off, they send Ambassadors to the Consul *Terentius* to sound him, and formally offering their service; but he little bemoaning the Roman misfortune, who had lost all, said, *Campania must now not help Rome only, but also make good the War against the Carthaginians*. The *Campanians* hearing this from one of their Ambassadors, presently made a League with *Hannibal*, only *Decius Magius* opposed it at *Capua*, whither *Hannibal* came and condemned him as a Traytor; but to prevent the Envy of his Execution sent him to *Carthage*; other Towns depending upon this, ran the same course, tho the next Cities, as *Nola*, *Nucera*, *Naples*, &c. stood out for Rome, which yet was at this time in extream fear of *Hannibal's* coming; so that *Terentius* was called home to name a Dictator; at his coming it was wisely done to give him a kind welcome to cover their fear, and prevent the lamentation of the multitude, which would have bred contempt of the Governours; and this did not proceed out of greatness of Spirit, as *Livy* would

would have it, *Marcus Junius* is named Dictator, and *Titus Sempronius* is General of the Horse; who presently raised 4 Legions and 1000 Horse with much difficulty, being forced to press Boys for it. To these were added 8000 sturdy Slaves, encouraged with a promise of Liberty upon deserts, men also in debt, and others in danger of death for Capital offences are free, if they will serve in this War. To arm these they took down the spoils of Enemies, heretofore hung in their Temples and Porches. About this time 10 Agents sent by the Prisoners, to treat with the Senate about their redemption came to them, with *Carthala* sent by *Hannibal* to sound their disposition to a Peace, whom they will not see, neither will they redeem the Prisoners, pretending their folly in not escaping by flight as others did; but their want was the true cause, for when such as escaped came, they condemned them to serve in *Sicily* till the War ended, because they had fled. The Dictator takes the Field with 25000 men, with whom he spent his time in *Campania*, I know not how, while *Hannibal* made many idle journeys between *Nola* and *Naples*, of which *Nola* was necessitated to call for *Marcellus* a Prætor with his Legion to hinder the multitude from opening the gates to *Hannibal*; failing thus of *Nola* he got *Nucera* by composition, and returning to *Nola*, knowing the affection of the multitude, he sought to draw *Marcellus* out; but was over-reached by him; after this, hearing the Dictator was about *Casiline* he went to seek him, as not liking him so near *Capua*, where he intended to winter: There he attempted *Casiline*, and won it by a Composition, and upon the Inhabitants departure put in 700 *Carthaginians* for the defence of the *Campanians*, and went to winter at *Capua*.

§. 10. *Mago* the Son of *Amilcar* is sent to *Carthage*, to give an account of *Hannibal's* proceedings and Victories, and to demand supplies, which *Hanno* his old enemy hindred all he could, yet it was agreed to send him 40000 *Numidians*, 40 Elephants, and a great store of Silver, and in *Spain* to levy 20000 Foot and 4000 Horse, which aid was not so well performed, for only the Elephants and some money perhaps was sent, &c. So *Asdrubal's* journey out of *Spain* into *Italy* was much talked of, but not performed till many years after, when *Rome* had recovered: So *Hanno's* plotting to remove the War out of *Italy* into *Spain*, to force *Emporia*, and to expel the Romans, was but to oppose *Hannibal*, in retarding the supply agreed upon, to which the sparing *Carthaginians* were easily persuaded, but repented it too late, as not seeing now that the

the Estate of *Carthage* and *Spain* lay upon the success of *Italy*.

§. 11. The Roman Victories in *Spain* by *Scipio* against *Asdrubal*, as reported by Roman Historians, prove not probable, nor the doings of the *Scipio's* there, which are briefly run over; among other arguments of improbability, that *Scipio* vanquished *Asdrubal*, is that objection of *Fabius* cited and unanswered by *Livy*. If *Asdrubal* were vanquished, how could he invade *Italy* with above 60000 men? In running over the particular actions of the *Scipio's* in *Spain*, I will not insist upon any, whereof there is no great certainty, nor rehearse many, whereof I can believe so few. After *Cn. Scipio* had done wonders by Sea and Land, and taken in 120 States, and drove *Asdrubal* into a corner to hide himself, and that the *Celtiberians* had slain 15000, and taken 4000 men, *Publius Scipio* came with a supply to help his Brother; these beat *Asdrubal* again by Sea and Land, so that he is forced to write to *Carthage* for succours; but without any he is commanded to lead his Army forthwith into *Italy*, which journey he prepared for by laying a great imposition upon the *Spaniards*, and thereby gathered much Treasure; but he cannot pass so, for at *Iberia* the Romans beat him, take and pillage his Camp, and upon this event all *Spain* falls from him, so that he hath small hopes of safety in *Spain*, and much less of marching into *Italy*. Of these exploits advice is sent to *Rome*, and Letters to the Senate, that they have neither money, apparel, nor bread for Fleet or Army, so for want they must leave the Province; these contents of the Letters suit not well with the advertisements of such exploits, and came unseasonable to *Rome*, scarce able to help it self at home, yet forsooth they are supplied, and again beat *Asdrubal* twice, tho he had 60000 men with him, and with 16000 slew 46000 of them; and *Livy* says, the next year, tho all *Spain* had been twice gotten from the *Carthaginians*, and they had lost so many thousands with their treasure, yet *Asdrubal* is able to pursue *Publius Scipio*, and sit down by him at *Mons Victoria*, but after moves to *Illyturgis*, which he besieged, but is again beaten by *Cn. Scipio*, who with one Legion of 5000 men, enters the Town and slew the next day 12000, so he raised the next Siege at *Bigara*, and the third at *Mundi*, where he slew 12000 *Carthaginians* more, and took 3000 prisoners, and at *Auringes* slew 8000. After this the Romans win *Saguntum* and destroy the *Turditanes*, which argueth the *Carthaginians* were too weak to disturb them; or rather the Romans took it by surprize; for as the many Sieges

Sieges made by the *Carthaginians*, argue them to be masters of the field, so does the *Romans* consuming a whole year after in gaining the *Celtiberians*, and that by an express condition of a great sum of Money, to War against the *Carthaginians*, yet if we will believe it, the *Celtiberians*, had some years before given hostages to *Scipio*: With this reinforcement of 30000 *Celtiberians*, the two *Scipio's* seek the so often beaten *Carthaginians* (if all former reports were true) not far off, nor so broken, having 3 Armies led by *Asdrubal*, the Son of *Amilcar*, *Mago*, and *Asdrubal*, the Son of *Gesco*. *Cn. Scipio* undertakes the first, and *Publius Scipio* makes haste to the other 2, being 5 days march off, lest they should run away upon the rumour of their fellows overthrow. But *Publius Scipio*, with two parts of the *Roman Army* is met with and forced to keep his Trenches, and yet being not safe in them, steals out by night, leaving *T. Fonteius* his Lieutenant with a few Souldiers to keep his Camp, while he hoped to intercept 27000 *Sweetanes*, but being pursued by the *Numidian Horse* he was slain. His Brother 29 days after meeting with *Asdrubal*, is forsaken of the *Celtiberian Mercenaries*, after a violent flight, in which he is overtaken, and lost his life, some few of his men escaping to *T. Fonteius*, if it may be believ'd, considering the plainness of that Country. After this, *Lucius Martius*, a *Roman Gentleman*, gathers the scattered Souldiers, and drawing some companies out of Garrisons, made up a pretty Army, with which he wrought wonders, by the report of *Valerius Antius*. *Martius* magnifies his services, by giving advicethereof to *Rome*, and styles himself Pro-prætor, at which the Senate is offended, and send *Claudius Nero* with 12000 Foot and 1100 Horse thither, where he found almost all their *Spanish Friends* fallen off; but we must believe that he boldly advanced towards *Asdrubal*, the Brother of *Hannibal*, and took him in such a streight, as that he offered to quit *Spain*, if he might quietly retire; yet was he called home, and *Publius* the Son of *Publius Scipio*, was sent Proconsul into *Spain*. This *Publius Scipio* was a man of a goodly presence, and of singular virtues, especially as to temperance, continency, bounty, and all excellencies which procure love: To pass over the stories related of this man by Historians, if that one were true, that in all *Rome* no man was found which durst desire the place, till this *Publius Cornelius Scipio*, but 24 year old, stood up, then were not the wonders reported of *Lucius Martius* like to be true. This Pro-consul with *Junius Sillanus* Pro-prætor, land at *Emporia* with 10000 Foot and 1000 Horse, and march to *Tarracona*, and as winter was ended,

ended, attempted *New Carthage*, which he surprized, and therein many hostages of *Spain*, which he kindly sent home, and so drew many to be his Friends. Yet *Asdrubal* stayed not his journey to his Brother in *Italy*, leaving *Mago* and the other *Asdrubal* in *Spain*. The *Roman History* tells us, that *Scipio* beat him into *Italy*, with many incoherent relations of *Spanish Affairs*.

§. 12. *Hannibal*, as we heard, after the Battle of *Canna*, wintered at *Capua*, not attempting *Rome*, as doubting if he did, he should not carry it without a long Siege; but should be forced for want of Victuals to raise it, which might dishearten his men, and the States of *Italy* that had joined to him. His expected supplies from *Carthage* came all but to a few Elephants, with some excuse for the rest, especially for want of a fit Haven to land in, yet he took the Field, designing to gain some good Sea Port, to which end he sent *Hanno* to the *Lucans*, with ill success, for he lost 2000 men. *Hamilco* was sent to the *Locrians*, and being assisted with the *Brutians* won *Patilia* by force, and *Consentia*; *Croton* was left then, and *Locri* yielded, but *Rhegium* held out. *Rome* at this time was brought so low, that when the Messengers from *Petilia* upon their knees begged succours, the Senate bid them to provide for their own safety. At the same time the Prætor *Posthumus Albinus* with 25000 men was cut in pieces by the *Gauls* in a Wood through which they must pass, whole Trees before their coming were so cunningly sawed that a little force would throw them down, the *Gauls* about the Wood begin their work, one Tree casting down another, they overwhelmed the *Romans*. About the same time *Philip King of Macedon* made a league with *Hannibal*, of mutual and personal assistance, the one in the conquest of *Italy* for the *Carthaginians*, the other of *Greece* for *Philip*; but a pre-disposing of Kingdoms is justly controuled by the divine providence. The *Romans* hearing of this league, sent *Marcus Valerius* the Prætor to employ *Philip* in *Greece*, as not to give him leisure to visit *Italy*, which he so well effected, by stirring up the *Ætolians*, who were old enemies to *Macedon*, that he was chosen Consul at *Rome*, and *Sulpitius* sent in his stead. *Philip* being thus incumbered in *Greece*, and seeing *Carthage* was careless of aiding him with a Fleet, which he wanted, after he had forced the *Ætolians* to submit he listened to the *Romans*, who desired his friendship, which he esteemed much, to his honour.

§. 13. The *Carthaginians* undertaking so many enterprizes at once, and following them by halves was an error, but their

their neglect of supplying *Hannibal*, when he had as great opportunities as a Conqueror could desire, argued his enemies at home durst not trust him with the power which might injure themselves: *Hannibal* is therefore forced by necessity to feed his *Italian* friends with hopes, trifling about *Nola*, *Naples* and *Cume*; about which latter place *Gracchus* the Consul over-reached the Magistrates of *Capua*, who had plotted to take the Senators of *Canna* prisoners at a Sacrifice, but were themselves surprized by *Gracchus* who slew about 20000, and 1400 of *Hannibal's* men at this Siege of *Cume*. *Hannibal*, not able to make good all his Garrisoned Towns, and continue strong in Field, was driven to pass from place to place, waiting occasions till his supply came: In the mean time *Hanno* in his march against *Beneventum* with 17000 Foot and 1200 Horse, is met by the Consul *Gracchus* with an Army consisting mostly of Slaves, who upon promise of Manumission fought so valiantly, that they forced *Hanno* to fly but with 2000. Thus *Rome* began to repair her breach made at *Cume*, yet her Treasury was empty, for all the fruits her ground could yield was hardly able to feed the Towns and Armies. Now also *Asdrubal* is expected out of *Spain*, *Macedon* is feared, which mortal dangers cannot be avoided without Treasure: Hereupon the people are assembled, and *Quintus Fabius* the Prætor laid before them the publick wants, and the way how to supply them, which the people undertook: Then followed the two Censors, who censured all disorders in the City, or about the Wars past: and thus by pruning the Branches the decayed Root recovered.

§. 14. *Fabius Maximus*, one of the Consuls, had besieged *Casseline* in *Campania*, after that *Marcellus* the other Consul was come; but finding it so obstinately defended, would have quitted it, as a great enterprize, if *Marcellus* had not insisted, that things undertaken, tho inconsiderately, by great Commanders, ought then to be prosecuted. So the Siege being continued the besieged were glad to seek Peace; but as the Garrison was marching out according to Articles, *Marcellus* possesses a Gate, enters, and puts to the Sword, or takes all but 50, which ran to *Fabius* for protection; this needed a *Roman* equivocation to justify it. Many other small Towns of the *Samnites*, and some of the *Lucans* and *Apuleians* were recovered, and 25000 of the enemy put to the Sword. The next year *Quintus Fabius*, the Son of *Maximus*, and *Gracchus*, who was Consul the other year, were chosen Consuls. Thus the Father became Lieutenant to his Son. *Fabi-*

is entered *Apri* by *Scalado* in a stormy night, yet was so resisted by the *Carthaginian* Garrison, that they left the Town by composition; diverse other places returned to the *Roman* obedience, but *Farentum* in the mean time was betrayed to *Hannibal*, who entered the Town, but the Cittadel was maintained by the *Romans*. The next year the City armed 23 Legions, of which many were Boys under 17 years of age. *Fulvius Flaccus*, with *Appius Claudius*, Consuls, besiege *Capua*, which sends to *Hannibal* to relieve them, the care whereof was committed to *Hanno*, who made good provisions, which the *Campanians* should have carry'd to *Capua*; but by their negligence *Fulvius* took it, with 2000 Waggon, in *Hanno's* Camp, in his absence, and 6000 men more slain, and 7000 taken. In the mean time the *Metapontines* and *Thurines* yield to *Hannibal*, and *Gracchus* the late Consul was slain, being appointed to keep *Beneventum*, for securing the Consuls at the Siege of *Capua*. But *Hannibal* dislodged them, followed *Claudius*, and in his return fell upon *Penula*, who had almost 16000 men, of which scarce 200 escaped, and *Fulvius* a Prætor with 8000 in *Apulia* was so surprized by *Mago*, that he carried off but 200. The Consuls renew the Siege of *Capua*, which sending to *Hannibal*, then at *Brundisium*, have a comfortable answer, but came not till want began to pinch them: Upon his coming he won one of the *Roman* Forts, and fell on their Camp; the Citizens also issued out, and *Claudius* received his death's wound, yet he could not raise the Siege. Then in a rage with himself he resolves to attempt *Rome*, hoping hereby to raise it: The Senate having advice thereof, refer it to the Generals, whether to stay or march home, and they agree that *Fulvius* with 15000 Foot and 1000 Horse should go to *Rome*. *Hannibal* hasteth with ten days provision, and *Fulvius* is not long after him; and after his provision was spent he made as much haste away, having only frightened the timorous multitude: *Fulvius* also returns to *Capua*, where *Bolstar* and *Hanno* are closely besieged, and could by no means draw on *Hannibal*, whose spirits were spent more by domestic treachery than *Roman* force. *Capua* in desperate case, having twice rejected mercy, after 27 chief Senators had purposely themselves at a Supper, opened the Gates to the *Romans*, who took so severe a revenge on all, that but two poor women were found not guilty: the rest were either slain, sold or banished. Other *Campanian* people that submitted sped no better. *Capua* was now peopled, tho never incorporated, but governed by a Magistrate sent yearly from *Rome* thither.

§. 15. *Sardinia* during the War in *Italy* was drawn into rebellion by the *Carthaginians*, which encouraged *Harscoras* and *Hostius* his Son, that were popular in the Island, thereto, they promising aid against *Mutius* the Prætor. The *Romans* hearing thereof sent *T. Manlius*, who in his Consulship had won the Island with 22000 Foot and 1200 Horse, as their commendable manner was to uphold their Provinces by those men and their Families, which had first subdued them. *Manlius* in one day overthrew *Hostius*, who in his Fathers absence would needs venture upon the old Soldiers, and slew above 30000 of his Men. *Asdrubal* the bold and other *Carthaginians* came soon after thither, and made *Manlius* leave *Cornus*, which he had besieged, and go to *Calaris*, where in a Battle he slew 12000 and took 3000, and wherein *Hostius*, *Asdrubal*, and the rest died, and therewith the Rebellion ended. *Sicily* also grew troublesome after the Battle of *Cumæ*, when old *Hiero* King of *Syracuse* dying left his Kingdom to *Hieronimus* a Grandchild of but 15 years old, under the tuition of 15 principal men, of which *Andronodorus*, that married *Damarata* the Daughter of *Hiero*, endeavouring to set all into his own hands, applied himself to the King, pushing him on take upon him the Government, wherein he quickly grew cruel, and turned Tyrant. He affected not the *Romans* as his Father had done; but despised the present weakness of *Rome*, and casting an eye upon the prevalent fortune of *Carthage*, entered into a League with them, upon condition that *Sicily* shou'd be his; but while he was busy herein his Tyranny, produced a Conspiracy against his person, which took effect at *Leontium*, where he was slain. *Andronodorus*, set on by his Wife, sought to become Tyrant; but finding it hard to compass, applauded the peoples liberty, and so by them is chosen chief Prætor. He finding *Themestius*, who married the Sister of *Hieronimus*, like affected as himself, dealt with him, and drew him to take his part, but being so free to communicate their design, one discovered it to the Senate, both were slain and their Wives for affecting Royalty. Then new Prætors are chosen in their stead, viz. *Epicides* and *Hypocrates* born in *Carthage*, but of *Syracusan* Parents, both which *Hannibal* had used in the league with *Hieronimus*, who being in office, opposed the *Roman* league, but finding the people afraid of *Marcellus*, who also required the City to expell them, they stirred up the *Leontines* to set up for liberty as *Syracuse* had done; for seeing the Tyrant was slain there, it was no reason they shou'd remain subject to *Syracuse*. When *Mar-*

cellus

cellus heard that *Leontium* was revolted from *Syracusa*, he offered his assistance, and won the Town in a days time, so the 2 Ringleaders fled to *Herbesus*, but the Citizens were pardoned, tho the contrary report bred a mutiny against the *Roman* Prætors cruelty among the *Syracusan* Mercenaries. These being led by their Prætors to *Herbesus*, *Epicides* and *Hypocrates* came out with Olive Branches to the Army, wherein 600 *Cretes*, whom *Hannibal* had used well, took protection of them; and at *Megea* by a Counterfeit Letter of *Hypocrates* to *Marcellus* from *Syracuse*, intreating him to make away with the troublesome Mercenaries, the Army was in such an uproar, that the Prætors fled for Life; so the Army was led by *Hypocrates* to *Syracuse*, which let him in, where he slew whom he listed, set Slaves and Prisoners free, as the Custom of Tyrants is, and the two brethren became Lords of *Syracuse*. *Marcellus* hearing of these alterations, hoping by his success at *Leontium* to make short work at *Syracuse*, presently besieged it both by Sea and Land, omitting no violence and terror in two or three assaults; but was beaten off, not so much by vertue of defendants, as by the skill of the noble Mathematician *Archimedes*, who at *Hiero* the late Kings request, invented such Engines of War, as did the *Romans* more mischief than could have been done by Cannon either by Sea or Land, for they cast among them great Stones and Timber, and by an Iron grapple would take up a Galley by the Prow, and shake out all the men, &c. *Marcellus* not knowing which way to turn, and being loath to give over, resolved to famish the Town, which was a desperate piece of work, considering their large Haven, and their *Carthaginian* friends, who even then had sent *Himilco* with 25000 Foot, and 3000 Horse, and 12 Elephants to assist them; and *Bomilcar* with a Fleet victualled the City. Upon *Himilco's* landing many Towns yielded, which forced *Marcellus* to rise with a great part of the Army, to prevent him from taking other places, as he did, but came too late to *Agrigentum*, which *Himilco* had gotten. Winter coming on, *Marcellus* leaving sufficient force before *Syracuse*, went to *Leontium*, where studying how to save his honour, which his quitting the enterprize would impeach, he falls upon another point of dishonour, to prevail by treason, which yet succeeded not. In the end a fugitive out of the City informed him of a Feast to be held to *Diana*, for which there was plenty of Wine, upon this he scaled the Walls, and took some part of the City, which was divided by Walls like unto four or five Cities. The Souldiers and Citizens hereupon offer to

compound ; which *Marcellus* liketh, but once or twice the Treaty is interrupted, but at last, when it was come to a point, *Marcellus* corrupted one of the Captains of the Town, who was a Mercenary *Spaniard*, of the like common faith with other Mercenaries, by whose Treason he entred the Town, and had a booty no less than it had been that of *Carthage*. In this surprize *Archimedes* was slain, whose death *Marcellus* lamented, and buried him honourably. This underhand dealing of *Marcellus* was not so approved of at *Rome*, considering *Hiero's* benefits, and that the Citizens when at liberty favoured *Rome*, and were now over-ruled by Tyrants and Mercenaries, yet the Senate thought not good to restore the booty, nor give over the acquired Dominion. Nevertheless, it was never so well with *Syracuse* before as after, considering their Façons, Conspiracies, Tyrants, Murders, Banishments, &c. which yet justifie not *Rome's* injustice, no more than he which stole the Cup from one who never left off drinking in it. After this, all *Sicily* yielded except *Agrigentum*, &c. held by *Epicides*, *Hanno*, and *Mutines* a *Numidian*, a wife and valiant man, by whom *Marcellus* was much obstructed ; yet was his virtue so envied by *Hanno*, that he took his charge from him : The *Numidians* were so incensed with this indignity to their Countryman, that they left *Hanno*, and committed themselves to *Mutines* disposition, who entring into an intelligence with *Valerius Levinus* the *Roman* Consul newly come over, delivered *Agrigentum* into his hands, and helped him in the conquest of all the rest.

§. 16. *Rome* wanting Money to pay the Souldiers, and to carry on the War against *Hannibal* and in *Sicily*, when *Marcellus* and *Levinus* were chosen Consuls ; they therefore propounded, that the Consuls bringing in all the Money they had, the Senators should do the like, and should keep no vessels of Gold, or other Plate, but Salt-sellers, and a Cup and a Ring, as toys for their Wives and Children. This example the Gentlemen and Commonalty followed cheerfully, all holding it equal that every private condition should run the fortune of the Commonwealth, which if once ruined, in vain could any particular man hope to enjoy the benefit of his proper substance. Then *Marcellus* was set out against *Hannibal*, and *Levinus* sent into *Sicily*, where he finished what *Marcellus* left undone. *Hannibal*, by long and hard service without supplies from *Carthage*, grew unable to keep the Field, and sufficiently to garrison his Towns, which made him sack the places he could not defend, and that alienated the minds of many

many : So that *Salapia* yielded to *Marcellus*, and betrayed a Regiment of *Hannibal's* best *Numidian* Horse. *Hannibal* in this streight hears of *Massanissa* with 5000 *Numidians* sent to *Spain*, and *Asdrubal's* coming to *Italy*, which news made *Hannibal* hold what he could, and the *Romans* to recover what they can. *Hannibal* by great marches came unlooked for upon *Fulvius* a *Roman* Prætor at *Mardonia*, and slew him, with 12 Tribunes or Cononels and 7000 more ; others say 13000, and burnt the Town, and removed the Inhabitants. Afterwards *Marcellus*, who thought himself the only *Roman* fit to encounter *Hannibal*, met with him, and lost 6 Ensigns and 3000 men, but the next day *Marcellus* slew 8000 *Carthaginians*, and lost 3000, and had so many wounded, that he could follow *Hannibal* no farther. *Quintus Fabius Maximus* now Consul besieged *Tarentum*, garrisoned with *Brutians*, whose Captain being in love with a wench in the Town, was drawn by a brother of the wench to betray it, so that all were put to the Sword, even the *Brutians* themselves, contrary to his word, that it might be thought he won the Town by assault, and not by treachery ; but that saved not his reputation. *Claudius Marcellus* and *Quintus Crispinus*, Consuls the next year, whom *Hannibal* entertained with many skirmishes, declining a set battel till he might joyn his Brother *Asdrubal* ; but watching all advantages, he took them in an ambuscade, as they came to view a place with a few forces, where they intended to encamp. Here *Hannibal* had placed in covert some companies of *Numidians*, who encompassed them, slew *Marcellus*, and wounded *Crispinus* to death, &c. and giving honourable Funeral to *Marcellus*, sent the ashes in a Silver Pot to young *Marcellus*. *Crispinus* considering that *Hannibal* had got *Marcellus* Ring, with which he might deceive some Cities, sent notice every where of it, even as a Letter came in *Marcellus* name to *Salapia* to prepare for his coming thither, which *Hannibal* followed with *Roman* fugitives, that spake *Latin* to the Guard, and bid them open to the Consul. The Gate was opened, and when 600 were entred the Portcullis was let down, and *Hannibal* over-reached in his own Stratagem. After *Crispinus* death, *Claudius Nero* and *Marcus Livius* succeeded Consuls, of which two *Livius* had been many years past condemned and expelled by the people, for which indignities he refused the place, till with much importunity he was overcome. Thus as men in fair weather break the branches of a Tree under which they shelter themselves in a storm ; so deal the unthankful with men of good merit ; as *Themistocles* checked the *Athenians*. The 2 Consuls take their

their way, *Livius* to meet *Asdrubal*, and *Nero* to follow *Hannibal*, to hinder their knowing the mischievous effects of a conjunction of 2 malevolent Planets. It seemeth that *Livius* was too weak to oppose *Asdrubal*, and therefore *Nero* took 6000 Foot and 1000 Horse, and in 6 days long march came up to him; but *Asdrubal* perceiving the increase thought to decline a Battel, by removing over the River *Metaurus*, had not *Nero* followed and forced him to it, in which *Asdrubal* was slain and 56000 with him, saith *Livy*; but *Polybius* numbers but 10000. After this Victory *Nero* hasted back to his Camp with *Asdrubal's* head, which he threw forth before the *Carthaginians*, and freed some Prisoners, which might make report of the Victory in *Hannibal's* Camp, so to strike a terror into it. Here began the tyde to turn on the *Romans* side, and increased, so that no banks could contain it, and *Hannibal's* hopes decayed daily. From this 13 year of the second Punick War unto the 18 in which it ended, little is reported worthy of memory.

§. 17. *Publius Cornelius Scipio* after *Asdrubal's* departure into Italy had to do with *Hanno*, lately sent to succeed *Asdrubal*, whom *Marcus Sillanus* shortly after took prisoner. *Asdrubal* the Son of *Gesco*, and *Mago* left by *Asdrubal* the Son of *Amilcar* remained to make head there, who prepared 70000 Foot, 4000 Horse, and 32 Elephants, to keep the Field. *Scipio* makes up his Legions with some Auxiliary *Spaniards*, and seeks out the enemy with 45000 Foot and 3000 Horse, whom he fed well the day before, and early the next morning provoked the empty *Carthaginians* to Battle, as *Hannibal* had served his Father at *Trebia*. *Asdrubal* had set up his rest on this Battel, in which he was put to the worst. Whereupon *Attanes* with his *Turdetani*, fell off to the *Romans*, and the other *Spaniards* being confirmed in the report of the *Carthaginians* ill success at *Metaurus* in Italy, never did them good service after; *Asdrubal* perceiving this, hastes toward the Sea; but is overtaken by *Scipio*, and charged so closely, that he with 70000 more betook themselves to a strong piece of ground, from whence himself stole by night to the *Gades*, whether *Mago* and *Maganissa* followed, and their Army dispersed. So all the Towns except 3, submitted to *Scipio*, who the year after took them, only *Astapa* was burnt with all the riches therein by the Inhabitants, who slew themselves, except such as desperately broke out upon the *Roman* Camp, and so were slain. *Asdrubal* leaves *Mago* at *Gades*, and saileth to *Syphax* King of *Mesefali*, a people of the *Numidians*, hoping to perswade him to be a friend to *Carthage*, but *Scipio* meeting

ing him there, drew him to the *Roman* side, which he soon forsook.

Scipio returns to *Spain*, and having taken revenge of the 3 Cities which held out, held Funeral games at *New Carthage* for his Father and Uncle, which was performed by Duels of Slaves, as also such as had quarrels for titles of Land, &c. which friends could not compose. Here followeth an excellent discourse of Combats anciently used not only by the Heathens, but also among the *Hebrews*, as *David* did and his Worthies; by 12 *Judaans* and 12 *Benjamites*; with many latter examples in *England* and *France*, &c. of which *Two* Bishop of *Chartres* complains, especially against Church-men, who being Lords of Fee, used to grant the Tryal by Combat, as all other such Lords did. But that liberty hath been since restrained by Kings, who in accusation of Treason, Murder, and other capital offences granted it but sparingly, in which the Defendant pleads not guilty, in giving the lye to the Accuser. Thus *Francis* the *French* King in dispute upon a breach of Faith, gave *Charles V.* then Emperor, the Lye, to draw him to a single Combat. It was also by common use become every Companions practice to give the Lye, which no man of Courage would put up. Hence in those days upon every matter which quarrellers think worthy of anger, the giving of the Lye is warrant sufficient to offer and accept of personal Duels, as an offence unpardonable. This art of quarrelling about points of honour hath grown to a mystical curiosity; as a light touch with a Cane is looked upon to be a greater dishonour, than a sound blow with a Sword, the one belonging to Slaves, the other to Souldiers. Here the offence of giving the Lye is examined, and they proved common lyers which are so tender in receiving it, as they which give it untruly: See his discourse at large.

Scipio being dangerously sick, is reported to be dead, whereupon *Mandonius* and *Imdibilis*, two *Spanish* petty Kings, rebel, hoping to make themselves great; and part of the *Roman* Army, discontent with the little benefit they had got by the *Roman* Conquest, fell to ravage the Country, turn out their Collonels, and chose 2 base Leaders in their room: *Scipio* sent them new Collonels, who with fair words and promise of pay, brought them to *Carthage*, where exemplary Justice is done upon the 2 leaders and their accomplices; the rest being new sworn receive pay. *Mandonius* and *Imdibilis* pursued by *Scipio* submit, and are pardoned; but their former power is lessened. *Maganissa* promiseth to serve the *Romans*, and *Mago* by direction from

Carthage leaveth Gades, when he had plundered it, to go to Hannibal in Italy, having Treasure sent him to raise an Army, so Gades presently yielded to the Romans, and Scipio gives up the Province to a Successor, and is chosen Consul.

§. 18. Publius Cornelius Scipio, and Publius Licinus Crassus are chosen Consuls, and Scipio had Sicily decreed for his Province, with leave to make War in Africa, if he saw good: But Quintus Fabius Maximus opposed this motion, to have Africa appointed for his Province, and the War there to be decreed, neither was he allowed to press Soldiers for Africa. The reasons Fabius gave were, because the Treasury was not able to bear the charge of a War in Africk. (2.) That it was dangerous to hazard too great Forces, where they could not at pleasure be recalled for the defence of Rome, if need required. (3.) The danger that the present State of Italy stood in both of Hannibal and Mago his Brother, &c. On the other side Scipio alledged, that it was better to make an offensive, then a defensive War, especially against such as the Carthaginians were, who being ill provided of good Troops at home, did supply themselves, by the help of money, with levies abroad; but what Fabius and other Senators (who would not easily change an opinion fixed in them) refused to grant, the people, therein wiser than the Senate, did for him, or rather for themselves, in furthering his design to transfer the War into Africa. Besides his own Forces, Italy sent him 7000 Volunteers, and all manner of necessary Provision: In Sicily he found 2 Legions sent thither from the battle at Cannae, and pressed 300 Horse, &c. notwithstanding all which he had like to have been hindred upon complaint of the Locrians, whose Town he had gotten from the Carthaginians by some of their assistance, whom the Governour, put in by him, oppressed: But the Commissioners sent into Sicily to examine matters, found him so well prepared for Carthage, that they hastened his departure. He sent Lelius into Africk to make discoveries, who met with Massanissa, revolted from the Carthaginian side to the Roman, upon account of an injury they did him about Asdrubal's Daughter that was betrothed to him, but by them given to Syphax a more mighty Numidian Prince. Lelius understood the state of Africa by Massanissa, whom Syphax had driven out of his Country, and by the perswasion of Sophonissa renounced the amity of Rome, to joyn with those of Carthage her Countrymen. This troubled Scipio, and made him haste to Africa, lest the Senate hearing thereof should stop his journey, to which he had been induced in hopes of his aid. He lands in Africa, is met by

by Massanissa, and encamped before Utica. Asdrubal was with Syphax his Son-in-law, whom the Carthaginians sent for home, being chosen their General, entreated Syphax to assist them against Scipio, who lay before Utica. Asdrubal makes a levy of 30000 Foot and 3000 Horse, and Syphax brings 50000 Foot and 10000 Horse into the field, with which they march toward Scipio, who removed to a place convenient for his Navy, where he designed to winter, and there fortified his Camp. Asdrubal and Syphax encamp near him, but negligently, presuming upon their numbers. While they lay thus, Scipio endeavours to draw Syphax from the Carthaginians, and he to perswade Scipio to a Peace; which while in agitation, Scipio learnt how weak the enemies Camp was, and it might easily be set on fire, whereupon he brake off the Treaty of Peace, pretending his Council would not agree to it; and thereupon setting all things in order for such a business, he sent Lelius and Massanissa before to begin with Syphax, who lay farthest, and when he saw the flame he drew to Asdrubal's Camp, which was in a confusion, running to help Syphax's Camp, fired casually, as they thought, till they saw the like flame in their own: great was the slaughter, wherein but few escaped with Syphax and Asdrubal. Now levies are made, and a second Battel fought, and the Romans obtain a second Victory. Asdrubal flies to Carthage, and Syphax home, whither Massanissa and Lelius pursue him. Scipio takes in many Towns, some by force, others by surrender, for all the Subjects of Carthage wavered, and Carthage herself durst not exact Tribute of them whom they had so often over-burthened. It is therefore decreed to fortifie the City, to send for Hannibal home, and to set out the Fleet against that of Scipio before Utica, who perceiving it, halted thither from Tunis to defend them; so they returned, having gotten only six empty hulks from the Romans. In the mean time Massanissa recovers his Kingdom, and with Lelius proceeds against Syphax, who had quickly raised as great an Army as his first, which he also lost as soon, with himself and his Kingdom; for being taken Massanissa, carried him bound to Cirta his chief City, which presently opened her Gates to him, and where Sophonissa yielded herself, intreating not to be delivered to the Romans, which suit her youth and excellent beauty did so second, that Massanissa married her presently: Lelius and Scipio afterwards were offended with this Marriage, and perswaded Massanissa to put her off, for fear she should draw him into the same courses, she had drawn Syphax. Massanissa, to prevent her falling into the Romans hands, sent

her a Cup of Poyson, with which she ended her days, and he presently after, to prevent the effects of melancholy for the fact, is comforted by *Scipio* with a Crown and proclaimed King.

§. 19. *Carthage* hearing this bad news, and seeing *Scipio* returned to *Tunis*, was so dismayed, that they send 30 of the Princes which were of the Privy Council of the City unto *Scipio*, to beg Peace, and falling prostrate, kiss his and his Councils Feet, and humbly acknowledge their fault in breaking the former Peace. *Scipio*, considering the poor case *Rome* was in, and the wealth and strength of *Carthage*, accepted the submission on condition that *Carthage* should call home her Forces from *Italy*, relinquish all the Islands, deliver up all her Ships of War but 20, all Prisoners and Fugitives; meddle no more with *Spain*, pay a great sum of money, and some 100000 Bushels of Corn. These Articles are approved of, and a Truce granted till they can send to *Rome*, and *Massanissa* is sent home to his new Kingdom, as if all were ended, but it appeared after their Ambassadors were come to *Rome*, they only sought to gain time till *Hannibal* were come, by whom at least they hoped to get a better Peace. The Senate therefore refer all to *Scipio*, but before their return *Carthage* had seized on the Roman Ships that came with Provisions from *Sicily*, and were scattered by a storm, and sought to surprize *Scipio's* Ambassadors in their return from *Carthage*.

§. 20. *Hannibal* after this loss at *Metaurus*, remained among the *Brutians*, expecting aid from *Carthage*, and his Brother *Mago* with Forces raised in *Gaul* and *Liguria*, who also solicited the *Hetrurians* to revolt, which caused the *Romans* to employ 3 Armies in those Countries. *Mago* near *Milan* met with the Roman forces, with which he fought like the Son of *Amilcar*, but with the *Carthaginian* Fortune, losing 5000 men, and himself being wounded to death, was forced to retire to *Liguria*, where he found Ambassadors to call him home without delay, which he obeyed, but died by the way. *Hannibal* received the like Message to return, which he heard with such impatience, that gnashing his Teeth, groaning, and hardly refraining from tears, he cried out, *That not Scipio, but Hanno had overthrown the Barchines, with the ruin of Carthage*. So he departed as if it had been into Exile. *Rome* being certain of his departing, appointed an Holyday for thanks to the Gods, but *Quintus Fabius* rejoiced but little, as being very dubious of the event in *Africa*.

§. 21.

§. 21. *Hannibal* landed in *Africa* at *Liptis*, almost one hundred miles from *Carthage*, that marching along he might gather Horses, which he wanted, and *Scipio* sends to *Massanissa*, and the Roman Troops with him to make haste to him, who brought 4000 Horse and 6000 Foot. *Laelius* also is returned with the *Carthaginian* Ambassadors from *Rome*, at which time *Marcus Bibius* kept the Camp in *Scipio's* absence; he laid hands on the Ambassadors, and sent word of it to *Scipio*, who orders their good usage, and sends them home, to shew the *Carthaginians* were less honourable than the *Romans*; yet he made a more cruel War upon them than before, sacked the Towns he took, and refused any composition. *Carthage* hearing this, hastened *Hannibal* to fight, who thereupon encamping at *Zama*, sent Spies into *Scipio's* Camp, who being taken, were carried up and down to see what they would, and so sent back. *Hannibal* at this admired his Enemies brave courage, and sent to desire an interview with him, which *Scipio* granted, but being met, refused to yield to the Peace which *Hannibal* propounded, seeing the conditions of it were advantageous to them, who had so lately broke Peace made upon far other conditions: So they broke off, and prepare for a Battle, which was the next day, to try both the skill and courage especially of these brave Commanders. They are both in the Field early, set their people in order, and exhort them to fight a noble match, and seldom seen, whether in regard of the 2 Generals, their 2 Cities, the importance of the Battle, and their Armies, tho *Hannibal* were overmatched in number and goodness of Horse, and had only his Rear Guard of disciplined men, which were those brave Soldiers that had all along followed him, all the rest being untrained boy-sterous *Barbarians*, except 4000 *Macedonians*. The issue was the overthrow of the *Carthaginians*, of whom 20000 were slain and as many taken, with the loss of 15000 *Romans* and upwards; yet the singular skill that *Hannibal* shewed in this his last fight, is highly commended by *Polybius*, and was acknowledged by *Scipio*, as *Livy* reports. *Hannibal* with a few Horse came to *Adrumetum*, from whence being sent for he went to *Carthage*, where he tells them plainly there was no way left but such a Peace as could be gotten. Presently after, *Vermina*, the Son of *Syphax*, who held a good part of his Fathers Kingdom, coming to their assistance when all was lost, was encountred by a part of the Roman Army, which slew 15000, and took 1200 of his men, &c. *Scipio* being come to *Tunis* is adored by 30 *Carthaginian* Ambassadors,

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In more pitiful manner than before, but less pitied, for their former Treachery. Nevertheless, *Scipio* considering the tedious Siege of so strong and large a City, and the desire that other Consuls had to get the honour of ending what remained, he was content to hear them, and to propound such conditions as he thought good, such as the delivery of Prisoners, Fugitives and Renegadoes, all their Gallies but ten, and all Elephants; make no War without licence from *Rome*, restore to *Massanissa* what they held from him or his ancestors, find Corn for the Army, and pay Auxiliaries till the Peace were concluded, pay 200 Talents yearly for 50 years, and 100 Hostages of choice men for the observance of conditions. These conditions were declaimed against at *Carthage*, but upon *Hannibal's* Speech necessity forced them to yield, and send to *Rome* ten Commissioners, in conjunction with those of *Scipio's*, to conclude the Peace; tho the Consul *Lentulus* opposed it, desiring to pursue the War in *Africa*. At their coming to *Carthage* all is agreed upon, and the first 200 Talents to be paid out of private mens purses: This was grievous to them, and made some Senators weep, whereat *Hannibal* laughed, as being no cause to weep, in comparison of other conditions which touched their freedom more, tho less so felt by 'em; and would make them hereafter confess that it was the least part of their misery for which they now shed tears. *Scipio* having concluded matters with *Carthage*, and brought *Massanissa* to the Army, and magnified him, he assigned over to him all the Towns of King *Syphax* which the *Romans* held, and so left *Africk*, and landed in *Sicily*; from whence he went through *Italy* with part of his Army in glory no less than triumph, and entered the City in triumph, with the greatest joy that ever any did, and had the title of *Africanus* given him; which kind of honour from a conquered Province grew afterwards in use for less merit.

CHAP.

C H A P. VI.

Of Philip King of Macedon, the Father of Perseus, subdued by the Romans.

§. 1. **S**imilitude in worldly events arises from limitation of matter, whereunto Nature is confined, which being finite, cannot always produce variable effects, especially actions which seem to depend on the will of man, that is overruled with the same affections. The *Assyrians* invading the *Medes*, and not prevailing, were within a while subdued by them. So it fell out between the *Persians* and *Greeks*, and between the *Greeks* and *Romans*: for after that *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot* had braved the *Romans*, and that they found their virtue was a richer mettall than the shining valour of the *Greeks*, it was not long before they durst venture upon it; having beaten him, who within a years space had made himself Lord of it, and of *Macedon*. *Tenta* the *Illyrian* Queen wasting *Greece* without the least provocation, gave the first occasion that *Rome* sought acquaintance in *Greece*, to whom he offered protection, &c. thro the indiscretion of *Philip* of *Macedon*, the Son of *Demetrius*, who at about 17 years of age, succeeded King of *Macedon*, and Protector of *Achaëa*, and most of *Greece*, two years before the 2d *Punick* Wars began. In the beginning of his Reign, the *Ætolians* addicted only to War, invaded the *Messenians*, and other parts of *Peloponessus* twice, of which complaint was made to *Philip* at *Corinth*, and the *Lacedemonians* are charged as favourers of it, in despite of the *Achaëans* and *Macedonians*. The *Ætolians* declining to appear, war is decreed against 'em, and the *Lacedemonians* excuse accepted, tho not believed. *Philip* prepares and draws those *Illyrians* from the *Ætolians*, who helped the invasion. The *Achaëans* proclaim the War, and send to other States to do the like; But the *Epirots*, *Lacedemonians*, and *Messenians* put it off, and in the end the *Lacedemonians*, who had long plotted to shake off the *Macedonian* yoke, concluded a league with the *Ætolians* and chose new Kings, which they had not done since *Cleomenes* departed, of those *Lycurgus* was one, who bribed the *Ephori* to obtain the dignity. He invaded the *Argives*, takes two Cities from them, and gains upon the *Arcadians*, &c. *Philip*,

lip, while the *Ætolians* are busy in *Peloponesus*, brings his Army to their borders, with the *Epirots*, where to gain a place which the *Epirots* had a mind to, he spent so long time as broke the force of his Army, with which he might have ended the War. While he was busy in *Ætolia*, the *Ætolian* Prætor, *Scopas*, over-ran *Thessaly*, and broke into *Macedon*, as far as *Dium*, which he razed, the *Dardanians* also bordering on the North of *Macedon*, hearing of his absence in *Peloponesus*, broke in to ravage, as their manner was, which drew him home. *Demetrius Pharius*, chased out of his Kingdom by the *Romans*, met him, and was entertained as his chief Councillour; after which he stole a journey into *Peloponesus* in winter time, while the *Ætolians* and *Ælans* were abroad, and surprized 2000, took many Towns from the *Ælans* and *Ætolians*, and their Confederates, and so went to *Argos*.

§. 2. *Philip* is induced by *Apelles* a Councillor left him by his Uncle *Antigonus*, to encroach upon the liberty of the *Acheans*, who finding it opposed by *Aratus*, he plots to bring him into disgrace with *Philip*. The King by the grave admonition of *Aratus*, and example of *Amphitaneus* an *Elean* Captain, discovers *Apelles* his malice, who failing of his desire, puts in for the Kingdom himself, as the Spider made a Web to take the Swallow, which drove the Flies out of the Chimney. He enters into a Plot against the King, how to check the good success of his proceedings, and draws *Leontius*, Captain of the *Tarquitiers*, and *Megalæus* the Kings chief Secretary, but the end of their treason was their own ruin. After this a peace is solicited by divers Ambassadors, whereto *Philip* condescended by the perswasion of *Demetrius Pharius*, who also perswaded him to a League with *Hannibal*.

§. 3. *Philip* in the Peace of *Greece*, prepares for *Italy*, to assist *Hannibal* against the *Romans*, whom *Pharius* hated for expelling him out of his Kingdom, which they had given him.

§. 4. *Philip* before his *Italian* expedition, thought fit in policy to bring the *Greeks* his associates under a more absolute form of subjection, as *Apelles* had advised him: but *Demetrius Pharius* did better observe the Kings temper, and without any contention supplied *Aratus*, which with violence *Apelles* could never do. In a faction between the Nobles and the Commons of the *Messenians*, *Philip* was entreated to compound the difference, of which occasion he was glad, as designing to assume the Government into his own hands; but being discovered, he pretended a Sacrifice in the Castle of *Ithome*, and purposed

posed to seize upon it, which *Demetrius* called a Kingly point not to be neglected, for so he should hold the Ox by both horns; meaning that *Ithom* and *Acrocorinthus* were the two horns of *Peloponesus*. Yet *Philip* asking *Aratus* judgment, he told him, that in taking that Castle he should lose his strongest Castle, which was his Credit; whereupon he gave over his purpose, but with a secret dislike of *Aratus* and his Son. Next he seized on *Oricum*, a Town of the *Epirots* his followers, and besieged *Apollonia*, and so instead of settling the Country, he kindled that fire which could never be quenched till it laid hold on his own Palace. After that he invaded the *Messenians* with open force, but in vain, in which attempt he lost *Demetrius*, and afterwards out of a Tyrannical humour, the worse he sped the more angry he grew against those which seemed not to favour his injurious doings, as against old *Aratus* and his Son, whose poysoning he procured. This was the recompence *Aratus* got for bringing the *Macedonians* into *Peloponesus* in despite of *Cleomenes* his Countryman, and a temperate Prince.

§. 5. The *Acheans* upon *Aratus* death, chose *Philopemon* Prætor, by whom they were perswaded to lessen their expences in gayness of Apparel, Household-stuff, and dainty fare, and bestow it upon Arms, as also he altered their Weapons and manner of fighting, and fitted them for hard service. At that time *Machanidas* succeeded *Lycurgus*, the Tyrant of *Lacedemon*, who entering the Country of the *Mantineans*, was encountred by *Philopemon*, and slain with his own hand, and 4000 with him, and as many taken Prisoners.

§. 6. *Philip* having made peace with the *Romans* and *Ætolians*, prepares to invade *Attalus*, King of *Pergamus*, the Son of *Attalus*, the youngest Brother of *Philetaurus* the Eunuch, the Treasurer of *Lyfimachus* King of *Thrace*, from whom he fled for fear of his Tyranny, and seized upon *Pergamus* and 9000 Talents of *Lyfimachus*, and reigned 20 years, as *Eumenes* his Brother's Son did after him, being an active, bountiful and valiant Prince. He made use of the *Gauls* then settled in *Asia*, in that part which is called *Gallatia*, and quarrels with *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, whose Ancestors began to reign some Generations before *Alexander* the Great.

§. 7. *Prusias* having married the Daughter of *Philip* entreated him to come over into *Asia*, to conquer *Chios* for him, and tho he had no cause of quarrel, yet he besieged the Town, won it, and omitted no cruelty to the Inhabitants,

tants, contrary to his promise made to divers Ambassadors from the *Rhodians*, and other Estates, to whom he became odious. *Attalus* considering whereto *Philip's* violent ambition tended, joyning with the *Rhodians* fought with him at Sea, where he sustained far greater loss than they, and in the end was forced home, they pursuing him.

§. 8. *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* solicit *Rome* against *Philip*, so did *Aurelius* their Agent in *Greece*, but *Rome* was in no condition for it, till *Hannibal* was vanquished, when the River *Stix* was dried up, that is, the necessity of peace with *Philip* was taken away. *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* meet the *Roman* Ambassadors, while *Philip* wins *Abidos* in *Asia*.

§. 9. *Rome* hearing the Calamity of *Abidos*, resembling that of *Saguntum*, could not ground a quarrel thereon, but found another *Saguntum* at *Athens*, a Confederate wronged by *Philip*, and imploring aid, which yet the people denied, till *Publius Sulpitius* the Consul told them *Philip's* preparation was for *Italy*, if he could win *Athens*. This false pretence prevailed, and the Consul is sent thither, who took not the way by *Macedon*, but landed at the River *Apsus*, between *Dyrrhachium* and *Apollonia*, where he began the War, and sent *C. Claudius* with twenty Gallies and Soldiers to relieve *Athens* against certain Pyrates or Robbers by Land and Sea.

§. 10. *Claudius* grows weary of standing like a scare-crow to save the *Athenian* Fields, and understanding that *Calchis* in *Eubaa* was negligently guarded, sailed thither in the night and took it by Scalado, plundered it and set it on Fire, thereby consuming the Kings Magazines of Corn, and other provision of War. *Philip* hearing the news at *Demetrius* 20 miles off, hasteth thither, finds them gone, and marches to *Athens*, in hopes to surprize it in the night, but found they had intelligence of his coming; so after a skirmish before the return of *Claudius*, he hasteth to *Corinth*, and thence to a Parliament at *Argos*, called against *Nabis* Tyrant of *Lacedemon*, who had invaded 'em after *Philopamon* was out of Office, and gone to *Crete*. Here *Philip* by his coming would have drawn the *Acheans* to break with the *Romans*, but was discovered, and so departing, made another attempt against *Athens*, but failed, except in his demolishing some Temples of admirable workmanship in *Attica*. *Sulpitius* encamped by *Appius*, and sent his Lieutenant *Appistius* to the borders of *Macedon*, who took *Antipatria*, and put it to Sword and Fire, and other Towns, and returned to the Camp, by which success diverse Neighbours, which

which affected not *Philip*, offered their friendship to the *Romans*. The *Ætolian* Parliament was at hand, whither the *Macedonians*, *Romans*, *Athenians*, &c. send to perswade them to their party. The *Macedonians* set out the true scope of the *Roman* patronage by the examples of *Messana* and *Syracuse*. The *Athenians* made a lamentable relation of the outrages done them by *Philip*. The *Romans* plead their former league with *Ætolia*, and threaten those that joyn with *Philip*, which shewed their meaning, however they pretend to assist friends; in conclusion all is referred to *Dorymachus* their Prætor.

§. 11. *Philip* and the Consul met in the borders of *Macedon* towards *Illyria*, and have diverse skirmishes, in which the *Romans* by an ambush received great loss at first, but by *Philip's* stay to glean the stragglers, he was overtaken by the *Roman* Legions, forced to fly, and hardly escaped himself, his Horse being slain, and he forced to accept his Subjects Horse, who was after slain. The King recovers his Camp, and in the night taking the way home, was overtaken and put hard to it, before he could recover *Macedon*, which was then invaded by the borderers. The *Ætolians* hearing of *Philip's* ill success, invaded *Thessaly*, and cruelly sacked a few Towns, but *Philip* finding them dispersed slew many of them.

§. 12. *Rome* thinking herself safe at home by keeping War abroad, found more troubles than they expected from the *Gauls*, governed by one *Amilcar*, a *Carthaginian* Captain, who took their Colony of *Placentia*, a strong Town, which neither *Hannibal* nor *Asdrubal* could force: Hereupon they sent to *Carthage*, but the *Carthaginians* disclaimed *Amilcar*, and banish him, and sent Corn to *Rome*, and to the Army in *Macedon*. *Rome* also sent to *Massanissa* to borrow some *Nu-midian* Horse-men to serve in *Macedon*, and receive 2000. The *Gauls* at the Siege of *Cremona* are overthrown by *L. Furius*, and *Amilcar* is slain; and so the work against the *Gauls* made easie for them which followed.

§. 13. *Rome* was not wont to trifle, but to bid the enemy Battel, or force him to it as soon as they could; but now they learnt of the *Greeks* to war by way of Negotiation: Their Treasury was yet empty, and they in debt to the Citizens, yet weary of the slow paces of proceedings, and of using Confederates, they increase the *Macedonian* Army to 8000 Foot and 800 Horse, which they committed to *Quintus Flaminius*, the new Consul. This augmentation was requisite, for that *Attalus* desired to be spared, being invaded at home by

by *Antiochus*; which they condescended to, and promise to mediate a Peace between them, as being both their friends, which they effected. But all this shew of friendship with *Antiochus* was but till they had made a safe way through *Macedon*, as afterwards appeared. *Quintus* being come, finds *Villius* the old Consul, and *Philip*, encamped one against the other, in the Streights of *Epirus*, by the River *Apfus*, where he staid long seeking a passage over the mountains, that were guarded by *Philip*. During this delay, the King and Consul treat of Peace, but in vain, for that the Consul required the freedom of all *Greece*, and namely *Theffaly*, which had been subject to *Macedon* ever since the time of *Philip*, Father of *Alexander*. After this the Consul was guarded up the mountain by a Herdsman sent to him by a Prince of the *Epirots*, who favoured the *Romans*: So that *Philip* with loss of 2000 men is forced home through *Theffaly*, which he ravaged as he went, as did the *Ætoliens*, and the Consul gathered the gleanings, and take some Cities; but for want of Provision returned to *Phocis*, an Ally of *Macedon*. In the mean time the Consuls Brother, who was Admiral of the Navy with *Attalus*, and the *Rhodians* won two Cities in *Eubœa*, and besieged *Cenchrea*, the Haven and Arsenal of *Corinth*. This quickned the *Acheans* desire to forsake *Philip*, having had so many motives by his injuries done them, and their having so brave a Leader of *Philopemon*. In the end they hold a Parliament at *Sycior*, whether Ambassadors on both sides come with their Adherents, where at last they decree to forsake *Philip* and joyn with his Enemy. After this, *Philip's* Lieutenant lying in *Corinth*, being drawn by the multitudes into *Argos* to assist them, they cast out the *Acheans* Garrison, and accepted *Philip* for their Patron, who thereupon conceived good hope of a good end upon a Treaty. The Consul also considering his office would expire before he could end the War, is willing to enter into it, that he might have the honour of the Peace; after 2 or 3 meetings, and demands and offers made, *Philip* refers himself to the Senate of *Rome*, which the Consul liked very well, and Ambassadors from all parts meet: But upon *Philip's* Ambassadors denial to have authority to yield *Corinth*, *Calchis*, and *Demetrius*, all was dashed. *Philip* to be avenged of the *Acheans*, made a League with the Tyrant *Mabius* of *Lacedemon*, and to oblige him he gave *Argos* into his hands, which so lately had given itself up unto him from the *Acheans*. The Tyrant the next day pillaged all the rich men, and to please the rascally multitude, he made an equal di-

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vision of the Land, as Tyrants use to do, and presently made a League with *Quintus*, who continued General against *Philip*.

§. 14. *Tertius Quintus* being continued General of the *Macedonian* War, with 26000 men, seeks out *Philip*, who had a proportionable number, and found him in *Theffaly* near the City *Phere*, where tho *Philip* thought not that day to put all to the Fortune of a Battle, yet being drawn on by the good success of a Skirmish, and advantage of the Hill *Cynoscaphelæ* or *Dogs Heads*, he chose his ground; but by reason the Mountain was full of rough knobs like Dogs heads, he could marshal but one part of the Army, leaving the rest to follow in order as they could: By this roughness they could keep no order fit to make any impression or good resistance, and so were broken by *Quintus* right wing, sent against them up the Hill, of which wing a Tribune with 20 Ensigns or Maniples, or about 2000 men, turning down the hill on the left hand fell on *Philip's* Phalanx or Square Battel, with Pikes in the Rear, and put all to flight, even when *Philip* thought the day was his own, so he lost 8000 slain and 5000 Prisoners.

§. 15. *Quintus* made haste to *Larissa* a City in *Theffaly*, which open'd her Gates to him, and all the warlike *Arcarnanians* left *Philip*, and gave themselves up to the *Romans*. The *Pereans* also rise against *Dinocrates* the Kings Lieutenant, and recovered the Province. *Philip* considering his present necessity thought it wisdom to yield to it, and first sent, and then went to *Quintus* to treat about a peace, for which a day for all the Allies to meet was appointed, in which as the insolent *Ætoliens* too much insulted over *Philip*, and sought his utter subversion, wherein *Quintus* opposed them, so *Philip* yielded to all that *Quintus* required, and 4 months Truce is agreed to by all but the insolent *Ætoliens*, and the determination referred to the Senate of *Rome*. The new Consuls oppose the Peace as fraudulent, which made the Senate waver, but the Tribunes refer it to the people, by whose Sovereign authority it was concluded. The conditions were to remove all Garrisons out of *Greece* by a day appointed, to yield up Captains, Renagado's, Ships of War, except five lesser and one great one, and to pay one thousand Talents: And for performance he had already given his Son *Demetrius* for an Hostage, and 400 Talents; *Greece* generally rejoyce at the conclusion of this peace, but the *Ætoliens* are agrieved, and the *Beotians* still favour the *Macedonians*; some also suspected the *Romans* will prove worse neighbours, as not knowing the *Roman* designs against *Antiochus*: But

to

to stop all bad rumours, *Quintins* at the *Isthmian Games* proclaimed freedom from *Garrisons*, and liberty of their own Laws to the *Corinthians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Eubceans*, *Achaens* of *Phthiotis*, *Magnesiens*, *Thessalians* and *Perrhebiens*; which the *Greeks* applauded with exceeding thanks. He also sent to *Antiochus* by his Ambassadors then present, willing him to abstain from molesting the free Cities of *Asia*, and to restore to *Ptolomy* and *Philip* what he held of theirs, and not to pass into *Europe* with an Army: Thus laying a Foundation for future quarrels.

CHAP. V.

Of the Roman Wars with Antiochus and his adherents.

§. 1. *Seleucus Nicanor*, slain by *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, *Ann.* 4. *Olym.* 124. *Antiochus Soter* his Son succeeded for 19 years, to whom *Berosus* the *Chaldean* dedicated his *Assyrian History*, which is notoriously falsified by *Friar Amnius*: He neglected to revenge his Fathers death, who had so loved him, that he gave him *Stratonice* his own Wife, being sick for her. *Antiochus* the God, as the flattering *Milesians* called him for freeing them from *Trimarchus* the Tyrant, succeeded for 15 years, his first Wife was *Laodice*, unto whom he took also *Beronice* the Daughter of *Ptolomy Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*, and so compounded the War between them, but it extolled the hatred of *Laodice*, which poysoned him for it; when her Son *Seleucus Callinicus* was fit to Reign, she also murdered *Beronice* and her young Son, two or three years after *Ptolomy's* death, but the Brother revenged it. *Ptolomy Philadelph*, Son of *Ptolomy* first King of *Egypt* after *Alexander*, began to Reign with his Father, and continued 40 years: he was the first descended from *Alexander's* Successors, that made a League with *Rome*, and his Offspring the last of those Royal Families they rooted out. He set at liberty all the *Jews* his Father made Slaves in *Egypt*, and sent rich Gifts to Gods Temple in *Jerusalem*, and requested of *Elesar* the Books of Holy Scripture, and 72 Learned *Hebrews* to translate them into *Greek*, to furnish his Library in *Alexandria* with, of whom *Genebrard* thinks *Jesus Syrach* was one, whom *Jansenius* proves

proves to be then living. *Josephus* *Antiquity* lib. 12. cap. 2. reports, that one *Aristeus* writ the History thereof. *Seleucus Calinicus* began his Reign with his Father's Murther, which cost his Mother's life, being slain by *Ptolomy Evergetes* in revenge of his Sister, who invaded *Seleucus*, but was called home by Domestick troubles. *Seleucus* perceiving himself not beloved by his Subjects, sought not to win their affections by merit, but by force, preparing a great Fleet against them, whereon he laid all his hopes, which God overwhelmed in the Sea, and himself hardly escaped. His Subjects hoping he would become a new man, in commiseration offer him their service, which so revived him, that he raised an Army against *Ptolomy*, who overthrew him. This made him send for aid to his Brother *Antiochus Hierax*, or *Hawk*, (for he cared not whom he preyed upon) who was but 14 years old, yet extream ambitious. Before he came *Seleucus* made a Peace with *Ptolomy*, but had no Peace of his Brother, who overthrew him, yet was shortly after overthrown himself by *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, the Son of *Attalus*, and forced to fly away, and was taken up in *Cappadocia* by *Artamenes*, who designed to betray him, which made him take his Wing to *Egypt*, where *Ptolomy* knowing his perfidious nature, mewed him up in Prison, but escaping thence by means of an Harlot, he fell into the hands of Thieves, who murdered him; for infidelity finds no sure Harbour. *Seleucus* at this time going to subdue the *Bactrians* and *Parthians*, was taken Prisoner by *Arjaces*, the founder of the *Parthian* Kingdom, who yet released him, but returning home he broke his neck by a fall from his Horse, after twenty years Reign. *Seleucus Ceraunus* succeeded his Father for 3 years, and was slain by treachery, leaving young *Antiochus* his Brother to succeed him, and *Achans* was to command the Army.

§. 2. *Ptolomy Evergetes* who succeeded *Philadelphus*, yet Reigned, having by the Marriage of *Beronice*, Daughter of *Magos* King of *Cyrene*, added it to his Kingdom, (or as is thought) the Countreys of *Celofyria*, *Palestine*, &c. His and his Successors Wars with the *Seleucides* was prophecyed of by *Daniel*. *Onids* the High Priest had provoked him by detaining covetously twenty Talents of Tribute due to him, but was pacified by *Josephus* a *Jew*, and having reigned 26 years, died in the 139th *Olympiad*. *Antiochus* was scarce 15 years old when he began his Reign, which lasted 36 years. In his minority he was wholly governed by one *Hermias* an ambitious man, who incited him unseasonably to war against

against *Ptolomy*, for the recovery of *Celofyria*, while *Molo* the Kings Lieutenant rebelled. *Xenetas* is sent with Forces into *Media*, which are overthrown, while *Antiochus* lay in the valley of *Marfyas*, between *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*, seeking to pass into *Celofyria*. Hearing therefore the News of *Xenetas*, he hastens into *Media*, which he recovered from *Molo*, who slew himself. This good success was accompanied with news that Queen *Laodice* the Daughter of *Metridates* King of *Pontus*, had bore him a Son. *Antiochus* being in the East thought good to visit his Frontiers between the *Caspian* and *Euxine* Sea, in which Journey his Physician informed him of *Hermias* his praetices, of whom himself was grown jealous, and therefore consented to the killing of him. About these times *Achaus* rebelled, in hopes the King would perish in his expedition; yet *Antiochus* intent upon the recovery of *Celofyria*, neglected him till he had gotten possession of *Selencia*, first called *Antigonia*, as being founded by *Antigonus*, but afterwards won by *Selencus*, then by *Ptolomy*. Such is the vanity of men, who think to eternize their names not by works of virtue, but of greatness, which continues not long. *Theodotus* the *Ætolian*, *Ptolomy's* Mercenary, who formerly defended *Celofyria* against *Antiochus*, now, as one sorry for former faithfulness, Mercenary like sells it to him, who took possession of *Tyrus* and *Ptolomæis*, with the *Egyptian* Fleet there: *Antiochus* therewith emboldened, aims at *Egypt* itself, now governed by *Agathocles* and *Sofybius*, while *Ptolomy* himself minds only his pleasure. These two make secret preparation, but openly solicit Peace by themselves and diverse of their Allies, and *Antiochus*, willing to rest this winter, agrees to a Truce for 4 months, in order to treat of a Peace, which he designed not at heart, but to lull only his enemies asleep, that watched him better than he did them. During the Truce, Ambassadors from *Egypt* are heard, both sides plead their right to *Celofyria*, and propound conditions, but both would have all or nothing. The Truce being ended, *Antiochus* takes the field, presuming his ordinary power will serve against his unprovided enemies; but was deceived, and well beaten for it at *Rophia*, where of 70000 Foot he lost 10000, but no more than 400 Horse of 6000, wherein *Ptolomy* yet exceeded, as *Antiochus* did in Elephants: After which he sues for Peace, though what he had gotten in *Syria* was fallen from him. *Antiochus* after this followed the supprelling of *Achaus*, whom in a while he penn'd up in *Sardis*, which yet he could not win in two years time, till a *Cretian* observed by Ravens, which continually pitched upon a part of

of the Wall where *Carrion* was thrown into the Ditch, that there it was unguarded, as indeed it was, being thought unapproachable here; tho with difficulty, the Town was won, and he driven into the Castle, out of which also he was drawn by a *Cretian* trick, of one *Bolis* a *Cretian*, who knew all the difficult passages of the Rocks on which the Castle stood. *Ptolomy* desiring to deliver *Achaus* out of this danger, hired this *Cretian*, who undertook it, with *Cambylus* his Country man, as very a *Cretian* as himself (that is; as false a knave) and brought him out, but betrayed him to *Antiochus*, who seeing him could not refrain tears, considering the calamities incident to great fortunes; but yet he condemned him to a cruel death. *Antiochus* some years after made an expedition against the *Hircanians* and *Parthians*, a little Nation subject to the *Median* government, which was now in the hand of *Antiochus's* Lieutenant, whose insolency provoked *Arfaces* a Noble-man to rebel, and make himself King. He prospered so that he withstood *Selencus Callinicus*, and took him Prisoner, but released him, &c. His posterity encreased the Dominion. *Arfaces* the 2d now reigned, against whom *Antiochus* led such an Army as he could not encounter, till *Antiochus* have passed through the Country, and won *Tambrace* in *Hircania*, by which time he had gathered such forces as that therewith he was enabled to try a Battel. After this he sought Peace, which *Antiochus* granted, making him a Friend whom he could not force to be a Subject. The like expedition he made against the *Bactrians*, governed by *Euthydemus*, with whom he also made Peace, and went over *Caucasus*, to renew the old league with the *Indians*.

§. 3. *Ptolomy Philopater*, so called by way of derision, as having made away his Father and Mother (as it is thought) tho he began to reign young after the Battel of *Raphia*, gave himself over to sensuality, by the instigation of *Agathoclea* his Strumpet, the Sister of *Agathocles*, murdered his Wife, which was his Sister, by whom he had *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, whom he left but 5 years old to the tuition of *Agathocles*. He assembled the *Macedonians*, which were the Kings ordinary forces in pay (not all born in *Macedon*, but of the posterity of them which planted in *Egypt* with *Ptolomy Lagus*, and would not be called *Egyptians*, as neither would the Kings) to these he made an Oration with tears, intreating their fidelity to the King, whom he shewed in his Sisters arms, and accused one *Ptolepmus* of Treason: They knowing him too well laughed and departed; and upon his taking up one of them afterwards upon suspicion of Treachery against himself, they rise in arms,

took away the King, slew him, dragged the Strumpet his Sister naked through the streets of *Alexandria*, as also her Mother the Bawd, and tear them in pieces. *Antiochus* and *Philip* of *Macedon* thought to make an advantage of these troubles in *Egypt*, and to divide the Orphans estate between them, but the *Romans*, whom *Philopater* had obliged in the *Punick* War, were solicited unto, and easily induced to protect the Child. The *Macedonian* was employed at home, *Antiochus* having recovered his losses in *Syria*. The *Jews* were civilly treated by him, and he suffered himself to be perswaded by the *Romans* not to meddle with the *Egyptians*. He also sent to make a league with the *Romans*, who applied themselves to give him all contentment, tho they had another intent under covert till they had effected their design upon *Macedon*. *Antiochus* dealt after the same manner with *Philip*, and *Eumenes* Son of *Attalus*, King of *Pergamus*, offering either of them a Daughter, and yet sought to destroy them. *Eumenes* excused his refusal, and tells his brethren, who wondred at it, That in taking the offer he should fall into the quarrel against the *Romans*, who would surely make war upon him. The *Rhodians* also had the skill to foresee that storm, when they threatened to set upon his Fleet if it did pass a certain Promontory in *Cilicia*. Thus seeking to hold him from joyning with *Philip* their enemy, and molesting the South part of *Asia*, belonging to *Ptolomy*. The next Spring he passed over the *Hellepont* into *Europe*, and re-edified and peopled *Lysimachia*.

§. 4 *Rome* having temporized with *Antiochus* till the War in *Macedon* was ended, and that most of *Greece* became little better than Tributaries, *Lucius Cornelius* is sent unto *Antiochus*, in more plain terms, urging him to restore to *Ptolomy* what he had lately taken from him, as also to *Philip*, and to let the free Cities in *Asia* rest quiet, and shew a reason for his bringing such an Army into *Europe*. *Antiochus* wonders that the *Romans* should trouble themselves with *Asian* matters more than he did with *Italian*, and answers the rest, so that *Cornelius* replied not; but upon a false rumour of *Ptolomy's* death hastes thither, having Commission thereto before. *Antiochus* also hastes thither, with all his naval power, to take possession; but hearing *Ptolomy* was alive, he steered another way, and after a dangerous shipwrack recovered *Selencia*, and so went to *Antiochia*, where he was secure for that winter. *Rome* in the mean time is careful to secure *Greece* and *Macedon*, against the *Asian* War; the same whereof coming to *Carthage*, gave *Hannibal's* Enemies occasion

occasion to work his expulsion. He had of late put on the Long Robe, being chosen *Prætor*, and reformed the *Treasurers* which robbed the *Treasury*, and brought the *Judges* to be annual, which before had been for life, and this bred him Enemies. *Rome* is informed his Faction was strong, and would be in arms shortly; for preventing whereof 3 Ambassadors evilly affected to him, are sent thither under pretence of other business about *Massanissa*. *Rome* is glad of such an occasion against him, tho *Publius Scipio* dissuaded them from that dishonourable course, and *Hannibal* for all their pretences knew their meaning, and having publickly shewed himself in the Assembly, in the evening walking out with two Friends, took Horse where he had appointed them to meet him, and that night came to a Tower of his own, where he had a Ship always furnished for such a purpose, and so sailed to *Tyre*, and thence to *Antiochus* at *Ephesus*, who exceedingly rejoiced at his coming. But what could this great Commander do in the *Asiatick* War, more than ennoble the *Roman* Victory? He could not make such Soldiers of base *Asiaticks* of no mettall, as of hardy *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, *Africans*, &c. nay, could he do it, yet the pride of *Antiochus* Court, and baseness of his flatterers, and a thousand vexations, would make his virtue unprofitable, being a banished desolate man, and wanting his brethren to second him. But *Antiochus* was more careful of Peace with *Rome*, sending to *Quintius* to require the faithful observance of it, tho the *Romans* meant nothing less, as the common talk at *Rome* was, and *Quintius* stay in *Greece*, and seeking pretences not to depart, did argue the same: For being secure of *Philip*, *Greece* being at Peace, *Antiochus* still solicits Peace. But *Quintius* retained *Colchis*, *Demevrius*, *Acrocorinthus* still in his own hands, against which the *Aetolians* objected. *Nabis* Tyrant of *Lacedemon* held *Argos* in bondage, which concerned the *Romans* in honour to set free, saith *Quintius*, but the *Aetolians* will undertake it. Yet in a common assembly of the States *Quintius* is entreated to do it. After this the *Romans* depart out of *Greece*, and *Titus Quintius* triumphs at *Rome*. *Quintius* and his associates from *Rome*, and *Antiochus* Ambassadors make many Treaties to no purpose, but to give *Antiochus* the leisure of two years to prepare for War. The *Romans* conditions were as dishonourable for him to yield to, as unreasonable for them to demand: for tho they which have been at War, and gotten no advantage either of other may demand restitution of things gotten or lost, yet between them which never fell out for wrong

done or received, there can be no such conditions for establishing of friendship be proposed, seeing it is reasonable that each should hold their own, and neither take superiority over the other to prescribe conditions, as Conquerors may do.

§. 5. *Rome*, after *Hannibal's* departure out of *Italy*, was continually infested by the *Insubrians*, *Boians*, and other *Cisalpine Gauls*, with the *Ligurians*, which having served together under *Mago* and *Amilcar*, grew so to affect one anothers fortune, that they seldom went upon any adventure but in company. The *Cisalpine Gauls* or *Lombards* had been kept in subjection by *Rome* ever after the second *Punic* War until *Hannibal* invaded *Italy*, and held out after by assisting the *Ligurians*, a stout, but subtle, hard, poor people, that would endure hardship, and not be discouraged by losses, being obstinate in War without respect of keeping Covenant, and continued enemies and friends more by Custom, as Salvages do, than from any judgment. The *Romans* War with them served to train their men to hardship and military patience. *Spain* also after *Scipio's* departure put *Rome* to continual employment, slew a Proconsul, &c. *Porcius Cato* Consul had almost as much work there as in the re-conquest of *Spain*. He began to disarm them, which made them desperate, thereupon he pulled down all their Walls, and brought the Country to that pass that it was in no danger to be lost long after.

§. 6. *Hannibal* being driven away from *Carthage*, his enemies promise themselves and their City all the happiness which obedience to *Rome* could yield, but coming to a tryal of it in controversies before the Senate with King *Massanissa*, who had taken from them some Lands, which he claims, as anciently belonging to his fore-fathers, they found how little regard they had of *Carthage*.

§. 7. The *Aetolians* being discontent with the Peace made by the *Romans*, as finding their merit undervalued, stir up *Philip*, *Antiochus* and *Nabis* against the *Romans* dependants in *Greece*. *Nabis* begins, and besieges *Gytheum* and wastes *Achaë*: *Philopamon* was now Prætor of *Achaë*, to whose discretion all being referred, he began with a Sea fight, wherein his skill failed him. Then he fell to his own Element, to try the Enemy by Land, where his skill in discerning the advantage of the ground was excellent, and by an ambush entrapped his Enemies and slew many: So likewise he deceived *Nabis*, by a counterfeit Fugitive, who told him *Philopamon* intended to get between him and *Lacedemon*, which

which made him haste homewards, leaving some Comanies to guard his Camp, which was presently fired, and he pursued so hard, that his people fled into a Wood, thinking to get home in the night, but the ways being laid, hardly a quarter of them got into *Sparta*. While the *Romans* are busy in *Greece* to prepare a War with *Antiochus*, their Ambassadors with *Antiochus* treat of Peace, and meeting there with *Hannibal*, and conferring often with him, *Antiochus* grew jealous hereof, till he was informed by him of the Oath his Father made him take, never to be friends with the *Romans*. *Antiochus* rejecting the dear-rated Peace offered by *Rome*, yields to the *Aetolians* desires, who thereupon in their *Panatholium*, or Common Assembly of the Nation, decree to invite *Antiochus* into *Greece*, to decide their Controversy with the *Romans*. The execution of the Decree was referred to the *Apocleti* or Privy Council, who suddenly surprised *Demetrius*, but failed of *Chalchis*, yet *Lacedemon* they got by killing *Nabis* their friend, under pretence of giving assistance in his weakness, after his overthrow by *Philopamon*, but while they were busy in rifling his Palace, the Citizens took Arms and slew them. *Philopamon* while *Lacedemon* was in this dangerous state went thither, and calling out the chief Citizens, perswaded them to incorporate the City unto *Achaë*, which they yielded unto.

§. 8. *Antiochus*, upon *Thoes* the *Aetolian's* Council, changed his purpose of sending *Hannibal* with a Fleet against the *Romans* in *Africa*, and ordered him presently to pass over into *Greece*, which he performed, but with no such numbers as were expected, having only 40 serviceable Ships, 6 Elephants, 10000 Foot and 500 Horse, which smallness of number he excused, promising shortly to fill all *Greece*. Being chosen their General he went first against *Chalchis*, thinking to gain them by words, but could not till he returned with a greater power: Upon this the rest of the Island *Ubea* yielded. Then Ambassadors are sent to all Quarters to perswade them to joyn with the King, who came to procure their freedom; they answered, as had the *Chalcidians* before, their freedom could not be bettered. They met with *Quintius* at an *Achaean* Council, where the *Aetolians* and *Antiochians* extol one another, with which *Quintius* took the advantage to shew them their vanity, and the Kings weakness both in judgment and power, and that he and the *Aetolians* did but delude each other, so war was proclaimed against them. Thus as the turbulent *Aetolians* were only forward with *Antiochus* against the *Romans*, to

the *Acheans* only do delare themselves for them, all the rest stand doubtful, except *Elamis*, who loved the *Aetolians*, and the *Eubaeans* and *Boeotians* forced by *Antiochus*, with the *Magnesian* and *Athamanians*. *Antiochus* confers with these, and *Hannibal*, long neglected, by reason of the bragging *Aetolians*, is called upon, who spake plainly his mind, *That as for these Confederates, their weakness and fear made them uncertain Friends, whereas if the Macedonian had been drawn in, he was strong and would not start, having once fallen off from Rome, and if he dare not, let him be set upon, and kept at work at home. And let the Gauls be stirred up, and a strong power be sent unto Italy, while the King proceeds in Greece.* They are pleased with the brave Speech of this great Spirit, but nothing is done except forcing *Thessaly*, where yet *Larissa* withstood his Army, and was relieved by the *Romans*, at whose approach he rises and went to *Chalcis*, for the love of a young woman there. *Marcus Aulus* Consul comes into *Greece* with 10000 Foot and 2000 Horse, and 15 Elephants, to whom *Ptolomy*, *Philip*, *Carthage* and *Massanissa* made offers of assistance, but *Philip* alone is accepted, and recompenced with *Athamania*, *Aminander* the King being expelled. All *Thessaly* willingly yielded, and *Antiochus* is perplexed, crying out he was betrayed, and calling upon the *Aetolians*, who sent him some small forces, with which and his own Army he took upon him to keep the Streights of *Thermopylae*, out of which he is beaten by the Consul, through *Portius Cato's* indefatigable labour, in finding out an unknown passage up, where the *Aetolians* had 600 men to keep the place, whom he put to flight, and following them was led to *Antiochus* Camp, which at first fight ran away, and *Antiochus* forsakes *Greece*. In a few days all that *Antiochus* had got was recovered, *Heraclia* won from the *Aetolians*, to their great terror, who had sent post to *Antiochus* for aid, before the *Romans* had subdued them; and who now left no enemy behind to hinder their invading of *Asia*. *Antiochus* upon that consideration sent *Nicander* with money, and promise of forces thither, but upon the loss of *Heraclia* they sue humbly to the Consul, who will scarce hear them: In the end, offering to yield to the *Romans* discretion, he required such conditions as they held slavish, whereupon he offered to lay Chains upon them, but was over-perswaded. So he went to besiege *Naupactus* while *Quintius* was settling *Peloponnesus*; from whence he came to the Consul, when the earnest application of the *Aetolians* procured them Truce while they might send to *Rome*, where yet they could do no good, where-

whereupon all their followers sue for pardon. The Consul suddenly attempteth *Lamia* and won it, while they prepare against him at *Naupactus*, and then goes to *Amphissa*.

§. 9. *Lucius Cornelius Scipio* is chosen Consul, and upon *Publius Scipio Africanus* offer to be his Lieutenant, is appointed for *Asia*, who having 13000 Foot and 500 Horse, came into *Greece* and took the charge of that Army at *Amphissa*, which presently was deserted, but the Castle held out, and was thought impregnable, so that *Publius Scipio* procured a years Truce for them, being impatient before his going into *Asia*; so that the *Scipio's* set forward, and in *Macedon* find all desired assistance, and *Philip* to accompany them to the *Hellespont*, where they stay until the Navy to transport them was ready. At the Sea this Spring *Polyxenidas* a banished *Rhodian*, but *Antiochus* faithful Admiral, desiring to be revenged, hearing the *Rhodian* Fleet lay at *Samos*, sent the Admiral secret word, that if his banishment might be repealed, he would betray the Kings Fleet to him. After agreement between them, the *Rhodians* grew secure, so that *Polyxenidas* coming suddenly upon him, took or sunk all his Ships but 5. *Seleucus* the Son of *Antiochus* besieges *Pergamus*, defended by *Attalus*, brother to King *Eumenes*, who was assisted by *Diophanes*, bred up by *Philopemon*, with 1000 Foot and 100 Horse. He observing from the Walls how careless the Enemy was, went out with his *Acheans* and encamped near the Enemy, who derided at his boldness, seeing him lye so quietly, and became secure, but they were soon suppressed, and many slain, so that after such another defeat *Seleucus* quits the Siege. *Antiochus* shortly after lost 40 Galleys near *Mioneffus*, a promontory in *Asia*, being overthrown by the *Romans* and *Rhodians*, so that he had but 49 left. *Antiochus* upon this called home the Garrison of *Lyfimachia*, and gathered all his Forces together, as being intent only upon his own defence, wherein he desired aid of his Father-in-Law, the King of *Cappadocia*: But hearing the Consul was landed in *Asia*, he sent to sue for peace, offering to free what Towns he could name upon the Coast, yea to part *Asia* with them, and bear half the charge: All this the Consul esteemeth too little, he will have all the charges, and all the lesser *Asia* freed, and him confined the other side of Mount *Taurus*: Whereto *Publius Scipio* adviseth the Kings Ambassadors to perswade their masters, when he privately solicited his mediation to the Consul. The King esteems these demands no less than if he were vanquished, and so would not listen thereto, having 70000 Foot, 12000 Horse,

52 Elephants, and many Chariots armed after the Eastern manner with Scythes, &c. neither seemed to be afraid: for hearing *Publius Scipio* was sick, he sent him his Son whom he had taken Prisoner and used honourably, which much comforted the Father, who in requital wished him not to fight till he heard of his coming to the Camp. The King hereupon removed to *Magnesia* on *Sypilus*, and fortified himself there, being followed by the Consul, who offered him Battel, which he would not accept: At last, fearing to dishearten his men, when the Consul drew out to the field, and set his men in order, he also did the like, which made an admirable shew for numbers and variety, through the different manner every Nation used. It is shameful to rehearse, and incredible to believe how little resistance this brave shew of heartless *Asiatics* made, who suffered themselves to be slain like so many Beasts, to the number of 50000 Foot and 4000 Horse, besides Prisoners, with the loss only of 300 Roman Foot, 24 Horses, and 25 of *Eumenes's* men. *Antiochus* sends from *Apamea*, whether he was fled, an Ambassador, with full power to submit to what the Consul would require of him, who requireth 50000 Talents for charges, to be paid at set times, That *Antiochus* should abandon all on this side *Taurus*, pay *Eumenes* 400 Talents, and a proportion of Corn, put in 20 Hostages, and deliver *Hannibal* and *Thoas* the *Ætolian* up to the Romans. *Antiochus* Ambassadors come to Rome, accompanied with King *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, and the Peace is confirmed, with a division of the Conquest amongst the Romans Allies, even to mutual contentment. *Cornelius Scipio* returns, and hath a Triumph exceeding any ten before, and hath the surname *Asiaticus* for his title, which was the merit of the fortune of his Victory, though the virtue requisite was short of that in *Publius Scipio*. *Marcus Fulvius* and *Carius Manlius* the Consuls have Greece and Asia divided between them, being more than one could look after at once, having the *Ætolians* to reduce to an acknowledgment of the Roman Majesty, and their new Conquest in Asia to be regulated. In the interim of the *Ætolian* Truce, *Aminander*, whose Kingdom of *Athamania* the Romans had suffered *Philip* to possess, found means to recover it, as did the *Ætolians* recover the *Amphilochians* and *Aperantians*. *Fulvius* being come into Greece, besiegeth the noble City *Ambracia*, which much imported the *Ætolians* not to lose, and yet they were not able to relieve it; so that the *Athenians* and *Rhodians* interceded for Peace with the Consul, who finding the difficulty of winning the Town, condescends to. To Rome they go, and

and agree to divers Articles, which makes them more obnoxious to Rome than any people of Greece. The Consul *Manlius* in Asia visited all that *Antiochus* had lost on this side *Taurus*, loaded himself with the booty, and at length came to the Gallo Greeks upon the River *Halis*, who took all they had, and went up the Mountains *Olimpus* and *Margana*: They hoped that the Consul either would not follow, or be easily repelled, but in both they were deceived, being unprovided with Arrows or Slings, and defensive Armour, and so in the end were forced to throw themselves off the Rocks, and there leave great wealth, gotten with long robbing their neighbours, to the Romans. He also brought *Arionathus* to submit, as he did other people also, from whom he drew but what he could get. Finally, having sworn the Peace to *Antiochus*, and taken an oath of his Ambassadors for him, he took his way home by the *Hellepont*, laden with rich spoils, but passing through *Thrace* he was eased of the carriage of no small part of it, not without the instigation of *Philip*, now grown greatly discontented with the Romans, for not respecting him according to his deserts, as he thought. Both Consuls at their return to Rome triumphed, though *Manlius* was charged with sending his Army over *Taurus*, the fatal bounds of Rome, according to *Sybil's* Prophecy; yet *Lucullus* and *Pompey* led the Roman Army over those Hills without any fatal calamities. Touching those Books of the *Sybills*, I esteem it not probable, that *Gabinus* the Roman's restoring *Ptolomy* to his Kingdom, should betoken the coming of our Saviour, as some Christian Writers, both ancient and modern, interpreted the *Sybills* in that Prophecy. Indeed I had a very reverend opinion once of those Predictions, yet considering the shameful Idolatry advanced at Rome by those Books my credulity is weakened, and I suspect the judgment of *Eusebius* about those Verses, and I am satisfied (by that which *Casaubon* hath written upon *Baronius's* Annals) not only those Prophecies of Christ in *Sybills*, but even the books of *Hermes* (of such reputation) were but counterfeited pieces, entertained at first by the indiscreet zeal of such as delighted to see the Christian Religion strengthened by Foreign Proofs. The like is to be thought of that story in *Eusebius*, of the Honour done to *Symon Magus* in the Inscription upon an Altar, To *Symon the Holy God*, mentioned by no writer of that time, as *Tacitus*, *Suetonius*, *Dion*, *Seneca*, &c. and that it was a mistaking of it, instead of *Semoni Sango* to the De-

mi-God *Sangus*, a Title four hundred years older than *Symon Magus*. Such things entertained without examination, find credit by tradition, and are often put into a better form than at first; but it is not safe to lean heavily upon an old rotten Post though well painted. *Manlius* deferred his Triumph, there being a hot Inquisition in the City by the Tribunes against the *Scipio's*, as not having brought into the Treasury what was gotten in their Victories. The Indignity so offended *Publius Scipio*, that he left the City and never returned, and his Brother had all his Goods confiscated. After this *Manlius* brought into the Treasury as much as made up the last payment of the Money borrowed of private men in the second *Punic* War, so that till now they had some smart feeling of *Hannibal*: Thus began the Civil War of the Tongue in the *Romans* Pleading. Security from danger abroad, and want of sufficient employment kindled this fire, which laid hold upon that great Worthy, to whose Virtue *Rome* was so much indebted. But those Factions did not long contain themselves within the heat of words, but when men found themselves overmatched at the weapon of the Tongue, whose art in leading the multitude was grown to a perfection, they fell to make opposition with hand by frays in the Streets, and after by battles in the open Fields, which in 3 Generations after this, overthrew the insolent rule both of Senate and People.

C H A P.

C H A P. VI.

Of the second Macedonian War.

§. 1. *Antiochus* being overthrown, *Philip*, *Eumenes*, and all *Greece* seemed to be Freemen and govern by their own Laws; but indeed were absolute Vassals to *Rome*, which of the 5 Prerogatives of an absolute Monarch or Sovereign Power, to make Laws, Magistrates, Peace, and War, Coyn Money, and receive Appeals, had assumed four, and especially the greatest, which is Appeals, and in the other 3 interposed herself at pleasure; yet *Eumenes* living far off, near unto Nations not well subdued, and obsequious to *Rome*, went long unquestioned for any thing, as did also *Massanissa*. *Philip's* Temper was more noble, as he which had not forgot his own former greatness, honour of his Family, and high Reputation of his Kingdom. His magnanimity is construed to be want of reverence to the *Roman* greatness, so that upon *Eumenes* and the *Thessalians* complaint, he must depart with what they will claim, though gotten by licence from *Rome*. *Lysimachia*, the chief City in *Thrace*, having been usurped by *Philip* was destroyed by the *Thracians*, and re-built by *Antiochus*, after he had won *Chersonesus*, both which the *Romans* bestowed upon *Eumenes*. To these *Enus* and *Maronea* had belonged, but were gotten by *Philip*, and fortified for the defence of his Kingdom against the barbarous *Thracians*, which now *Eumenes* beggeth, and themselves labour their own freedom from both. This labour of the *Maronites* so provoked *Philip*, that by *Cassander* one of his men of *Maronea*, directed by *Onomastus* his Warden of the Sea Coast, the *Thracians* were let into the Town, which was sackt by them; and when *Cassander* at the *Roman* Command was to be sent to *Rome* to be examined about it, he was poisoned by the way according to *Machiavil's* rule. *Philip* hereby grew more suspicious at *Rome*, but sent *Demetrius* his Son who had been Hostage there, and obtained favour to make his Answer. In the mean time the *Romans* Ambassador, which had judged between him and his Neighbours, passing through *Greece*, heard a Controversy between the *Acheans* and *Lacedemonians*, in which *Lycortus* the *Achaean* Prætor told *Appian Claudius* boldly, that it was strange the *Romans* should

should call their faithful Allies to account, as if they were Vassals. *Appius* for want of better understanding, answer'd like a *Roman* Lord, and threatned to force them to a compliance, and shortly after the Senate made void all judgments of Death or Banishment, given by the *Acheans* against the *Lacedemonians*, and made it a question whether *Lacedemon* should not be made a free State as of old. Into this Slavery had the *Romans* brought all the States near them, which had desired their Patronage, and made them groan under the Yoke. *Demetrius* returned to his Father with the desired Peace, more for his own sake than his Fathers, as they writ to *Philip*, which made the Son insolent, and the Father to hate both them and him.

§. 2. *Messene*, which had been annexed to the *Achean* Commonwealth against their Wills, grew bold upon the *Romans* peremptory dealing with the *Acheans*, designing to fall off in hopes to become a free State again. *Philopemon*, Prætor of *Achea*, levied Forces in haste to meet *Dinocrates* the *Messenian* Captain, and forced him to run for it, till a fresh supply from *Messene* compelled him to make his Retreat, in which endeavouring to make way for his Horsemen, himself being weak thro former sickness, was cast down and taken, and being carried to *Messene*, *Dinocrates* seeing him so generally affected, hastned his death by a Hang-man, who brought him a Cup of Poyson. *Hannibal* about the same time was with *Prussias* King of *Bythinia*, to whom *Tertius Quintus* was sent to require to deliver up, as the most spiteful enemy of *Rome*. Whereupon the wretched King, meaning to give the *Romans* contentment, set a guard about *Hannibal's* Lodgings, who, seeing himself hemmed in, took Poyson, which he had always carried about him; and so died, exclaiming against the *Romans* degenerating from the virtue of their Ancestors, who would not consent to the poysoning of *Pyrrhus* their Enemy; and against the treachery of *Prussia*, betraying his Guest, contrary to the honour of a King, Laws of Hospitality and Faith given. *Publius Scipio* died the same year, to accompany *Philopemon* and *Hannibal*, being three as great Captains as ever the world bred, but as unfortunate as famous. Had *Hannibal*, whose Tragedy we have ended, been Prince of *Carthage*, able to command such Supplies as the War he took in hand required, it is probable that he had torn up the *Roman* Empire by the Roots; but the strong cowardly Faction of Enemies at home made his great virtue (wanting publick force to sustain it) to dissolve it self in his own Countries calamity. From such En-

vy of equals, or jealousy of our Masters, either Kings or Commonwealths, it is, that no profession is more unprosperous, than that of Generals, which are no Kings; besides the Rapes, Slaughter, Vastations, &c. which are so hateful to God, that were not the mercies of God infinite (as *Monluc* Marshal of France confessed) it were in vain for any of his Profession to hope for any portion thereof. Such cruelties being permitted or committed by them. And true it is, that as the Victories obtained by many of the greatest Commanders are commonly ascribed either to Fortune, or to their followers; or the cowardize of the vanquished, so the most, whose virtues have raised them above all envy, have in the end been rewarded either with disgrace, banishment, or death, as many examples both of *Romans* and of *Grecians* witness. *David* bequeathed this Legacy to *Joab*, the Victorious *Alexander* feasted *Parmenio*, *Philotas*, &c. with this Dish, as did *Valentinian*, *Atius*, his right hand, as *Proximus* called him. *Bellisarius*, whose glorious Victories posterity esteem'd fabulous, had his eyes pulled out, and dyed a blind Beggar, and was not *Narses* disgraced by *Justin*? *Cato's* rule hath ever since been observed, that a Commonwealth is not free that is in awe of any one man, whence grew that *Turkish* principle, that a warlike Prince must destroy such great warriors as obscure his own Glory, as *Bajazet II.* did *Bassia Acomat*, and *Selim* his *Mustapha*. As for such as have acquired to the dignity of Princes, most of them have usurped it more by treachery, than true valour, and their barbarous cruelty proved them indeed Cowards, as *Phocas* and others that succeeded; but seldom have any become great, thro the liberality of Princes and Cities, as *Soloman* observed. Queen *Elizabeth* of all her military and valiant Commanders, only raised the Lord Admiral; but King *James* hath honoured the Lord *Thomas Howard*, *Mountjoy*, *Burlye*, *Sidney*, *Knowls*, *Russel*, *Carewe*, *Dawvers*, *Arundel*, *Gerold*, and *Chichester* with Peerages.

§. 3. *Philip* well perceiving the *Romans* aimed at his Kingdom, repented himself of his obsequiousness to them; yet was in ill case to help himself, having been beaten by them, and his people unwilling to deal with them, and having no Friends to assist him, yet necessity made him to look about him, and resolved to remove the Inhabitants of his Maritime Towns to *Emathia*, and people them with *Thracians* that feared not the *Romans*. He also contrived to draw the *Basserna*, an hardy Nation beyond *Danubius*, into *Dardania*, and to root out the *Dardanians* that were always trou-

troublefom to *Macedon*; but this Device took flow effect, and was interrupted divers ways. His Subjects removing againſt their wills break forth into insolent words, which his cruel nature ſeeking to reſreſs by putting many to death, encreaſed the Exclamation, which inflamed him barbarouſly to Maſſacre their Children. After this the furies enter his own Houſe, and vengeance was poured out upon him from Heaven in his own Children, as 'tis thought by the jealousy he had of *Demetrius* his younger Son, and the fear that *Perſeus* had of him for his intereſt in the *Romans* affections. Wicked Instruments are not wanting, who counterfeit a Letter from *Quintius* to *Philip*, entreating for *Demetrius*, with an intimation of his ambitious deſire againſt his Brother *Perſeus*. One *Didas* alſo, to whom he was committed by *Philip*, pretending friendship to him, ſounded him, and told the King that he intended to eſcape to the *Romans*, who would not fail him, ſo the Father without farther examination, commanded his unhappy Son to be murdered, and afterwards upon his Couſin *Antigonus* his Inquiry, found out the contrivance too late. Hereupon he was minded to confer the Kingdom upon *Antigonus*, but death prevented it.

§. 4. *Perſus* ſucceeded his Father, who had reigned 42 years, and thought it not expedient to imbroyl himſelf ſo ſoon with a *Roman* War, but to ſettle his Eſtate, and therefore to prevent danger ſlew *Antigonus*. Then to gain his Subjects affections he ſat in Judgment, and gave them many publick ſhews; and to win the *Romans* he ſent and renewed the League, and with his liberality he engaged the *Greeks* and other Neighbours in his intereſts. *Maſſaniſſa* had heretofore taken the Country of *Emporia* from *Carthage*, and about this time he took other Lands from them alſo by force, in all about 70 Towns and Caſtles, whereupon when the *Carthaginians* complained hereof by their Ambaſſadors, proſtrate with tears before the Senate, deſiring Juſtice or Liberty to defend themſelves againſt him, or at leaſt to know how far *Maſſaniſſa* ſhould be allowed to proceed, and if none of theſe would be granted, that the Senate it ſelf would inflict upon them what they thought meet, rather than keep them in continual fear of this *Numidian* Hangman. See the fruits of their Envy againſt the Valiant Family of the *Barchines*, and of the *Roman* Peace deſired by *Hanno*, which hath made them Slaves to the Servants of the *Numidians*, whoſe Fathers they had uſed to ſell all over

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ver *Africk* and *Greece*. Their Answer was gentle, but without effect, &c. and *Maſſaniſſa* had only a mild rebuke. *Perſeus* is not yet brought into ſuch a yoke, but muſt be, for he is queſtioned for taking up Arms without their leave, though to ſubdue his own Rebels. After the ſame manner they dealt with *Greece*, and of all others with the *Acheans*, who preſumed moſt upon their favour, &c. ſo that all ſaw that the *Roman* Patronage tended to nothing elſe than the bondage of *Greece*. This gave *Perſeus* hope to find a party there, as indeed he did, though it little availed him.

§. 5. *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus* hated *Perſeus* exceedingly, not only from an Hereditary Quarrel with *Macedon*, but for that he perceived the *Greeks* inclined to favour him more than himſelf, whom they began to neglect, for being over ſerviceable to *Rome*; for redreſs hereof he thought it not difficult to induce the *Romans* utterly to overthrow the *Macedonian* Kingdom, which the *Greeks* now adored. To this end he took a ſecond Journey to *Rome*, where he laboured to provoke the Fathers againſt *Perſeus*, which he needed not, for they heard him willingly, that their preſence of War might have the fairer ſhew; as proceeding from the information of ſuch a King that came on purpoſe ſo far, as out of *Asia*. The *Rhodians* were there with the *Macedonian* Ambaſſadors, to answer with matters of Recrimination, that *Eumenes* had provoked the *Lycians* to rebel againſt the *Rhodians*. But a careleſs audience was given to the *Rhodians* for their friendly Office, in conveying *Laodice* the Daughter of *Antigonus* to *Perſeus*, and their answer contained in ſubſtance, that the *Lycians* were assigned to *Rhodes*, not as Vaſſals, but as Associates, &c. Thus their Subjects are become their Fellows, which alſo in the acceſs made to *Eumenes*, *Maſſaniſſa*, and the *Aetolians*, &c. whoſe Subjects were increaſed by the *Romans* in the Cities, and people beſtowed upon them after *Antiochus*'s overthrow, had cauſe to reſent this Decree. The *Macedonian* Ambaſſadors were heard not ſo careleſſly as angrily, being glad that *Harpalus* the chief Ambaſſador had by violent Speeches given them cauſe of anger, and though *Perſeus* his faint heart was not fit to date, yet now he might think to get more by a little bravery than ſubmiſſion, ſeeing the eyes of all *Greece* were ſet upon him for its deliverance from the *Roman* ſervitude. And it ſeems *Perſeus* was not very cautious of offending them, when he hired 3 or 4 *Ruffians* to murder *Eumenes*, as he went to worſhip at *Delphi* in his return home, whom they left for dead; though he recovered.

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The fame of his death made *Attalus* his Brother take upon him the Regal Dignity, and would have taken *Stratonice* his Wife (as a matter of State) had not *Eumenes* coming home prevented it, all which *Eumenes* only checked with wishing him not to marry the Queen till he were sure the King was dead, &c. who then bequeathed her to him. The Senate upon these occasions decree War, and send Ambassadors to require satisfaction, or to denounce it, which *Perseus* sets light by, calling the *Romans* greedy, insolent, &c. and command them to depart. This present heat was too much, he wanting constant resolution and proceeding, which he neglected in hopes of Peace.

§. 6. *Rome* had now a fair occasion of War with *Macedon*, which though it had been long sought for, yet the preparation for it was to seek, and the want of it helped to found the disposition of *Greece*, which they solicit by Ambassadors, with better terms than intentions, as wise men knew well enough, though they durst not but promise aid to them, whose ruin they desired. This fear of *Greece* grew from the timorous demeanor of *Perseus*, whom they secretly affected, but saw his want of resolution, would betray them all that declared for him, if he could make his Peace, which even then he sought when he was in the Field, and his Enemy not yet in sight. His Ambassadors were scarce come home when *Lycinius* the *Roman* Consul was at *Appollonia*, and yet *Perseus* is still in deliberation, though at last the stoutest and wisest Counsel prevailed, if it had been as well followed after he had brought his Forces together, which were 39000 Foot and 4000 Horse. Being come into *Thessaly*, which was the Enemies way, some Towns open to him, and some he forced, and so came to *Sycurium*. *Lycinius* is also come into *Thessaly*, with only two Legions tired in his passage, through *Athamania*, and resteth by the River *Peneus*, incamping there, and intending not to fight till the Auxiliaries were come up, so that he might force himself through *Tempe*, of whose Streights *Perseus* was Master to his great advantage, and might have had more in taking the Streights of *Aous*. *Eumenes* and *Attalus* his Brother are come to the Consul with 4000 Foot and 1000 Horse, yet the Consul keepeth in his Trenches, and is contented to be dared day by day by *Perseus*, till at last he was forced to send out *Eumenes*, *Attalus* and his own Brother to oppose him. In this Skirmish *Perseus* slew 200, and took as many with little loss, and might have distressed the Consuls Camp, if his fear had not lessened his encouragement by the success, for the Consul was glad

to decamp at midnight to a stronger place beyond the River. Of all the advantages he had, this weak spirited man made no other use than to hope for Peace, though *Licinius* peremptorily told him, he should look for none without an absolute resignation of his Person and Kingdom. Not long after, attempting to fire the Consuls Camp, he had the worst on't, and thereupon leaving a weak Guard in *Tempe*, he returned to *Macedon*. *Lycinius* the Consul, and *Lucretius* the Admiral, ended their year with the cruel oppression of their Confederates, as did their Successors *Hostilius*, who was more intent upon quarrelling with Friends, than warring with Enemies. The same did *Hortensius* the Admiral, of whose oppressions as well as his Predecessors, complaint was made at *Rome*, and *Lentretius* deeply fined, and a Decree sent to *Greece*, ordering them to refuse all impositions not warranted by the Senate.

§. 7. *Perseus* in the two first years of the War was grown strong, being enlarged on the *Illyrian* side, and his *Grecian* Friends grown bolder, and many of the *Romans* Friends kept out their Admirals by force; for their oppressions and the glory of their enterprize against *Macedon* defaced as their Army was lessened greatly. *Quintius Martius* a new Consul, cometh to remedy all, if he knew how, yet he began hotly, and indeed the right way to force through the streights was not by a strong hand against the Guards which kept them, but by seeking out untrodden ways, over such steep Mountains, as if Nature had determined Armies should never pass them, especially with Elephants. *Perseus* could not be ignorant of the *Romans* coming towards him, and might have distressed them, if his heart had served him, but he only kept the ordinary passage into *Tempe*, and when he saw the *Romans* entred, he was so far from falling on them upon their extream weariness, that he fled, crying out all was lost without fight. So in haste he left *Dium*, being the strong passage into *Macedon*, and sent post to set fire to his Arsenal at *Thessalonica*, and to throw his Treasure at *Pol-la* into the Sea, and called away the Captains which kept the Streights; but after his fright was over he put the two first to death, to cover his fear, as if they had acted without his command, and the other two escaped by taking the fault upon themselves. *Martius* presently took *Dium*, yet after one days march into *Macedon* want of provision forced him back to *Thessaly*, so unable was he to hold out if *Perseus* had kept the Streights. So he forsook *Dium*, and took the way to *Phila*, to meet his desired provision, and foolishly gave

Over the enterprize either for want or courage or skill; and thereby so encouraged *Persens* that he fortified *Dium* again. And so frustrated all the Consuls proceedings that Summer, who only took *Heraclea* five miles off. The like success had the Admiral at Sea, in attempting *Theſſalonica*, *Cassandria*, and *Demetrias*, though assisted by *Eumenes*. While the Consul lay at *Heraclea* he perswaded the *Rhodian* Ambassadors to mediate an end of the War, which might argue his fear, though *Polybius* thinks it was to endanger the *Rhodians*, for all his cunning lay in such tricks. Here also *Polybius* brought him word of supplies decreed for him out of *Achaëa*, which he refused, and also dissuaded the sending any to *Appius Claudius* the Prætor, as being not needful, though *Claudius* on the Frontier of *Illyria* were in danger and sent for it, and for want of it, was highly displeased with *Polybius*. *Eumenes*, at this time grew cold in his affections to *Rome*, upon what occasion is doubtful, though it was generally thought, that upon disgust of some unkind usage from *Martius*, he went home, to whom *Persens* sent to draw him off by some hopes of advantage, and upon the consideration of the fire like to take his own House after *Persens* House was burnt. Like course *Persens* took with *Gentius* King of *Illyria*, and won him over, so that both send to the *Rhodians*, desiring them to arbitrate between *Persens* and *Rome*, which they promised, thinking *Martius* also desired it. But when their Ambassadors moved for that mediation, they were so disdainfully taken up, that in all submission they were glad to cry *Peccavi*. *Gentius* having received ten Talents, and more being coming, laid hands on the *Roman* Ambassadors, and committed them into custody, whereupon *Persens* recalled his last Treasure, seeing *Gentius* so far engaged. About that time came *Clondicus* thither with 10000 Horse and 10000 Foot of *Gauls* or *Barstanes*, procured by *Persens*, and for want of the pay agreed on, presently returned towards the *Danube*.

§ 8. *Lucius Æmilius Paulus*, Consul the second time, had *Macedon* for his Province, but refused to propound any thing for that service to the Senate, till a review was made of the Army there, and how it stood with the *Macedonians*; so supplies are made accordingly for him, and the Admiral and *Lucius Anisius* were to succeed *Appius Claudius* the Prætor. *Æmilius* at his departure in his grave Oration, requested them, which thought themselves wise enough to manage these Wars, either to go with him for his assistance, or govern their Tongues at home, and not censure upon hearsay, for

for he would frame his actions to the advantage of the State, and not to the expectation of the multitude. He was honourably attended out of the City, and in 5 days came to the Camp, when *Persens* lay in *Dium*, and fortified the foords of *Enipeus*, between which and *Tempe* for ten miles together, which is along the Sea shoar, and *Olympus* there is no fresh Water. But *Æmilius* knew no want of fresh Water after a little digging, for want whereof *Martius* had been glad to go to *Heraclea*, yet the passage over *Olympus* was as difficult now as then, so that *Æmilius* fell to inquire, and found out a passage over *Olympus*, but narrow, leading to *Perrabia*, hard of ascent, but slenderly guarded, either un- found, or not attempted by *Martius*, whose men being tired in getting over *Ossa* would hardly adventure such another. But *Paulus*, a far more able Commander, had taught them better than to question a General's Command, made choice of 5000 men for the Enterprize, and committed them to his adopted Sons, *Scipio Æmilianus*, and *Quintus Fabius Maximus*. These two, the better to conceal their march over that Mountain, set out another way till night came on, and the Consul made shew as if he would set upon *Persens*, and gain a passage over *Enipeus*, to divert him from the business intended, so that *Scipio* and *Fabius* having forced the small Guard they had there, got in 3 days over, and were not discovered till the Guard which fled were come to the Camp. Then was all in a Tumult, and the King most of all amazed, hasteth to *Pyana*, where he consults whether to fortify some Towns, or put all to the hazard of a Battle, which latter, though the worst, is resolved on, and that which the Consul wished. The King chose the place near *Pidna*, whether the Consul came, but made a stand till a place from the Camp were intrenched, and the Souldiers were refreshed after their labour, the both sides thought it long, especially the *Romans*, who feared lest the King should remove further off. That evening the Consul was told by a Tribune of an Eclipse of the Moon that night, and the natural cause of it, who was content it should be published in the Camp to prevent their fear. Superstition captivates the wise, where the help of true Religion is wanting. *Æmilius* as soon as the Moon recovered her light, congratulated her with a Sacrifice, for which *Plutarch* calls him a godly man, and the next morning he made another to *Hercules*, about which much of the day was spent, before the *Greeks* partial God gave a good sign in the intrails of the sacrifices, so that day neither side had any

great desire to fight, yet after ten of the Clock upon a light occasion of watering of Horses, 2 or 3 of each side fell to blows, and Partizans came in so fast, that both the Generals were forced to put their men in order for a Battle, and after an oration brought them on to fight: but *Perseus* used the stratagem of a Coward to leave his men, and withdrew himself to *Pidna*, pretending a sacrifice he was to offer, which being unseasonable, proved him an Hypocritical Coward. He sped accordingly, for upon his return he found the day little better than lost, but got the honour to be present that he might run away with his men, leaving 20000 Foot slain in the Field, while he recovered *Pella*, from which yet he fled in the night, for fear of his own people, and came to *Amphipolis*, but was glad to be gone by Sea with his Treasure to *Samothrace*. The head having forsaken the body, little sense was left or strength to stand, all the Kingdom fell presently into the Conquerors hands, while the King taketh Sanctuary with his Treasure, Wife and Children in *Samothrace*, but after base application to the Consul, he endeavours to escape in a *Cretian Ship*, which having taken in much of his Treasure, set sail and left him behind. In the end he was forced to surrender himself and all into the Consuls hands, and so made the Conquest complete. Being brought before the Consul, he fell so basely prostrated, that he seemed to dishonour the Victory as gotten over a man of so servile a nature. Thus ended the *Macedonian Kingdom*, and a War of 40 years continuance, and the Glory of the world was translated to *Rome*.

§. 9. *Gentius* King of the *Illyrians*, with 15000 men at *Lissus*, ready to assist *Perseus*, upon receipt of the mony promised, was stopt by *Anisius* the *Roman* Prætor, who drives him into *Scodra*, or *Sutari*, where after a while he surrendered himself and all his men to the *Roman* Prætor, who ended that War in thirty days.

§. 10. *Rome* swelling with the pride of her Fortune, called before them the *Rhodian* Ambassadors, whom they threatened as being Partizans with *Macedon*, whose cause they had presumed to undertake, and though they congratulated the Victory, deprecated their folly, and their Citizens had put to death, or sent Prisoners to *Rome*, all the chief men of the *Macedonian* Faction, yet War had been proclaimed against them but for *Cato*, who said it would be judged rather a quarrel with their wealth, than any just Cause, considering also what friends they had been to *Rome* in former Wars. *Macedon* is divided into four Quarters, and each

each prohibited Commerce with the other. Their Laws are abrogated, and new ones given, and all the Tribes were sent into *Italy*, and the Tribute lessened by half, which was the best part of the liberty *Rome* used to give. *Greece* must now bear her yoke, and all that can be found, not only Associates with *Perseus*, but good Patriots which were not esteemed serviceable to *Rome*, were sent to *Rome* and clapt up, of which sort one thousand were sent out of *Achea*, and *Polybius* among them. This was the effect of the *Roman Oath* or League. *Epirus* is more barbarously dealt with, and given to the Soldiers to plunder for their pay, to save the *Macedonian* Treasure whole, so that in one day 70 Cities of *Roman* Confederates were sackt by the Troops put into them in time of Peace, and 150000 of the people made Slaves; which Act of *Emilius* stained his virtues.

§. 11. *Antiochus* the Great died in the 36th year of his Reign, *Seleucus* the eldest Son succeeded for 12 years, whom *Daniel* described 300 years before, &c. *Onias* being then High Priest, *Mac. 3*. The first Book of *Maccabees* ends Anno 167 of the *Syrian* Kings, the second Book ends the 151 year. *Antiochus Epiphanes* succeeded his Brother in *Syria*, Anno 131, whose death he procured. *Ptolomy Epiphanes* after 24 years left *Egypt* to his Son. *Ptolomy Philometer*, so called by contraries, for murdering his Mother, he was hated of his Subjects, and rebelled against by his Brother *Ptolomy Phiscon*, who held *Alexandria*, upon which contention *Antiochus Epiphanes* their Uncle thought to possess the Kingdom, under pretence of protecting the young Prince. *Antiochus* proceedings herein, and at *Jerusalem*, are recorded 1 *Mac. 1*. about the beginning of the *Macedonian* War, when, besides the spoil of *Egypt*, he took *Celohria*, as was shewed. He sold the High Priests place to *Jason*, thrusting out *Onias*, and after sold it to *Menelaus*, who procured *Onias* (who had fled into the Sanctuary at *Daphne* by *Antioch*) to be murdered, 2 *Mac. 4*. *Onias* taking protection of *Apollo* and *Diana*, seems to be allowed by the Author, which argues the Book Apocryphal. His second Expedition into *Egypt* was furshewn by a prodigious sign, and the like you have in other Authors, as in *Plin. 2. 57*. *Suetonius* in *Galba*, which Voyage was occasioned by the Brethrens agreement that offended him, who desired they might consume one another. So he entred *Egypt* (though the young King entreated the contrary by his Ambassadors) of whom he demanded *Cyprus* and *Pelusium*, and took *Mem-*

phis and other places. The *Egyptian* seeks aid from *Rome* in vain, being now deeply engaged in the *Macedonian War*, and that with the *Greeks*, especially the *Acheans*, whose forwardness was hindred by the *Roman Faction*. At length the Senate was moved with compassion upon the Ambassadors lamentable behaviour, and sent *C. Pepilius* and others, with command that *Antiochus* should leave *Egypt*, which he submitted to, according to the Prophet *Daniel*, or rather the History of *Daniel*.

§. 12. *Rome* we see is grown terrible, when the greatest Kings must bow to her Majesty, how shall inferiour Kings and States carry themselves, to be assured of favour. *Enmenes* had been very officious, and helped to kindle the fire which hath burnt up the Kingdom of *Macedon*. Yet *Rome* must not forget a discontent given to one of her Magnifico's, and that he begun to Negotiate with *Persens*. It was time therefore to send *Attalus* his Brother to congratulate the Victory, and crave aid against the *Gallo-Greeks*. But *Attalus* had sped better if he had requested his Brothers Kingdom, which because he did not, as they expected, the fathers went off from what they had promised of his having *Euns* and *Maronia*. As for the *Gallo-Greeks*, they have a Message sent them rather to incourage them. The displeasure of the Senate being so manifest, *Enmenes* will again visit them, but the Fathers will not look upon him: and it is decreed, that no King shall come within *Rome*. Yet *Prussias* King of *Bythinia* a little before had been welcomed after a better manner, as he which gave these mortal Gods the Title and Worship done to them, by kissing the Threshold, and calling them his Gods and Saviours, and recommending his Son *Nicomedes* to their Tuition. *Colis* the *Thracian* excuseth his assisting *Persens*, and sues for liberty of his Son taken with *Persens* Children, which is granted him, with an admonition of his good behaviour towards *Rome*. *Massanissa* only kept credit with those great Masters, who bear him out in all his quarrels with *Carthage*, whose ruin he must help forward before his own turn comes. His Congratulations are well accepted. *Persens* and *Gentius* the unhappy Kings, have the last act to play at *Rome* in the Triumph of *Amilius* and *Anisius*, being led in Chains before their Chariots. *Persens* had besought *Amilius* not to be put to that disgrace, and was scornfully answered, he might prevent it, meaning he might kill himself. His end is uncertain, whether he was starved or died by over watching. *Alexander* his youngest Son became

came a *Turner* in *Rome*, what conceit soever his Father had of him, when he gave him that name, in the wantonness of Sovereignty, in which he commanded poor men to be slain, for getting up his Treasure out of the Sea by diving. He considered not that the greatest oppressors and the most abject wretches are all subject to one High Power, governing all alike with an absolute Command. But such is our unhappiness, that instead of that blessed Counsel to do as we would be done to, which teaches moderation, we entertain that arrogant thought, *I will be like the most high*, that is, I will do what pleaseth my self. The very desire of ability to do evil without controul, is a dangerous temptation to the performance; God hath granted it to few, and very few they are which use it not to their own hurt; as Princes, which rack their Sovereignty to the utmost extent, teach others by like strains to root out their own Progeny. Nay, excellent Princes are often forced to avoid such a danger, to flatter base Ministers and Harlots, which Govern the most unworthy of his whole House, yet reigns over all, of which there are many examples. *Amilius* Triumph, so Glorious by reason of a Kings person, brought also such Treasure into the *Roman Treasury*, that till *Julius Caesar's Death*, the Estate never needed to burthen it self with Tribute. The joy of this Triumph God abated with the loss of his 2 Sons, one 5 days before, and the other 3 days after it.

Uni trini Honor & Gloria.

We have seen the beginning and end of the 3 Monarchies of the World, whose founders thought they should never end, and the fourth of the *Romans* is almost at the highest pitch, where we left it flourishing in the field, where in nothing is left to shadow it from the eyes of the world. But after some time the storms of ambition shall tear her branches, her leaves shall fall, her limbs wither, and a rabble of barbarous Nations shall cut her down. These great Conquerors have been the subject of our Ancient Histories and Tragical Poets, shewing us their great undertakings; not so much desiring rule over others, which is so full of care, as hunting after fame, which ploweth up the air, and soweth in the wind; and certainly as fame oft hurteth the living, so it is of no use to the dead; who if they did understand what is reported of them, would wish they had stoll out of the world without noise, rather than to hear a relation of their Treas-

Treacheries, Murders, Rapines, by giving in spoil innocent labouring Souls to the Idle and Insolent, and depopulating Cities of their Inhabitants. Since the fall of the *Roman Empire* (omitting the *German*, which is neither great, nor of long continuance) there hath been no State formidable in the East but the *Turk*, nor in the West except the *Spaniard*, who by so many attempts hath sought to make himself Master of all *Europe*, as one powerful both by his *Indian Treasure*, and many Kingdoms he possesseth in *Europe*. But as the *Turk* is now counterpoised by the *Persian*, so if for so many millions spent by the *English*, *French* and *Netherlanders*, in a defensive War and Diversions against them, 260000 *l.* were employed for two or three years, it is easie to demonstrate how they might be brought to live in peace, and their swelling streams reduced within the banks. These are the only Nations of eminency to be regarded of us, the one seeking to root out the Christian Religion, the other the sincere Professors thereof, &c. If further reason be required of the continuance of this boundless Ambition of mortal men than a desire of fame, we may say that the Kings and Princes of the world have always laid before them the actions, not the ends of those great ones, they being transported with the glory of the one, and never minding the misery of the other, till it seized upon them. They neglect the advice of God while they hope to live, but when Death cometh they believe what it tells them. Death without speaking a word perswades what God with his promises and threats cannot, though the one hateth and destroyeth man, whereas the other made and loveth him. *I have considered* (says Solomon) *all works that are done under the Sun, and behold all is vanity, and vexation of Spirit.* Who believes this till Death beat it into us. It was Death which forced the Conscience of *Charles V.* and made him enjoin *Philip* his Son to restore *Navarre*, and *Francis I.* King of *France*, to command Justice to be done upon the Murderers of the *French* Protestants in *Amerindoll* and *Cabrieres*, till then neglected. Death alone can make man know himself, shew the proud and insolent that he is but abject, and can make him hate his forepassed happiness; the rich man he proves a naked beggar, which hath interest in nothing but the gravel that fills his mouth: and when he holds his Glass before the eyes of the most beautiful, they see and acknowledge their own deformity and rottenness. O eloquent, just and mighty Death, whom none could advise, thou hast perswaded; what none hath presumed, thou hast done; and whom all the world hath flattered, thou hast cast out of the world

world and despised: thou hast drawn together all the extravagant greatness, all the pride, cruelty and ambition of man, and covered all over with two narrow words:

Hic Jacet.

Lastly, Whereas this Book bearing this Title, The First Part of the General, &c. implying a Second and a Third, which I intended, and have hewn out; besides many discouragements perswading my silence, it hath pleased God to take that Glorious Prince out of the World for whom they were most particularly design'd; whose unspeakable and never enough lamented loss hath taught me to say with *Job*,

Versa est in Luctum Cithara mea & Organum meum in Vocem Flentium.

FINIS.



A Discourse of the first Invention of Ships, and the several parts thereof. Of the Canoa of the Gauls, Germans, and Americans. Of the Brittish and Venetian Willough-Boat. The original of Brittish Shipping, and the Invention of the Compass. A view of the Strength of other States in Shipping, especially those of the United Provinces. Of the Diminution of the Empire, and increase of Spain, France, and Great Britain; with the Causes of the hasty growth of the Low Countries. And an exact Description of the unconquerable Force of our English Navy.

3 AU 59

That the Ark of *Noah* was the first Ship, because the Invention of God himself; tho some men have so believed, yet it is certain, that the World being planted before the Flood, the same could not be performed without some transporting Vessels. It is true, and the Success proves it, that there was not any so capacious, nor so strong, to defend itself against so violent and

and so continued a pourcing down of Rain, as the Ark of Noah, the Invention of God himself. Of what fashion or fabrick soever, the rest with all mankind perished, according to the ordinance of God. And probable it is, that those Authors, whereof *Ovid* made mention, found on high Mountains (*& inventa est in Montibus Anchora summis*) were remaining of Ships wrackt at the general Flood.

After the Flood, it is said that *Minos*, who lived two descents before the War of *Troy*, set out Ships to free the *Grecian* Seas of Pyrats: Which shews that there had been either Trade or War upon the Waters before his time also.

Pindarus. The Expedition of the *Argonautes* was after *Minos*, and so was the Plantation of *Syrene* in *Africa* by *Battus*, who was one of *Jason's* Companions: And that the *Tyrians* had Trade by Sea, before the War of *Troy*, *Homor* tells us.

Diodorus Sicul. lib. 6. Others give the first dominion upon the Waters to *Neptune*: who, for the great exploit he did in the service of *Saturn*, was by after ages called the God of the Seas. But the *Corinthians* ascribe the first Invention of Rowing of Vessels to a Citizen of their own, called *Amanocles*; and that the first Naval War was made between the *Samnians* and *Corcyrians*.

Ithicus History, changed into Latin by *St. Jerome*, affirms, That *Griphon* the *Scythian* was the Inventor of Long-Boats, or Gallies, in the Northern Seas. And *Strabo* gives the device of the Anchor with two hooks to the *Scythian Anacharsis*: But the *Greeks* to *Eupolemus*.

It is also said, that *Icarus* invented the Sail, and others other pieces and parts of the Ships and Boats; whereof the certain knowledge is of no great moment. This is certain, That the Sons and Nephews of *Noah*, who peopled the Isles of the *Gentiles*, and gave their own names to many of them, had Vessels to transport themselves long before the days of *Minos*. And for mine own opinion, I do not think that any one Nation (the *Syrian* excepted) to whom the knowledge of the Ark came (as the Story of the Creation did soon after *Moses*) did find out, at once, the device either of Ship or Boat, in which they

durst

durst venture themselves upon the Seas; but being forced by necessity to pass on Rivers and Lakes, they first bound together certain Reeds or Canes, by which they transported themselves. *Calamorum fascis* (saith *Diod. Siculus*) *admodum ingentes inter se conjungunt*.

Others made Rafts of Wood: And others devised the Boat of one Tree called the *Canoa*; which the *Gauls* upon the River of *Rhone* used in assisting the transportation of *Hannibal's* Army, in his enterprize of Italy. *Primum Galli inchoantes cavabant Arbores* (saith *Livy*.) But *Polydore Virgil* gives the Invention of these *Canoas* to the *Germans*, inhabiting about the River *Danubius*; which kind of hollow Trees he calls *Carabes*.

The *Brittons* had Boats made of Willough Twigs, and covered on the outside with Bullocks hides, and had the *Venetians*: Of which *Lucan*; *Primum cava* (saith *Virgil*) *madefacto &c*. And *Junius Solinus*; *Navigant autem Viminis alveis quos circundant ambitione* *torporum Bubulorum*.

The same kind of Boat had the *Germans* (saith *Isidor*) who in his time committed many Robberies in them. But whosoever devised the *Canoa* among the *Danubians*, or among the *Gauls*, sure I am that the *Indians* of *America* never had any Trade with either of these Nations; and yet from *Furbushers* Streights to the Streights of *Megellan* those Boats are found, and in some part of that length, as I have seen them, rowed with twenty Oars of a side.

The truth is, that all Nations, how remote soever, being all reasonable Creatures, and enjoying one and the same imagination and fancy, have devised, according to their Means and Materials, the same things.

The Eastern people, who have had from all Antiquity the use of Iron, have found out the Saw; they have sundred Trees into Boards and Planks, and have joyned them together with Nails, and so made Boats and Gallies safe and portable; so have they built Cities and Towns with Timber, and the like in all things else.

On the contrary, the *West Indies*, and many Nations of the *Africans*, wanting means and materials,

Agreement
in invention
by Nature
instructs
Bows.

als, have been taught by their own necessities to pass Rivers in a Boat of one Tree, and to tye unsquared Poles together on the top for their Houses, which they cover with leaves. Yea, the same Boats and the same Buildings are found in Countries two thousand miles distant, debarred from all Commerce by unpassable Mountains, Lakes, and Deserts. Nature hath taught them all to chuse Kings and Captains for their Leaders and Judges. They all have lighted on the Invention of Bows and Arrows. All have Targets and Wooden Swords. All have Instruments to encourage them to fight. All that have Corn, beat it in Mortars, and make Cakes, baking them upon Slate Stones. All devised Laws, without any grounds had from the Scriptures, or from Aristotle's Politicks, whereby they are governed. All that dwell near Enemies impale their Villages to save themselves from surprize: yea, besides the same inventions, all have the same natural Impulsions: They follow Nature in the choice of many Wives; and there are every where among them, which out of a kind of wolfish ferocity eat Mans-flesh; yea, most of them believe in a second life, and they are all of them Idolaters in one kind or other.

The North
later in
Shipping.

For the Northern parts of the World, it was long ere they grew to any perfection in Shipping. For we read that *Hingist* and *Horsa* came out into this Land in Long-Boats, in which, for the first, being called in by the *Brittains*, they transported 5000 Soldiers; and after that, they came with a Supply of Ten Thousand more, Shipt in Thirty Vessels, which the *Saxon* calls Keels, and our old Historians *Cogiones*. And in *Caesar's* time, the *French Brittains*, who were then esteemed the best Seamen, had very untoward Tubs, in which they made War against him; for they took the Wind in Sails of Leather, heavy and unplyable; and they fastned their Ships to the ground, and rid at Anchor with Cables of Iron Chains, having neither Canvas nor Cordage, insomuch as the best of them, which were of *Vannes*, are described with high heads, raised up deformedly above the rest of the Building; to which kind of form that they were constrained, the reason is manifest; for had their

French
Brittains
the best Seamen
in *Caesar's* time.

their Cables of Iron Chains held any great length, they had been unportable; and being short, the Ships must have sunk at an Anchor, in any storm of weather or counter-tyde. And such was their simplicity in those days, as instead of accommodating their Furniture to their Ships, they formed their Ships to their Furniture; not unlike the Courtiers of this age, who fit their Bodies and their Feet to their Doublets and Shooes, and not their Doublets and Shooes to their Bodies and Feet.

The *Pomerlanders*, inhabiting the South part of the *Baltick* or *Eastland Sea*, used a kind of Boat with the Prow at both ends, so as they need not to vend or hold water, but went on and returned indifferently: Of which *Tacitus*. *Suionum hinc Civitates; ipse in Oceano, prater Viros Armagne, Classibus valent. Forma Navium eo differt, quod utrumque, Prora paratum semper appulsui frontem agit, nec Velis ministrantur, nec Ramos in ordine in lateribus adjungant, solum, ut quibusdam fluminum, & mutabile, ut res postulat, hinc vel illinc remigium.* Next are the Cities of *Suionen*, which are mighty at Sea, not only in Men and Arms, but in Fleet. The form of their Vessels differ in this, that a Prow at each end enables them to row forward either way alike, neither use they Sails, nor place their Oars in order upon the sides, but carrying the Oars loose, they shift it hither and thither at pleasure, as is the manner in some Rivers. Yea, at this time both the *Turks* and *Christians* use these kind of Boats upon the River of *Danubius*, and call them *Nacerne*.

Tacitus de moribus German.

True it is, that before *Caesar's* invading of this Land, we do not find that the *Brittains* had any Shipping at all, other than their Boats of Twigs covered with Hides as aforesaid.

The *Saxons*, when they were invited in by the *Brittains*, came hither by Sea, and after that time, finding that without Shipping they could neither defend themselves, nor exercise any Trade, they began to make some provision for a Navy, such as it was, which being first considered of by *Egbert*, *Alfred*, *Edgar*, and *Ethelred*, augmented it. And how true it is, I know not; but it is written of *Edgar*, that he encreased the Fleet he found to 1600 Sail. After whom *Etheldred* made a Law,

The original of British Shipping.

that whosoever was Lord of 310 hyde of Land, should build and furnish one Ship for the defence of their Country.

Notwithstanding all these provisions, the *Danes* invaded them; and having better Ships than they had, made their way for a new Conquest.

The Nor-
mans good
Ship-
wrights.

The *Normans* grew better Shipwrights than either of both, and made the last Conquest of this Land, a Land which can never be conquered whilst the Kings thereof keep the Dominion of the Seas; which Dominion, I do not find that it was ever absolute till the time of *Hen. 8.* but that we fought, sometimes with good, sometimes with ill success, as we shall shew hereafter more particularly.

The Com-
pass invent-
ed by the
Northern
Nations.

But, omitting the dispute of the first Navigators, certain it is, that the invention of the Compass was had from the Northern Nations, were it from the *Germans, Normigians, Britains, or Danes.* For, even to this day, the old Northern words are used for the division of Winds, upon the quarter of the Compass, not only by the *Danes, Germans, Swedens, Britains,* and all in the Ocean, that understood the terms and names of the Winds in their own Language; but the *French* and *Spanish* call the Sun-rising Winds East or Ost, and the Sun-setting Winds West, the rest North and South; and so by the same terms in all the divisions, of South-East, North-East, South-West, North-West, and the rest.

And if we compare the marvellous great transportations of people by the *Saxons, Angles, Danes, Gothes, Swedens, Normigians* especially, and other; and how many Fleets for Supplies have been set out by them; with the swarms of *Danes*, as well in our Seas, as when they invaded and conquered *Sicily*, together with the Colonies planted by the *Tyrians* in *Africa*, as elsewhere; and of the *Carthaginians*, the Sons of the *Tyrians* in *Spain*; it's hard to judge which of these Nations have most Commanded the Seas; though for priority *Tibullus* and *Ovid* give it the *Tyrians*:

Prima Ratum Ventis credere docta Tyros.

*Tibull.
Eleg. 7.*

And

And *Ovid*,

*Magna minorq; fera, quorum Regis altera Graias,
Altera Sydonias, utraq; sicca Rates.*

*Strabo
lib. 16.*

And it is true, that the first good Ships were among the *Tyrians*: And they had good and great Ships not long after the War of *Troy*; and in *Solomon's* time they were of that account as *Solomon* invited *Hyeram* King of *Tyre*, to joyn with him in his Journey into the *East Indies*: For the *Israelites* till then never traded by Sea, and seldom (if ever) after it. And that the *Tyrians* were the chief in that Enterprize, it appears in that they were called *Nautas Peritos Maris*; in the *Hebrew* (saith *Junius*) *homines Navium*; and in our *English* Mariners. It is also written in the 2 *Chron. 8.* That *Hyeram* sent *Solomon* Ships (& *Servos peritos Maris*) and Servants skill of the Sea: Whereby it is probable, that the *Tyrians* had used the Trade of *East India* before the days of *Solomon*, or before the Reign of *David*, when themselves commanded the Ports of the *Red Sea*. But the *Edumians* being beaten by *David*, and the Port of *Hetzion-Gebor* now subject to *Solomon*; the *Tyrians* were forced to make *Solomon* the chief of that Expedition, and to joyn with him in the Enterprize: For, the *Tyrians* had no passage to the *Red Sea* but through the Territories of *Solomon*, and by his sufferance.

Tyrians.

*Junius
Kings
cap. 9.*

Whosoever were the Inventers, we find that every Age hath added somewhat to Ships, and to all things else: And in mine own time the Shape of our *English* Ships hath been greatly bettered. It is not long since the striking of the Top-mast (a wonderful ease to great Ships both at Sea and in Harbour) hath been devised, together with the Chain Pump, which takes up twice as much Water as the ordinary did. We have lately added the Bonnet and the Drabler. To the Courses we have devised Studding Sails, Top-gallant Sails, Sprit-sails, Top-sails. The weighing of Anchors by the Capstone is also new. We have fallen into consideration of the length of Cables, and by it we resist the malice of the greatest Winds that can blow. Witness our small *Milbrooke* Men of *Cornwall*, that ride it out at

*Riding at
Anchor.*

Anchor half Seas over between *England* and *Ireland* all the Winter quarter. And witness the *Hollanders*, that were wont to ride before *Dunkirk* with the Wind at North West, making a Lee Shoar in all weathers. For true it is, that the length of the Cable is the life of the Ship in all extremities: And the reason is, because it makes so many bendings and waves, as the Ship, riding at that length, is not able to stretch it; and nothing breaks that is not stretcht in extremity. We carry our Ordnance better than we were wont, because our Nether-over-loops are raised commonly from the Water, to wit, between the lower Port and the Sea.

In King *Henry* the Eighth's time, and in his presence, at *Portsmouth*, the *Mary Rose*, by a little sway of the Ship in tacking about, her Ports being within sixteen inches of the water, was overset and lost; and in her that worthy Knight Sir *George Carewe*, Cousin german to the Lord *Carewe* now living; and with him (besides many other Gentlemen) the Father of the late renowned Sir *Rich. Grenville*.

We have also raised our second Decks, and given more vent thereby to our Ordnance, tying on our Nether-loop. We have added Cross-Pillars in our Royal Ships to strengthen them, which be fastened from the Keelson to the Beam of the second Deck, to keep them from setting, or from giving way in all distresses.

We have given longer Floors to our Ships than in elder times, and better bearing under water; whereby they never fall into the Sea after the head, and shake the whole Body, nor sink Stern, nor stoop upon a Wind; by which the breaking loose of our Ordnance, or the not use of them, with many other discommodities are avoided.

The reason why the English Shipwrights are the best. And to say the truth, a miserable shame and dishonour it were for our Shipwrights, if they did not exceed all other in the setting up of our Royal Ships, the errors of other Nations being far more excusable than ours. For the Kings of *England* have for many years been at the charge to build and furnish a Navy of powerful Ships, for their own defence, and for the Wars only.

A view of the strength of other States in Shipping. Whereas the *French*, the *Spaniards*, the *Portugals*, and the *Hollanders* (till of late) have had no

no proper Fleet belonging to their Princes or States. France, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Venetians, Denmark, Sweden, Spain and Portugal.

Only the *Venetians* for a long time have maintained their Arsenal of Gallies. And the Kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden* have had good Ships for these last 50 years.

I say that the aforementioned Kings, especially the *Spaniards* and *Portugals*, have Ships of great bulk; but fitter for the Merchant than for the Man of War, for Burthen than for Battel. But as *Popelimire* well observeth, The forces of Princes by Sea are *Marques de Grandeur d'Estee*, marks of the Greatness of an Estate: For whosoever commands the Sea, commands the Trade; whosoever commands the Trade of the World, commands the Riches of the World, and consequently the World itself. Yet can I not deny, but that the *Spaniards*, being afraid of their *Indian* Fleets, have built some few very good Ships; but he hath no Ships in Garrison, as his Majesty hath; and to say the truth, no sure place to keep them in; but in all Invasions he is driven to take up of all Nations which come into his Ports for Trade.

The *Venetians*, while they attended their Fleets, Venetians and employed themselves in their Eastern Conquest, were great and powerful Princes, and commanded the Maritime parts of *Croatia*, *Dalmatia*, *Albania* and *Epirus*, were Lords of *Peloponnesus* and the Islands adjoyning; of *Cyprus*, *Candia*, and many other places. But after they sought to greaten themselves in *Italy* itself, using Strangers for the Commanders of their Armies, the *Turks* by degrees beat them out of all their goodly Countries, and have now confined them (*Candia* excepted) to a few small *Gracian* Islands, which with great charge and difficulty they enjoy.

The first honour they obtained, was by making War upon the *Istrij* by the Sea; and had they been true to their Spouse, to meet the Seas, which once a year they marry, the *Turks* had never prevailed against them, nor never been able to besiege any place of theirs, to which he must have transported his Armies by his Gallies.

The *Genoeses* were also exceeding powerful by Sea, and held many places in the East, and continued

tended often with the *Venetians* for Superiority, destroying each other in a long continued Sea War: Yea, the *Genoeses* were the most famous Mercenaries of all *Europe*, both by Sea and Land for many years.

The *French* assisted themselves by Land with the Cross-bowers of *Genoa* against the *English*; namely, at the Battel of *Cressy* the *French* had 12000 Cross-bowers: By Sea also, with their great Ships, called the Carrecks of *Genoa*, they always strengthened their Fleets against the *English*. But after *Mahomet* the 2d had taken *Constantinople*, they lost *Caffa*, and all *Taurica Chersonesus*, with the whole Trade of the *Euxine Sea*: And although they sent many Supplies by the *Hellepont*, yet having often felt the smart of the *Turks* Cannon, they began to slack their Succours, and were soon after supplanted. Yet do the *Venetians* to this day well maintain their Estate by their Sea Forces; and a great loss it is to the Christian Commonwealth in general, that they are less than they were; and a precipitate Counsel it was of those Christian Kings, their Neighbours, when they joyned in League against them; seeing they then were, and they yet are the strongest Rampiers of *Europe* against the *Turks*.

Venetians.

Genoeses. But the *Genoeses* have now but a few Gallies, being altogether degenerate, and become Merchants of Money, and the *Spanish* Kings Bankers.

But all the States and Kingdoms of the world have changed form and policy.

The Empire

The Empire itself, which gave light to all principalities, like a *Pharoa* or High Tower to Sea-men, is now sunk down to the level of the Soil. The greatness which it gave to the Church of *Rome*, was that which made it self little in haste; and therefore truly said, *Imperium, amore Religionis, seipsum exhausisse*. The Empire also being elective, and not successive; the Emperors in being, made profit of their own times, and sold from the Empire many Signiories depending on it; and at so easie a rate as *Lucca* freed it self for 10000 crowns, and *Florence* for 6000. For the rest, the Popes, then the *Hanses*, and lastly the *Turks* have

have in effect ruined it. And in which several inundations, many pieces have been recovered by other Princes and States; as *Basil*, *Zurich* and *Bearne* by the *Switzers* (omitting many others) *Metz*, *Tholouse*, and *Verdune* by the *French*; *Groninge*, *Aix la Chapelle*, *Zutphen*, *Deventer*, *Newen-gen* in *Gelderland*, *Weesell*, *Antwerp*, and many other places by the *Spaniards* and by the States; *Dantzick*, and other Towns of importance by the *Polacks*; insomuch as it is now become the most confused Estate in the world, consisting of an Empire in Title without Territory, who can ordain nothing of importance but by a Dyet or Assembly of the Estates of many Free Princes, Ecclesiastical and Temporal, in effect of equal force, diverse in Religion and Faction; and of Free Cities and Hans-Towns, whom the Princes do not more desire to command, than they scorn to obey: Notwithstanding, being by far less than they were in Number, and less in Force and Reputation: As they are not greatly able to offend others, so they have enough to do (being seated far asunder) to defend themselves. Of whom hereafter more particularly.

The *Castilians* in the mean while are grown great, *Castili-* and (by mistaking) esteemed the greatest; having ans. by Marriage, Conquest, Practice and Purchase devoured all the Kingdoms within *Spain*; with *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Millain*, and the *Netherlands*; and many places belonging to the Empire, and the Princes thereof, besides the *Indies*, East and West, the Islands of the West Ocean, and many places in *Barbary*, *Guinea*, *Congo*, and elsewhere.

France hath also enlarged itself by the one half, France. and reduced *Normandy*, *Brittany*, and *Aquitaine*, with all that the *English* had on that side the Sea, together with *Languedock*, *Foix*, *Arminack*, *Biernc*, and *Dauphinie*.

For this Kingdom of *Great Britain*, it hath had Great Bri- by his Majesty, a strong Addition. The Postern by tain. which we were so often heretofore entred and surprized, is now made up; and we shall not hereafter need the double face of *Janus*, to look North and South at once.

But there's no Estate grown in haste but that of *United* the *United Provinces*, and especially in their Sea Provinces forces;

A Discourse of Shipping.

forces; and by a contrary way to that of *France* and *Spain*, the latter by Invasion, the former by Oppression. For I my self may remember when one Ship of her Majesty's would have made forty *Hollanders* strike Sail, and come to an Anchor. They did not then dispute *de Mari libero*, but readily acknowledged the *English* to be *Domini Maris Britannici*. That we are less powerful than we were, I do hardly believe it: For, although we have not at this time 135 Ships belonging to the Subject of 500 Tuns each Ship, as it is said we had in the 24th year of Queen *Elizabeth*: At which time also, upon a general View and Muster, there were found in *England* of able men fit to bear Arms 1172000 (eleven hundred and seventy two thousand) yet are our Merchant Ships now far more warlike, and better appointed than they were, and the Navy Royal double as strong as then it was. For, these were the Ships of her Majesty's Navy at that time.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 <i>The Triumph.</i> | 8 <i>The Revenge.</i> |
| 2 <i>The Elizabeth Jonas.</i> | 9 <i>The Hope.</i> |
| 3 <i>The White Bear.</i> | 10 <i>The Mary Rose.</i> |
| 4 <i>The Philip and Mary.</i> | 11 <i>The Dreadnaught.</i> |
| 5 <i>The Bonadventure.</i> | 12 <i>The Minion.</i> |
| 6 <i>The Golden Lyon.</i> | 13 <i>The Swiftsure.</i> |
| 7 <i>The Victory.</i> | |

To which there have been added,

- | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------|
| 14 <i>The Antelope.</i> | 20 <i>The Ayde.</i> |
| 15 <i>The Foresight.</i> | 21 <i>The Achates.</i> |
| 16 <i>The Swallow.</i> | 22 <i>The Falcon.</i> |
| 17 <i>The Handmaid.</i> | 23 <i>The Tiger.</i> |
| 18 <i>The Jennett.</i> | 24 <i>The Bull.</i> |
| 19 <i>The Bark of Bullein.</i> | |

*The strength
of our Ship-
ping.*

We have not therefore less force than we had, the fashion and furnishing of our Ships considered. For there are in *England* at this time 400 sail of Merchants, and fit for the Wars, which the *Spaniards* would call Gallions: To which we may add 200 sail of Crumsters, or Hoyes of *Newcastle*, which each of them will bear six Demiculverins and four Sakers, needing no other addition of Build-

A Discourse of Shipping.

a slight Sparr Deck fore and aft, as the Sea-men call it, which is a slight Deck throughout. The 200 which may be chosen out of 400, by reason of their ready staying and turning; by reason of their Windwardness, and by reason of their drawing of little water, they are of extreme advantage near the Shoar, and in all Bays and Rivers, to turn in and out. These, I say, alone, and well manned, and well conducted, would trouble the greatest Prince in *Europe* to encounter them in our Seas; for they stay and turn so readily, as ordering them into small Squadrons, that three of them at once may give their broadside upon any one great Ship, or upon any Angle or side of an Enemies Fleet, they shall be able to continue a perpetual Volley of Demiculverins without intermission, and either sink and slaughter the Men, or utterly disorder any Fleet of Cross-Sails with which they encounter.

I say then, if a Vanguard be ordained of those Hoyes, who will easily recover the Wind of any other sort of Ships, with a Battle of 400 other Warlike Ships, and a Rear of 30 of his Majesty's Ships to sustain, relieve, and countenance the rest (if God beat them not) I know not what strength can be gathered in all *Europe* to beat them. And if it be objected, that the States can furnish a far greater number; I answer, That his Majesty's 40 Ships, added to 600 before-named, are of incomparable greater force than all that *Holland* and *Zealand* can furnish for the Wars: As also, that a greater number would breed the same confusion that was found in *Xerxes* Land Army of seventeen hundred thousand Souldiers: For there is a certain proportion both by Sea and Land, beyond which the excess brings nothing but disorder and amazement.

Of these Hoyes, Carvils, or Crumsters, (call them what you will) there was a notable experience made in the year 1574, in the River of *Antwerp*, near *Rumerswaell*, where the Admiral *Boysfort*, with his Crumsters, overthrew the *Spanish* Fleet of great Ships conducted by *Julian Romero*; so contrary to the expectation of *Don Lewis*, the great Commander and Lieutenant of the *Netherlands* for the King of *Spain*, as he came to the Banks of *Bergen* to behold the slaughter of the *Zealanders*; but contrary to

to his expectation he beheld his Armada, some of them sunk, some of them thrust on the Shoar, and most of the rest mastered and possessed by his Enemies; insomuch as his great Captain, *Romero*, with great difficulty, some say in a Skiff, some say by swimming, saved himself.

The like success had Captain *Wrest* of *Zealand* against the Fleet which transported the Duke of *Medina Celi*, who was sent out of *Spain* by Sea, to govern the *Netherlands*, in place of the Duke of *Alva*: For with twelve Crumsters or Hoyes, of the first Troop of 21 Sail, he took all but three, and he forced the second, being 12 great Ships, filled with 2000 Souldiers, to run under the *Rammekins*, being then in the *Spaniards* possession.

The Cause
of the
Strength of
our Neigh-
bours Ship-
ping.

But whence comes this dispute? Not from the increase of numbers: Not because our Neighbours breed more Mariners than we do: Nor from the greatness of their Trade in all parts of the world: For the *French* creep into all corners of *America* and *Africa* as they do, and the *Spaniards* and *Portugals* employ more Ships by many (the Fishing Trade excepted) than the *Netherlands* do: But it comes from the detestable Covetousness of such particular persons as have gotten Licences, and given way to the Transportation of our *English* Ordnance, *Fuit hac Sapientia quondam, Publica Privatis facernere, Sacra Profanis*; And that in so great abundance, as that not only our good friends the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders* have furnished themselves, and have them lying on their Wharfs to sell to others, but all other Nations have had from us, not only to furnish their Fleets, but to garnish all their Forts, and other places, fortifying their Coasts and Castles; without which the *Spanish* King durst not have dismounted so many pieces of Brass in *Naples* and elsewhere, therewith to arm his great Fleet in 88: but it was directly proved in the lower house of Parliament Anno of Queen *Elizabeth*, that there were landed in *Naples* above 140 *English* Culverins. Since which time also, and not long since, it is lamentable that so many have been transported into *Spain*. But those be like them that determined it, and the Transporters have forsaken the Country: And tho the Procurers remain, I am resolved that they also have

have forsaken the care of his Majesty's Estate, and the honour of this Nation. I urge not this point, as thinking it unfit to furnish his Majesty's good Friends and Allies, who have had with us one common enemy for many years: But all politic Estates have well observed this precept, *Ut sic tractarent Amicum tanquam Inimicum futurum*. For what are all the Ships in the world to be valued at, other than a company of floating Tubs, were they not furnished with Ordnance, either to offend others or to defend themselves? If a Ship of a thousand Tuns had in her a thousand Musketeers, and never a great Gun, with one Crumster carrying ten or twelve Culverins she may be beaten to peices, and her men slaughtered. Certainly the advantage which the *English* had by their Bows and Arrows in former times was never so great as we might now have had by our Iron Ordnance, if we had either kept it within the Land, kept it from our Enemies, or imparted it to our Friends moderately. For as by the former we obtained many notable Victories, and made our selves Masters of many parts of *France*; so by the latter we might have commanded the Seas; and thereby the Trade of the World it self. But we have now, to our future prejudice, and how far to our prejudice I know not, forged Hammers, and delivered them out of our hands to break our own Bones withal.

For the conclusion of this dispute, there are five manifest Causes of the upgrowing of the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders*.

The 5 ori-
nal Causes
of the Hol-
landers
growth.

The first is, The favour and assistance of Queen *Elizabeth* and the Kings Majesty, which the late worthy and famous Prince of *Orange* did always acknowledge, and in the year 1582, when I took my leave of him at *Antwerp*, after the Return of the Earl of *Leicester* into *England*, and Monsieur's arrival there; when he deliver'd me his Letters to her Majesty, he prayed me to say to the Queen from him, *Sub Umbra alarum tuarum protegimur*; for certainly they had withered in the bud, and sunk in the beginning of their Navigation, had not her Majesty assisted them.

The second cause was the employing of their own people in their Trades and Fishing, and the enter-
tainment

tainment of Strangers to serve them in their Armies by Land.

3. The third, the fidelity of the house of *Nassau*, and their Services done them, especially of that renowned Prince *Maurice*, now living.

4. The fourth, the withdrawing of the Duke of *Parma* twice into *France*, while in his absence he recovered those strong places of *Friezland*, *Deventer*, *Zutphen*, &c.

5. And the fifth, the Embarguing and Confiscation of their Ships in *Spain*: Which constrained them, and gave them courage to trade by force into the *East* and *West Indies*, and in *Affrica*, in which they employ 180 Ships and 8700 Mariners.

The success of a Counsel so contrary to their Wisdom that gave it, as all the wit and all the force the *Spaniards* have, will hardly (if ever) recover the damage thereby received.

For to repair that ruine of the *Hollanders* Trade into both *Indies*, the *Spaniards* did not only labour the Truce, but the King was content to quit the Sovereignty of the *United Provinces*, and to acknowledge them for Free States, neither holding nor depending on the Crown of *Spain*.

But be their Estate what it will: Let them not deceive themselves in believing that they can make themselves Masters of the Sea. For certainly the Shipping of *England*, with the great Squadrons of his Majesty's Navy Royal, are able, in despite of any Prince or State in *Europe*, to command the great and large fields of the Ocean. But as I shall never think him a lover of this Land, or of the King, that shall persuade his Majesty from embracing the Amity of the States of the *United Provinces*, (for his Majesty is no less safe by them, than they invincible by him :) So I would wish them (because after my duty to mine own Sovereign, and the love of my Country I honor them most) that they remember, and consider it, that seeing their passage and re-passage lies through the *Brittish* Seas, that there is no Port in *France*, from *Calais* to *Vlissing*, that can receive their Ships, that many times outward, by Westerly Winds, and ordinarily homewards, not only from the *East Indies*, but from the *Sireights*, and from *Spain*; all Southerly Winds

The Force
of the K. of
England's
Navy.

A Caution
to the Hol-
landers.

Winds (the Breezes of our Climate) thrust them of necessity into the Kings Ports, how much his Majesty's favour doth concern them; for if (as themselves confess in their last Treaty of Truce with the *Spaniards*) they subsist by their Trade, the disturbance of their Trade (which *England* only can disturb) will also disturb their subsistence. The rest I will omit, because I can never doubt either their Gratuities or their Wisdoms.

For our *Newcastle* Trade, from which I have digressed, I refer the Reader to the Author of the *Newcastle Trade*, a Gentlemen to me unknown; but so far as I can judge, he hath many things very considerable in that short Treatise of his; yea, both considerable and praise-worthy; and among the rest, the advice which he hath given for the maintenance of our Hoves and Carvils of *Newcastle*, which may serve us (besides the breeding of Mariners) for good Ships of War, and of exceeding advantage. And certainly, I cannot but admire why the imposition of $\frac{1}{2}$ s. should any way dishearten them, seeing there is not but one Company in *England* upon whose Trade any new payments are laid, but that they on whom it is laid raise profit by it.

The Silk-men, if they pay his Majesty 12 d. upon a yard of Sattin, they not only raise that 12 d. but they impose 12 d. or 2 s. more upon the Subject. So they do upon all they sell, of what kind soever, as all other Retailers do, of what quality or profession soever. And seeing all the Maritime Provinces of *France* and *Flanders*, all *Holland* and *Zealand*, *Embsen* and *Breame*, &c. cannot want our *Newcastle* or our *Welsh* Coals, the Imposition cannot impoverish the Transporter, but that the Buyer must make payment accordingly. And if the Imposition laid on those things whereof the Kingdom hath no necessary use, as upon Silks, Velvets, Gold and Silver Lace, Cloath of Gold and Silver, Cutworks, Cambricks, and a world of other trumpery, doth in nothing hinder their vent here, but that they are more used than ever they were, to the utter impoverishing of the Land in general, and of those Popinjays that value themselves by their outsidings, and by their Players Coats; certainly im-

imposing upon Coals, which other Nations cannot want, can be no hinderance at all to the *Newcastle* men, but that they may raise it again upon the *French* and other Nations, as those Nations themselves do which fetch them from us with their own Shipping.

For conclusion of this Chapter: I say that it is exceeding lamentable, that for any respect in the world, seeing the preservation of the State and Monarchy doth surmount all other respects, Strangers should be permitted to eat us out, by exporting and importing, both of our own Commodities and those of Foreign Nations: For it is no wonder that we are over-topped in all the Trades we have abroad and far off, seeing we have the Grass cut under our feet, in our own Fields and Pastures at home.

A Relation of Cadiz Action in the Year 1596.

YOU shall receive many Relations, but none more true than this. May it please your Honour therefore to know, that on *Monday* being the 20th of *June*, the *English* Fleet came to an Anchor in the Bay of *St Sebastians*, short of *Cales* half a league.

My Lord Admiral, being careful of her Majestys Ships, had resolved with the Earl of *Essex*, that the Town should be first attempted; to the end that both the *Spanish* Gallions and Gallies, together with the Forts of *Cales* might not all at once beat upon our Navy. My self was not present at the resolution; for I was sent the day before towards the Main, to stop such as might pass out from *St Lucar* or *Cales* along the Coast. When I was arrived back again, (which was 2 hours after the rest) I found the Earl of *Essex* disembarking his Soldiers, and he had put many Companies into Boats, purposing to make his descent on the West side of *Cales*; but such was the greatness of the Billow, by reason of a forcible Southerly Wind, as the Boats were ready to sink at the stern of the Earl, and indeed divers did so, and in them some of the armed men; but because it was formerly resolved (and that to cast doubts would have been esteemed an effect of fear) the Earl proposed to go on, until such time as I came aboard him, and in the presence of all the Collonels protested against the resolution, giving him reasons, and making apparent demonstrations, that he thereby ran the way of our general ruin, to the utter overthrow of the whole Armies, their own lives, and her Majestys future safety. The Earl excused himself, and laid it the Lord Admiral, who (he said) would not consent to enter with the Fleet till the Town were first possessed. All the Commanders and Gentlemen present besought me to dissuade the attempt; for they all perceived the danger, and were resolved that the most part could

could not but perish in the Sea ere they came to set foot on Ground; and if any arrived on shoar, yet were they sure to have their Boats cast on their heads, and that twenty men, in so desperate a descent, would have defeated them all. The Earl hereupon prayed me to persuade my Lord Admiral, who finding a certain destruction by the former resolution, was content to enter the Port. When I brought News of this agreement to the Earl, calling out of my Boat unto him, *Entramus*; he cast his Hat into Sea for joy, and prepared to weigh Anchor. The day was now far spent, and it required much time to return the Boats of Soldiers to their own Ships, so as we could not that night attempt the Fleet, although many (seeming desperately valiant) thought it a fault of mine to put it off till the morning, albeit we had neither agreed in what manner to fight, nor appointed who should lead, and who should second, whether by boarding or otherwise; neither could our Fleet possibly recover all their men in before Sun-set. But both the Generals being pleased to hear me, and many times to be advised by so mean an understanding, came again to an Anchor, in the very mouth of the Harbour. So that night about ten of the Clock, I wrote a Letter to the Lord Admiral, declaring therein my opinion how the Fight should be ordered, persuading him to appoint to each of the great Gallions of *Spain*, two great Flyboats to board them, after such time as the Queens Ships had battered them; for I knew that both *St Philip* and the rest would burn and not yield; and then to lose so many of the Queen's Ships for company, I thought it too a dear a purchase, and it would be termed but a lamentable Victory. This being agreed on, and both the Generals persuaded to lead the body of the Fleet; the charge for the performance thereof (upon my humble suit) granted and assigned unto me. The Ships appointed to second me were these.

The *Mary Rose*, commanded by Sir *George Carew*.

The *Lyon*, by Sir *Robert Southwell*.

The *Rainbow*, by the Marshal Sir *Fr. Vere*.

The *Swifsure*, by Captain *Grosse*.

The *Dreadnaught*, by Sir *Conyers* and *Alexander Clifford*.

The *Nonpareill*, by Mr *Dudley*.

The 12 Ships of *London*, with certain Flyboats.

The Lord *Tho. Howard*, because the *Meer honour*, which he commanded, was one of the greatest Ships, was also left behind

hind with the Generals; but being impatient thereof, pressed the Generals to have the service committed unto him, and left the *Meer honour* to Mr *Dudley*, putting himself into the *Nonpareill*. For mine own part, as I was willing to give honour to my Lord *Thomas*, having both precedency in the Army, and being a Nobleman whom I much honoured; so yet I was resolved to give and not take Example for this service, holding mine own Reputation dearest: And remembring my great duty to her Majesty, with the first peep of day therefore I weighed Anchor, and bare with the *Spanish Fleet*, taking the start of all ours a good distance.

Now Sir, may it please you to understand, that there were ranged under the Wall of *Cales*, on which the Sea beateth, seventeen Gallies, which lay with their Prowes to flank our entrance as we passed towards the Gallions. There was also a Fort, called the *Philip*, which beat and commanded the Harbour. There were also Ordnance which lay all alongst the Curtain upon the Wall towards the Sea. There were also divers other Pieces of Culverin, which also scowred the Channel. Notwithstanding, as soon as the *St Philip* perceived one of the Admirals under sail approaching, she also set sail, and with her the *St Matthew*, the *St Thomas*, the *St Andrew*, the two great Gallions of *Lisbon*, three Frigots of War accustomed to transport the Treasure, two Argolies very strong in Artillery, the Admiral, Vice Admiral, and Rear Admiral of *Nueva Espagna*, with forty other great Ships bound for *Mexico* and other places. Of all which the *St Philip*, the *St Matthew*, the *St Andrew*, and the *St Thomas*, being four of the Royal Ships of *Spain*, came again to Anchor under the Fort of *Puntall*, in a Streight of the Harbour which leadeth toward *Puerto Reall*. On the right hand of them they placed the three Frigots, on the back the two Gallions of *Lisbon*, and the Argolies, and the 17 Gallies by three and three to interlace them as occasion should be offered. The Admiral, Vice Admiral, and Rear Admiral of *Nueva Espagna*, with the Body of the Fleet, were placed behind them, towards *Puerto Reall*; hoping with this great strength to defend the entrance, the place being no broader from point to point, than that these did in effect stretch over as a Bridge, and had besides the Fort of *Puntall* to their guard. But the 17 Gallies did not at first depart with the rest, but stayed by the Town, with all their Prowes bent against us as we entered; with which, together with the Artillery of the Town and Forts, they hoped to have stumbled the leading Ship, and doubted not thereby but to have discouraged the rest.

Having

Having (as afore said) taken the leading, I was first saluted by the Fort called *Philip*, afterwards by the Ordnance on the Curtain, and lastly by all the Gallies in good order. To shew scorn to all which, I only answered first the Fort, and afterward the Gallies, to each Piece a Blurr with a Trumpet, disdainig to shoot one piece at any one or all of those esteemed dreadful Monsters. The Ships that followed beat upon the Gallies so thick, that they soon betook them to their Oars, and got up to joyn with the Gallions in the Streight, as afore said: And then, as they were driven to come near me, and inforced to range their sides towards me, I bestowed a Benediction amongst them. But the *St Philip*, the great and famous Admiral of *Spain*, was the mark I shot at; esteeming those Gallies but as Wasps in respect of the powerfulness of the other; and being resolved to be revenged for the *Revenge*, or to second her with mine own life, I came to Anchor by the Gallions, of which the *Philip* and *Andrew* were the two that boarded the *Revenge*. I was formerly commanded not to board, but was promised Fly-Boats, in which after I had battered a while I resolved to joyn unto them. My Lord *Thomas* came to Anchor by me on the one hand with the *Lyon*; the *Mary Rose* on the other with the *Dreadnaught*; the Marshal toward the side of *Puntall*; and towards ten of the Clock my Lord General *Essex*, being impatient to abide far off, hearing so great Thunder of Ordnance, thrust up through the Fleet, and headed all those on the left hand, coming to Anchor next unto me on that side; and afterward came in the *Swiftsure* as near as she could. Always I must, without Glory, say for my self, that I held single in the head of all. Now after we had beat, as two Butts one upon another almost three hours, assuring your honour that the Volleys of Cannon and Culverin came as thick as if it had been a skirmish of Musketeers, and finding my self in danger to be sunk in the place, I went to my Lord General in my Skiff, to desire him that he would inforce the promised Fly-boats to come up that I might board, for as I rid, I could not endure so great a Battery any long time. My Lord General was then coming up himself, to whom I declared, that if the Fly-boats came not, I would board with the Queen's Ship, for it was the same loss to burn or sink, for I must endure the one. The Earl, finding that it was not in his power to command fear, told me, that whatsoever I did, he would second me in person upon his honour. My Lord Admiral having also a disposition to come up at first, but the River was so choaked as he could not

pass

pass with the *Ark*, came up in person into the *Nonpareill* with my Lord *Thomas*. While I was thus speaking with the Earl, the Marshal, who thought it some touch to his great esteemed valour to ride behind me so many hours, got up ahead my Ship; which my Lord *Thomas* perceiving, headed him again, my self being but a quarter of an hour absent. At my return, finding my self, from being the first, to be but the third, I presently let slip Anchor, and thrust in between my Lord *Thomas* and the Marshal, and went up further ahead than all them before, and thrust my self athwart the Channel, so as I was sure none should outstart me again for that day. My Lord General *Essex*, thinking his Ships side stronger than the rest, thrust the *Dreadnaught* aside, and came next the *Warspight* on the left hand, ahead all that rank but my Lord *Thomas*. The Marshal, while we had no leisure to look behind us, secretly fastened a Rope on my Ships side towards him, to draw himself up equally with me: But some of my Company advertizing me thereof, I caused it to be cut off, and so he fell back into his place, whom I guarded, all but his very Prowe, from the sight of the Enemy. Now if it please you to remember, that having no hope of my Flyboats to board, and that the Earl and my Lord *Thomas* both promised to second me, I laid out a Warp by the side of the *Philip* to shake hands with her (for with the Wind we could not get aboard.) Which when she and the rest perceived, finding also that the *Repulse* (seeing mine) began to do the like, and the Rear Admiral my Lord *Thomas*, they all let slip, and ran aground, tumbling into the Sea heaps of Souldiers, so thick as if Coals had been powred out of a Sack in many Ports at once, some drowned, and some sticking in the Mud: The *Philip* and the *St Thomas* burnt themselves. The *St Matthew* and the *St Andrew* were recovered with our Boats ere they could get out to fire them. The spectacle was very lamentable on their side; for many drowned themselves; many, half burnt, leapt into the water, very many hanging by the Ropes ends by the Ships side under the water even to the lips; many swimming with grievous wounds stricken under water, and put out of their pain; and withal, so huge a fire, and such tearing of the Ordnance, in the great *Philip* and the rest, when the fire came to 'em, as if any man had a desire to see Hell itself, it was there most lively figured. Our selves spared the lives of all after the Victory; but the *Flemmings*, who did little or nothing in the Fight, used merciless slaughter, till they were by my self, and afterward by my Lord Admiral beaten off. The Ships that abode the fight in the morning till ten a clock, were the

Warspight, the *Nonpareill*, the *Lyon*, the *Mary Rose*, the *Rainbow*, and the *Dreadnaught*. To second these came up the *Earl* and the *Swiftsure*. And these were all that did ought against six goodly Gallions, two Argosies, three Frigots, seventeen Galleys, and the Fort of *Puntall*, backt by the Admiral of *Nueva Espagna*, and others; in all fifty five or fifty seven.

This being happily finished, we prepared to land the Army, and to attempt the Town; in which there were of all sorts about 5000 Foot Burgers, 150 Souldiers in pay, and about 800 Horse of the Gentry and Cavalleros of *Xerez*, gathered together upon the discovery of our Fleet two days before, while we were becalmed off Cape *St Mary*. The Horsemen sallied out to resist the landing, but were so well withstood, that they most took their way towards the Bridge which leadeth into the Main called *Puente Soufe*; the rest retired to the Town; and so hardly followed as they were driven to leave their Horses at the Port, (which the Inhabitants durst not open to let them in) and so they leapt down an old Wall into the Suburbs; and being so closeiy followed by the Vanguard of our Foot-men, as when the General perceived an entrance there, he thought it was possible for ours to do the like; upon which occasion the Town was carried with a sudden fury, and with little loss; only Sir *John Wingfeild* was slain, Sir *Edward Wingfeild*, Captain *Bagnoll*, and Captain *Medickhurt*: other Men of quality few or none. For the particular behaviours of any that entred, I cannot otherwise deliver than by report; For I received a grievous blow in my Leg; interlaced and deformed with Splinters in the Fight. Yet being desirous to see every mans disposition, I was carried ashoar on mens shoulders; and as soon as my Horse was recovered, my Lord Admiral sent one unto me; but I was not able to abide above an hour in the Town, for the torment I suffered, and for the fear I had to be shouldred in the Press, and among the tumultuous disordered Soldiers, that being then given to Spoyl and Rapine, had no respect. The same night I returned, chiefly for that there was no Admiral left to order the Fleet, and (indeed) few or no people in the Navy, all running headlong to the sack; and secondly, because I was unfit for ought but ease at that time. At the break of day following, I sent to the General to have order to follow the Fleet of Ships bound for the *Indies*, which were said to be worth twelve millions, and lay in *Puerte Reall* Road, where they could not escape. But the Town new taken, and the confusion great, it was al-

almost impossible for them to order many things at once, so as I could not receive any answer to my desire. The Afternoon of the same day, those that were Merchants of *Cales* and *Sevil*, offered the Generals two millions to spare that Fleet, whereupon there was nothing done for the present. But the morning following, being the 23d of *June*, the Duke of *Medina* caused all that Fleet of Merchants to beset on fire, because he was resolved that they must needs have fallen into our hands; so as now both Gallions, Frigots, Argosies, and all other Ships of War, together with the Fleet of *Nueva Espagna* were all committed into ashes, only the *St Matthew* and *St Andrew* were in our possession. Much of the Ordnance of the *St Philip* hath been saved by the *Flemmings*, who have had great spoil. There is imbarcked good store of Ordnance out of the Town, and the two Apostles aforesaid are well furnished, which (God willing) we purpose to bring into *England*. The Town of *Cales*, was very rich in Merchandize, in Plate and Money: Many rich Prisoners given to the Land Commanders; so as that fort are very rich. Some had Prisoners for 16000 Duccats, some for 20000, some for 10000; and besides, great Houses of Merchandize. What the Generals have gotten, I know least; they protest it is little. For my own part, I have gotten a lame Leg, and a deformed. For the rest, either I spake too late, or it was otherwise resolved. I have not wanted good words, and exceeding kind and regardful usance; but I have possession of naught but poverty and pain. If God had spared me that blow, I had posselt my self of some House.

A
DIALOGUE

BETWEEN A

Jesuit and a Recusant.

Shewing how dangerous are their Principles to Christian Princes.

3 AU 59

Recusant. **M**Y most reverend Father you are well returned into *England*; you have by your presence eased me of an answer to your last learned Letter, dated at *Rome*, the first of July, 1609.

Jesuit. My good Host, I make always bold with you, encouraged by the wonted good entertainment which I received at your hands; you have feasted me and many of our Society with the peril of your life and your estate; for which though we can yield you no worldly recompence, yet we will say and perform with *St Paul*, that for corporal things we will pay you with things spiritual and heavenly: and that you shall not always stay upon promises without effect, I have brought you from his Holiness a General Pardon for you and yours.

Rec. My holy Father, I shall never be able to deserve this grace. And is the Pardon without the performance of any Penance?

Jes. Yes indeed, mine Host: for what Penance should those good men do that relieve the Saints not only with great charge, but with the greatest danger.

Rec. And are you now made Saints (holy Father) before you suffer for the truth? for heretofore you were but Martyrs, and freed from Purgatory.

Jes. Why, mine Host, a Saint is but a holy man, of which there are two sorts, the one canonized, the other canonizable; but for the canonizing, we assure our selves to have it effected by the first Pope that shall be made of our Society, which we expect every day.

Rec. Well, holy Father, will you see your old lodging? we will trim up the Vault and the secret way with all speed for you.

Jes. You shall not need (my good Host) for I must to the Court, I am prefer'd to be a Confessor to a great Lady; for, to tell you true, I am weary of this lurking life. But let that pass, and let us I pray hear from you of our affairs and hopes here in *England*.

Rec. Nay first, if it please you let us consider of your Letters to me, for I am not yet satisfied in those points which you wrote of.

Jes. I remember indeed that I wrote unto you of a league now in dispute among the Catholick Princes, by which we had hope that the King of *England* might be enforced to grant us the exercise of our Religion, or at least be perswaded to permit us underhand to live in *England* without any search after us, for which we have made collection of many sound and unanswerable arguments.

Rec. Holy Father, I know not your arguments; but I have considered the strength of your league, and find it, according to my understanding, but feeble: and surely when you have said all you can, or your friends for you; when you have urged the examples of *Germany*, *France* and *Switzerland*, where both Religions are permitted; yet seeing all men are resolved, that the Jesuit will never be satisfied except he govern absolutely, you will never be received into this Kingdom.

Jes. No, mine Host, how doth it appear I pray you that we seek after any such absolute dominion?

Rec. You will pardon me, I hope, if I deal freely with you: for as wounds and ulcers are never well cured which are not first cleansed at the bottom; so all counsels, with the enterprizes following them, have ever somewhat of hidden and dangerous peril, where all that can be objected hath not been con-

considered, and every danger to the least and last foreseen and prevented: for it is a difficult thing to resolve well and suddenly, especially in accidents not forethought.

Jes. Well then, mine Host, make yourself a *Hugonot*, a *Lutheran*, and an Heretick for the present, and say the worst you can.

Recus. Marry, holy Father, I say that to hope to perswade the King is but to dissemble with our selves: for the murder of the two last *French* Kings (for the Hereticks you know call it Murder) though the actions were meritorious; those two Kings, I say, made away without mood or figure, hath left us nor mood nor figure in which to frame any argument for our selves: for when I reason with the Hereticks (for you know that we boldly profess our selves in *England*) and help my self with those laudable distinctions of *quatenus*, *simpliciter*, and *secundum quid*, &c. they always choak me with the dead carcasses of *Henry* the Third, and *Henry* the Fourth. And when I say that the *French* Kings were not killed *quatenus* Catholicks, but *quatenus* Favourers of Hereticks, they will answer me suddenly, That if it be lawful to destroy a Catholick King because a favourer of Hereticks, how much more is it lawful, by the Jesuits doctrine, to kill him which is an Heretick, and the only supporter of all the Hereticks in *Europe*. But this is true, holy Father, that all the Catholicks of the world not Jesuited abhor that fact.

Jes. And why? mine Host.

Rec. First, holy Father, in that they were Kings, to whom the Prophets, the Apostles, and Christ himself submitted themselves in temporal things; against which all arguments are ridiculous. For though we set at nought their reasons which call themselves Protestants, not because they want force, but because we hate their persons; yea, we hate the very Scriptures by them alledged, and fly to the authority of the Church; I say, though we may not yield to any thing by them spoken or written, because we sometime follow the Religion of Fortune, yet seeing Christ himself the Saviour of the world, is against us in this case, let us advise our selves in time, how we undertake upon the persons of Kings.

Jes. Where is that Doctrine written, mine Host?

Rec. It is written, holy Father, that Christ being very God, and able to reverse all power, acknowledged *Tiberius* for Emperor, a Pagan and Pestilent Idolater. He pay'd him Tribute, and commanded it to be paid him, *Matt.* 17. *Mark* 12. But we will not break off our purpose at this time,

time, holy Father, to dispute that question. Let us first consider of things profitable, and afterward of things lawful.

Jes. Be it so, mine Host; for indeed it transcendeth your capacity: But first let me ask you what you mean by the Religion of Fortune, I have not heard that phrase before.

Rec. I mean, holy Father, the Religion of Empery, and commanding, the Religion of profit, which is contrary to that of the Protestants, who neither command Kings nor preach Purgatory. For (say the Hereticks) ye destroy Kings because they refuse to obey the Pope: But Christ rebuked his Apostles that desired him leave to pray for fire to fall down from Heaven on such as would not receive them. The weapons of the Apostles were Prayers, Preachings, Prophecies, Interpretations, Miracles and Sufferings: They humbled themselves, ye exalt yourselves; they prayed, ye curse and command; they opened the Book of God, ye lock it fast; they commanded us to search the Scriptures, ye forbid it utterly; they raised the dead, ye kill the living.

Jes. Well, well, mine Host, go on with your discourse, you know somewhat, but not all, the liberty of the Catholick Church is large and secret, we are not bound to follow the Apostles in all things, though we confess not so much to the Hereticks; we deny no place of theirs, but we so shred them asunder with our sharp distinctions, as all the art they have cannot set them again together, to serve their turns. Alas! mine Host, if a Christian Policy had not been joyned to the Christian Religion, we had served God in Churches of Reeds and Straw. The Son is not bound to beg because his Father was a Beggar. The 12 Apostles were good and holy men, but they were poor and patient wanderers: and is it not a greater honour to Christian Religion to give than to beg, to command Kings and Tyrants, than to obey them. You, mine Host, are a plain honest Catholick, but you were never admitted into the *Sanctum Sanctorum* of our Order, they that make themselves known in all, and to the bottom are despised. Of any other errand of ours into *England* than to win Souls you are not to enquire, it is our protestation, you ought to believe us.

Rec. Well, holy Father, I will not presume to enquire what those secrets are, but by your leave, Father Garnet hath marr'd that protestation, for he confessed that he and the rest practised upon the life of Queen *Elizabeth*; and in a word, had he never discovered that secret, yet it is manifest, that you dye not for Religion only, for then should all we suffer death also, for we profess our selves *Romish* Catholics, and

and live, and not only live, but enjoy offices and honours in the Commonweal; nay, we profess it openly, you but secretly. There is therefore no Treason in the Religion, nor in the profession, but in the practice of the Religious. For in the beginning of the last Queens time, we had oftentimes Mass by a Queen *Mary* Priest, we pay'd but a hundred Mark, and the Priest imprisoned for a month or two: we now go thrice a week to hear Mass at the *Spanish* Ambassadors, we meet there freely, the Estate cannot be ignorant of it; yet, neither are we that hear, nor the Priest that sings made Traytors. Nay, the late Queen gave liberty to the Chancellour *Heath*, to *Mountaigne*, *Lomley* and others, to keep a Priest in their Houses: It is therefore the Practice, the Practice, holy Father, that makes the Treason, and not the Religion. I pray therefore, holy Father, do not urge that point of making profession of the Catholick Faith Treason, for you may thereby bring us also to hanging. But this is from my purpose, holy Father, for I was speaking of the two last *French* Kings.

Jes. Well, well, speak on, I will pardon your ignorance for the present, he that toucheth pitch shall be defiled, you shall know more of my mind at leisure.

Rec. I will attend you, and obey you, holy Father, and in the mean while I say, that *Henry* the third of *France* was bred a Catholick from his Cradle. When he came to Man's estate he commanded the Catholick Army against the *Hugonots*, he gave them that fatal blow at the Battle of *Moncouter*, which forced them to the Peace. Upon which followed that furious Massacre in *Paris*, the same *Henry* the third being then Duke, was also one of the merciless Executioners of the Hereticks. And when he became King, he also became a Capuchin, and had more zeal than all those had that leagued against him. And yet, because he rather gave Peace to the *Hugonots*, whom he could not constrain, than his Kingdom to the *Spanish* King, because he had compassion of his poor people, eaten up both by the Armies of Strangers and his own, because he could not endure the lamentations of his Citizens, sackt this year by those of the League, and the next year by the *Hugonots*, because the sorrows of the Widows, and of the Fatherless, and of all *France*, pierced his Royal heart, because he would not deliver up the Crown itself to his Vassal, and yield to be cast into the Grave alive; he was therefore, as you know, wounded to death, and the fact approved and maintained for meritorious.

And

And for *Henry* the 4th, whom to say the truth, For the cruelty of his destiny all men lamented, and by so much the more, because he was one of the mercifullest Princes that ever lived. What shall we object against him, other than that he would not continue the Civil War in his own Country, and turn his Sword against the *Hugonots*, who had most faithfully served him in all his adversities, and because he would not waste himself, and as it were feed upon his own entrails, and make *France* a Butchery and Slaughter-House, having also had experience that it was impossible to extirpate the new Religion. Certainly we know not what to say against him, except it were to please your holy Society, he could not be persuaded to render himself and the Crown of *France* into the hands of his Enemies.

What could he do more, holy Father, than to change the Religion which he had suckt from his Mothers Breast? He became a true Catholick, he brought up the next Prince of the Blood, the Prince of *Conde*, in the same Religion; yea, all the Princes his Children were the Pupils of your Society, whom in despite of his Courts of Parliament, and all opposition, he recalled from banishment. Say what you will, holy Father, the fact was horrible and inexcusable.

Jes. Alas! mine Host, you understand not these things: I tell you plainly that he had a purpose to undermine the Church of *Rome*, and to blow it up if we had not prevented it; for besides, that he only maintained the Nursery and Seminary of Hereticks in *Geneva*, that he was in League with the Protestant Cantons of *Swissers*, that he upheld the Party of *Brandenburg*, an Arch Heretick against the Catholick Prince his Competitor, that he made a strong League with the King of *England* and the *Netherland* Rebels, and assisted them against the Catholick Kings; I say, besides all these combinations, he had a purpose to assail the Arch Duke, and to set the Duke of *Savoy* upon the Dutchy of *Milan*.

Rec. Why grant this to be true, holy Father: What have the companions of Jesus to do with these things? Did Christ ever practice against the *Roman* Empire, or against the *Jews*? Did the Apostles move Rebellions in those States and Principalities wherein they were imprisoned and afflicted? And will you constrain Kings to break their Leagues, to alter their Policies, to be ungrateful to those that have assisted them? The *Netherlands* lent their hands to the defence of the last *French* King against his Enemies, the Queen of *England* lent him Money and Men, *Brandenburg* was his friend,

friend. And on the contrary, the *Spanish* King raised the League against him, and sent the Duke of *Parma* into *France* to affront him, and should he now have abandoned all those whom he had tried by the Touch-stone of adversity, out of doubt he had then made himself a Monster. But mark what the Hereticks say, that you are never satisfy'd but where you rule all, and where your selves are Kings, and where Kings obey you as Vassals. You were not content, say the Hereticks, to be re-called into *France*, to have your Colledges and Houses, to be entertained and honoured by the Nobility, to command the Kings ear; but if you but suspect that there is any thing in dispute against the *Spaniard*, you presently practice destruction. I therefore say unto you, how can you hope to persuade the King of *England* to permit you, who are of a contrary Religion, seeing you have practised the death of those Kings of your own Religion, and of those to whom you were infinitely bound: quiet your self, there is no manner of probability in that conceit. *Probabilia sunt quae videntur omnibus, aut pluribus aut sapientibus.* Aristop. c. v.

Jes. O mine Host, he that loves the Church will do nothing to the prejudice thereof.

Rec. O holy Father, the Church is not all, nor the Church-man; Kingdoms are not defended by the Church alone, nor by the Church-men: You know that his Holiness hath two Swords, and shall we not allow a King to have one? Remember, I pray holy Father, how *Charles* the fifth, the great pillar of our mother Church of *Rome*, sackt the holy City, took Pope *Clement* Prisoner, and profaned both Churches and Temples, which even the barbarous *Attilas* forbore to do.

Jes. It is true, mine Host: *Sed errores non sunt trahenda in exemplum*, the Emperour obtained the Popes pardon for that offence, and did penance in a Monastery two years before he dyed. For though we bear with Catholick Kings in their errors, we may not do so with Hereticks, for you know it well enough that we know them not for Kings.

Rec. But, holy Father, both those *French* Kings were Catholick Kings; and had they been otherwise, yet I am an Heretick in this resolution, that we ought not to lay violent hands upon them.

Jes. Well, mine Host, you and I shall not agree in that point: for the resolution of the Church is to be obeyed; and this last King of *France*, whatsoever he pretended, was internally naught, he was conceived in the bowels of heresy, and

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was fostered with the milk thereof. This is not all, holy Father, for indeed all of your Society have hated the House of *Albret* since their first erection. In the *History of Navarre*, Fol. 482. it is written, *Au chasteau de Pampelonne commandoit Inigo de Loyola premier auteur de la secte des Jesuites ennemi obstine de la maison d' Albret..*

Rec. But shall I ask you, holy Father, this question: What have you got by the killing of those Kings, but infamy and detestation: when you caused *Henry* the third to be slain, you hoped to share *France* among the Leaguers, and to extirpate the *Hugonots*; but it fell out otherwise, for the succeeding King confirmed the Edicts more strongly than ever. This King being made away, you looked after a general confusion, and the same destruction of the Hereticks. But it is quite contrary, you are defamed, and the Hereticks have obtained better condition than ever; for the Queen dares not stir against them, no, she will rather encrease their liberties than infringe them; it is the Peace of *France* she prefers above all things; only you have brought your Doctrine in a dangerous dispute in *France*, you walk now but on Ropes, and are in danger every day to be tost off them. You also caused the Prince of *Orange* to be made away, you then thought that all would have gone to wrack in the *Low Countries*, but they prospered more in one year than in ten before, and are now in peace, and free States. All these unchristian cruelties the Hereticks lay to our charge, and that the Popes have ever had respect of their private interest, making Religion but a colour.

Jes. Tush, tush, mine Host; take heed that when you reason with the Hereticks, you first cross yourself, for they are filled with lyes and slanders.

Rec. But what can I say to them, when they give me so many instances of the Popes severity and cruelty towards the most Catholick Kings, for their own profit and interest only. And that this is true of the Popes, they choak me with these examples. For what error (say they) was it, or in what point of Religion had the Emperour *Frederick Barbarossa* offended, who being in the Field against the *Turk*, for the safety of all Christendom, when Pope *Alexander* the third wrote unto the *Soldan*, that it was impossible to give the *Turk* any reasonable conditions of Peace, while that Emperour lived, and therefore he perswaded the *Soldan* to use all his endeavour to lay hands on him, either upon promise, by Treaty or otherwise, and to strike off his head; and to the end he might not err by mistaking, he sent the *Soldan*

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the Emperours Picture, together with his Letters, to the effect before written. By which Letters and Advice, the *Soldan* being encouraged, found means to surprize the Emperour, who when he would have disguised himself, and called himself the Emperours Chamberlain, the *Soldan* produced his Picture and counterfait so done to the Life, as he had nothing more to say for himself, but to the great charge and and loss of all Christendom, to redeem himself out of his hands; and though he complained of this Treason of the Popes, and shewed the Popes own Letter to all the *German* Princes and others, yet he never obtained any amends for the same. Again, what heresie was the Emperour *Henry* the fourth charged withal, who should have been crusht to death with a stone which the Pope had caused to be loosened over his head as he sat at prayer, in which practice the enterprizer perished, and fell himself with the stone from the roof to the floor: and not herewithal content, nor warned by the justice of God, the said Pope *Gregory* the seventh, because the Emperour defended the rights of the Empire, did not only stir up his Bishops and Nobility against him, and inforced him by a cruel and bloody war to yield himself, and to present himself woolward and barefoot at his feet: After he had made him in this pitiful manner to attend in the coldest weather at his Gates, he encouraged his own Son *Henry* the 5th against him, to war upon him, to besiege him, to betray him, to take him prisoner, and to force him to dye in captivity. Of which cruelty a *French* Historian of that time complaineth in this manner: The Son, contrary to nature and duty, hath betrayed, despoyled, and done his Father to death, his Father and Sovereign Lord; not constrained so to do by any barbarous Tyrant or Infidel, or *Phalaris*, but by the counsel and practice of the most holy Father of *Rome*. Adding, Rejoyce ye, O *Caligula* and *Nero*, for the Pope of *Rome* hath blotted out the remembrance of your cruelty.

They again remember unto me the *Croisade* preached by *Gregory* the ninth against the Emperour *Frederick* the second; they speak of the poysoning of the Sacrament of the Altar, which I am afraid to speak of after them; they have gathered the detestable acts and the end of Pope *John* the twelfth, how he caused the eyes of *Benoit* his Ghostly Father to be thrust out, and caused the privities of one of his Cardinals to be cut off, of which wound he dyed, for purposing to admonish him of his Whoredom: after which he was slain in the very act; or as others write, he died 8 days after. These Cardinals, holy Father, were no Hereticks. I will not urge the

behaviour of Pope *Julio* the third, because it was horrible. I would also willingly forget the Luciferous pride of *Alexander* the third, who set his foot on the neck of the Emperour *Frederick*, abusing the Scriptures, by saying of himself, Thou shalt tread upon the Lyon and the Adder, &c. How one of the Popes made *Pepin* and *Charlemagne* kiss his Pantofle, other Kings of *France* to lead his Horse, and that the Emperour *Frederick* held the Stirrop of *Adrian* the fourth when he got to his Horse.

Of the Injustice, Usurpations, injurious Excommunications, transferring of Kingdoms and Lordships, the Hereticks have gathered Volumes. Of which I will remember some few particulars, that you may answer them at leisure. As first, how his Holiness excommunicated *Robert*, Uncle and Governour of his Nephew the Earl of *Puglia* and *Calabria*; and besides threatned him with his material Sword if he desisted not from the usurpation of his Nephews Land. But when *Robert* made the Pope partaker of his prey, and added to *St Peter's* demains *Benueet* and *Troy*, he revoked his Sentence, gave him his Blessing, made the War of the usurping Uncle upon his Nephew an Orphan, holy and full of devotion. To speak of elder times, how the Pope took the Crown of *France* from *Childerick* and gave it to *Pepin*, took it from *Lewis the meek*, and gave it his Son; a story exceeding lamentable. *Boniface* gave it from *Philip the fair*, to *Albret* King of *Romans*; and of late days of the excommunication of *Catherine* Queen of *Navarre*, and the gift of her Kingdom to *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*; for no other Heresy, than that the Queen took part with the most Catholick King *Lewis* the 12th. It was done so late, as our Fathers remember it: And for no other Heresy was *Henry* the 4th, the last *French* King slain, but to greaten the *Spanish* King. *Albret* and *Catherine* his Ancestors of *Navarre*, were by the Pope cast out of *Navarre*, for being enemies to the *Spaniard*, *Henry* the last cast out of *France* and out of the World for being but suspected.

The Hereticks also make collection of his translation of the Empire from Nation to Nation, and Family to Family, either for hatred or hire, from the *Grecians* to the *French*, from the *French* to the *Germans*, how the Pope took it from *Henry* the 4th and gave it to *Rodolph* Duke of *Swaben*, then to *Herman* of *Saxon*, Earl of *Luxenberg*, then to *Hebert* Earl of *Misnia*, all his own creatures; after whose confusion, he bestowed it on *Henry* the 5th, his Father living as aforesaid. In like sort have the Popes played with the Kingdoms of

Naples

Naples and *Sicily*, which they took from the *Germans* to give it to the *French*; and took from the *French* to give it to the *Spaniard*. They suffered it to be taken from *Conradin*; they opposed themselves against *Mamfred*, and made War on him, calling the War holy, there being no manner of question of Religion at all; they called thither the Earl of *Anjou*, they condemned and put to death *Conradin* by the hand of the Hangman, with a dozen of his great Lords, for no other error in Religion, but the Popes hatred against them. After that they upheld the Earl of *Anjou* against the house of *Arragon*, and yet took from *Charles* of *Anjou* and his Successors; that which he had formerly given them. To be short, the Popes have kindled the fire between all the Princes and Estates of *Europe*, under the colour of sometimes making Peace between them, they have watered and nourished the seeds of War among them, to the infinite advantage of the *Turk*, and their own perdition: They have stirred up the *Germans* against the *French*, the *French* against the *Germans*; the *Italians* against the *Germans*, the *French* against the *Italians*, the *Spaniard* against the *French*, all *Christendom* against the *English*, the *French* against the *Arragonians*, the *Spaniard* against the *Navarreans*; they fostered the division between the *Orsins* and the *Colonnis*, between the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins*, and between the *Genoans* and the *Venetians*, and indeed among all Christian Nations, over grievous to remember.

Certainly; holy Father, that which Christ himself refused; his Vicar embraceth: Christ denied to be a Judge between two brethren for the division of their inheritance, *Luke* 12. but his Holiness doth not only judge and divide, but dispose of the Kingdoms of *Europe* at his pleasure. For the Popes took on them to be Judge between the *Flemmish* and the *French*, between the *Flemmings* and their Earl, between King *Lewis* and his Children, between *Edward* of *England* and *Philip the fair*, between *Edward* and *Philip de Valois*, between *Edward* the 3d and *John*, between *Richard* and *Charles* the 5th, surnamed *the Wise*; between *Hen.* the 6th, and *Charles* the 3d, between the Emperour *Henry* the 4th and *Rodolph*, between the same *Henry* and his Son, between *Otho* and *Frederick*, between *Lewis* of *Banarr* and *Frederick* of *Austrice*, and I know not how many more: And for these respects, holy Father, do the foolish Hereticks hate our holy Father, who (say they) is not only contrary to Christ and his Apostles in doctrine, but in all else. For whereas our Saviour was meek, he is arrogant; our Saviour merciful, he cruel; our Saviour peaceable, he contentious; our Saviour obedient, his Holiness is imperious, and an Arch-Tyrant.

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Jes.

Jes. Well, mine Host, I have heard you with patience.

Rec. It was your promise, holy Father, for you gave me leave to speak with the voice of an Heretick.

Jes. I did so, but not with the soul of an Heretick: for altho I cannot misdeem of so good a Catholick, yet one thing I must tell you plainly, that I perceive that you have disobey'd the order of the Church.

Rec. In what? holy Father.

Jes. Even in reading those dangerous seducing Books which are written by the Hereticks against us; and in answer of ours, which you know well are absolutely forbidden you.

Rec. It is true, holy Father, that those Books are forbidden; but it was not meant that all Catholicks shou'd be barred, but only the weak and unlearned.

Jes. Nay, nay, mine Host, it belongs not to you to distinguish our commandments, that prerogative we reserve; use what distinctions you will, and how absurd soever, against the Heretics: but of us (you know it well enough) you may not enquire a reason; we ourselves dare not do it in any thing that our Superiour or General commands us; be you obedient, for if you fail therein you are reprobate. I do not mean that you shou'd obey all divine commandments and precepts of Scripture: for we can pardon those slips and errors: but if you fail in the orders of the holy Church, and the obedience due to the Ministers of the same, there is no redemption, neither can we pardon your presumption therein.

Rec. Marry, holy Father, when I preach this doctrine to the Hereticks, they choak me with this perversion, that whereas it is written that it is better to obey God than Men, you teach the contrary, that it is better to obey Men than God.

Jes. Tush, tush, mine Host; in obeying us, you obey God, and therefore prate no more of this point.

Rec. I am satisfy'd, holy Father, and yet I will tell you all I hear: For the Hereticks, when I refuse to read their Book, say unto me, that we fear our Cause, that we keep men in Ignorance, that we are like the unjust Judge, that will hear but one tale: And, for conclusion, they say that men may be taught to believe in Apes and Owls, if they hear nothing to the contrary: For by this policy did the *Egyptian* Priests keep the people in awe, and taught them to worship their Pied Beef, Apes, and to give divine honours to Crocodiles and Cats.

Jes.

Jes. You speak soundly, mine Host, and against yourself. For if the *Egyptian* Priests were trusted with the secrets of their Divinity, and none but they, how much more ought you to trust us who are Christian Priests.

Rec. I confess it, my good Father; but I pray you note the difference; the vilest Hereticks can read the Scriptures as well as we, the people of *Egypt* had all from the mouth of their Priests; they would have worshipp'd none other Gods, much less those Bawbles and Beasts which they did. But I have done, holy Father, I beseech you to pardon this digression, and that you will consider by that which has been said, whether it be possible for us, or any foreign Catholick Prince, to perswade the King of *England* to a Toleration: Seeing to permit us and you it is not sufficient, unless he abandon the party Protestant, and not only abandon them, but root them out: for had it been otherwise, the two last Catholick *French* Kings had escap'd your Councils.

Jes. Alas, mine Host, you know things but superficially: I tell you, that we will preach it at *Pauls Cross*, not only that those which you call Protestants ought to obey the King; and live and dye his Subjects, but that we ourselves ought to obey him, and will obey him in all temporal things.

Rec. Yea, holy Father, you will teach it; and preach it indeed: I am not so superficial but I know it well enough; and know it also, by your favour; as well as you, that there followeth a *donec*.

Jes. How a *donec*?

Rec. *Donec fortiores estis, & numero majores.* For, say what you list, holy Father, the Hereticks know your meanings as well as yourselves: This same killing of Kings hath marr'd all. Go on, holy Father, with your Conversions, make yourselves strong in Men and Swords, as for any trust think not of it: whatsoever you say or swear, your equivocation, which the Hereticks call the art of lying, hath marr'd all traffick by protestation.

Jes. I tell you, mine Host, that they are arrant Knaves that call mental reservation the Art of Lying, and and you presume too much to speak it after them.

Rec. Nay, holy Father, if you grow into passion I have done; your self gave me this liberty to say all I cou'd in the person of an *English* Heretick.

Jes. And I give it you still, mine Host; but yet in good words, and not to use those profane terms of the Hereticks, as to call our safe, profitable and holy reservation, the Art of Lying. For tho a multitude of Dogs bark at us, you may

tell us that they bark, but you need not use the same voice and outcry. You know, mine Host, that if by the resolution of the Council of *Constance*, Anno 1414, we are not bound to keep Faith with Hereticks; no, tho the same be solemnly sworn, much less are we ty'd to speak the truth (tho urged by oath) to Hereticks, and to our own Enemies; nay, to the Enemies of the Catholick Church. This resolution, I tell you, was confirmed 30 years after the former Session by Pope *Eugenius*, who gave liberty to *Vladislans* to break Faith with *Amurath* the Turk, and perswaded him unto it.

Rec. Marry, holy Father, I will tell you what the Hereticks answer: The Oath we take, say they, is to the living God, and not to the dying man, and there is no example more terrible than that of *Vladislans*: for after many signal Victories against the Turk, he made a Peace with him, the most profitable and advantageous that ever was concluded. But when by the Pope's instigation, he had once broken his Faith; for I tell you again, holy Father, that the promise is made to God; I say, that the King of *Hungary* was not only beaten in battel, when he was far stronger than ever, but he lost his Army, his Honour and his Life; lost the Empire of *Greece*, and the best part of his own Kingdom, which could never since that day be recovered; that *Zedechias* for breaking Faith with a Pagan, saw all his Friends, Servants and Children slain before him, and had then his Eyes torn out of his Head; you know it better than I.

Jes. Well, mine Host, I must tell you plainly, that you are one of those Fools that judge of things by the success. Shall we also say, that the Protestant Religion is better than ours, because they sometimes overcome us in battel. Shall we say that the Judgments of the holy Councils are to be disputed. Take heed, mine Host, the breaking of Faith was not in the fault, it was for some other secret offence that God suffered *Vladislans* to perish.

Rec. It may be so, holy Father; for the Judgments of God are secret: but so far as men may judge both by the Scriptures, by the Threats and Promises of God, and by Reason grounded on the Scripture, misery and destruction hath ever been the reward of perjury and infidelity; I speak not out of Profane Authors, I will not put to your mind *Lisander*, *Hannibal*, *Siphax*, *Caracalla*, and in latter times of *Hebert* Earl of *Vermendois*, of the Earl of *Charlois*, and of *St Paul*, and of a great many of our Kings of *England*, and of their miserable ends, but I will lay before you that which is plain and out of the Scripture; to wit, the story of the *Gabaonites*, a people

ple of the *Amoreans*, who sent lying Ambassadors to *Joshua*, affirming, that they were meer strangers, and come from far, and not of those Nations which God had commanded to be rooted out, and desired Peace from *Joshua* and Alliance; which *Joshua* (having many Enemies on his hands) granted them, and sware their safety in the name of the living God. Three days after which the *Israelites* piercing the Country, found the deceit and falshood of the *Gabaonites*, and consulted their destruction; but remembring in whose name they had sworn, that is, to whom they had sworn, (notwithstanding the Commandments of God to extinguish those Nations) they durst not do it, yea, though the *Gabaonites* were Idolaters, and worshippers of Images and Devils. Now, I pray, holy Father, consider with yourself, how justly *Joshua* might in this case have holpen his Oath by a distinction; I say, he might justly have said, that he sware unto them as to strangers come from far, for so they protested themselves to be, and not unto *Gabaonites*, for he was commanded by God to root them out, and therefore his Oath was no Oath at all, if by any subtilty in the world an Oath may be dispenced withal: Yea, that which is more, it was about 400 years after that the *Israelites* under *Saul* invaded this Nation and slew of them. But an Oath sworn to God, is not devoured by time; for the Prophets made them know, that God had visited their breach of Faith by Famine, which lasted three years, till *David* delivered them, the Children of *Saul*, to be disposed at their pleasure, whom they crucified to the Lord, and the Famine ceased. And, holy Father, though we count the Hereticks but Infidels, yet did not *Abraham* sware to many unbelieving Princes. *Isaac* gave his Faith, and observed it to *Abimelech*, *Jacob* and his Sons, especially *Joseph* were allied, and lived with the *Egyptians*, the *Israelites* concluded Leagues with the *Greeks* and the *Romans*, and of these Examples there are innumerable. Of this you are not ignorant, and I know your ordinary Answers; but in good faith, holy Father, they edify not.

And for your distinctions in Promises and Oaths, it will breed in short time such confusion in all the Estates of *Europe*, as there can be nothing more pernicious and lamentable. For do but consider, holy Father, that there are few Houses, Families, Towns, Cities and Governments, that are not bound by Oaths, few Successions, Marriages, Fellowships, that depend not upon Oaths; the Heretick by Oath taketh assurance of the Catholick, the Catholick of the Heretick, Kings of their Officers and Vassals, Vassals of their Kings. By Oaths the

the Lives and Estates of all men are tried, and the whole Religious world Govern'd. And I assure you, that there is no human Wit nor Power, that can preserve this Kingdom or any other Kingdom or Estate, but by observing those things covenanted and sworn. There can be no end of War, no hope of Peace, no safety to treat with Enemies, but by the assurance of Oaths; for the Nations of *Europe* differ in Religion, and yet trust each other by Oaths: Shall we make it now but a bait for lying, treason and cruelty, by which our predecessors pass through the Armies of their enemies, and among the weapons of their hateful foes: for he that swear-eth by the name of God, doth assure others that his words are true, even as God is true: for it is the fear of the name of God, that gives assurance to the weaker to trust the stronger, and it is not the person trusting that you abuse, but it is the living God, upon whose assurance the hazard is made.

The *Romans* (ignorant of the true God) in their fashion of swearing, and contracting alliances, were wont to say, O *Jupiter* smite, and with lightning blast him, whosoever is here accompanied with an intent to deceive: what can be more horrible, holy Father, than to cover falshood with the most holy and reverend name of God; we may not touch them, said the Princes of *Israel* (speaking of the *Gabaonites*) for that we have sworn to them by the Lord God of *Israel*. Dispence with it how you will, holy Father, and for our parts we must believe ye do well, but you shall hereby give the greatest wound to Religion and all humane Society that ever was given, if you proceed. Equivocate, my good Father, in *Hebrew* and *Greek*, teach not our Children and Servants, nor the people, apt to perjury, this doctrine: for to play with the name of God which is in Heaven, is to banish all Religion out of the Earth: and tho it be thought by the Church to be lawful for us to equivocate, as swearing *coram non Judice*, this liberty will be taken also by others: yea, my Wife hath sworn to me of late, rather with mental, than bodily reservation, as I suspect: or Servants will reserve against their Masters, and Children against their Parents.

Jes. Have you forgotten, mine Host, that the Catholick Church is the judge of the Scriptures; are not the Scriptures approved by the Church? have not many Gospels, and other Scriptures, some of them been cast out by the Church, others made Apocryphal: Have not the Councils determined this point of keeping faith with Hereticks, and doth not the Church allow us our mental reservations? these are Heretical babblings, and of no force.

Rec.

Rec. I believe it, holy Father: but I would fain answer them by the Scriptures, because you know that they deny this Authority of the Church, and say, that it became the Church by receiving, believing and following the Scriptures, from which when it shall in any sort vary, it is then no more the Church of God: And surely, holy Father, I know not for my life how to shift from them in this main point, when they ask of me how the Jesuits can excuse themselves of this horrible perjury and dissimulation: for you know, holy Father, that in the supplication made to the late Queen by the Priests, found in the hands of *Bartholomew Wickam*, they protest, as you have said, even in the presence of Almighty God, and upon the Salvation of their Souls, that their coming into *England* was to no other end, than to win their Souls, their minds loyal and dutiful, and clear from all imagination of Treason, against the said Queen or her Estate. I will add a few lines word for word out of that Book of Supplication, that you, holy Father, may teach me how to satisfy the cavilling Heretick in this point; for thus he writeth.

And since we daily in our lines, and always at our executions, unfeignedly pray for your Majesty, since at our deaths we all protest upon our Souls, our clearness from Treason, and our loyal and dutiful minds, subscribing our protestations with our dearest blood; let us not, most merciful Sovereign, be esteemed so godless and desperate Monsters, as to spend our last breaths in bootless perjuries.

Jes. Well, mine Host; and why is not all this true?

Rec. True, holy Father; you know it well that Father *Garnet*, as I said before, confest it at his Arraignment, that the Jesuits had practiced against the late Queen, and did it lawfully, by reason of her excommunication.

Jes. And yet the protestation true, mine Host; for you know that we are directly sent into *England* to win Souls, and there are a great many of us that are never used to any other purpose; I mean the simpler sort, and therefore the protestation was made in their persons, which were to exercise no other Office: And for us, who are used in the greatest affairs, we also may safely make the same protestation; for it is said unto us as to them, *ite & predicat*. And if when we be here settled, we receive other directions, either from our Provincial or from our General, which we must obey without demanding a reason; yet our direct coming over was but to win Souls, howsoever indirectly we be otherwise employ'd. And what reason, mine Host, have the Hereticks to put those Priests to death, which being but newly arrived, have not yet practiced against the State, or wanting solidity of Judgment,

ment, are never used in that kind: O how unjust and barbarous are these proceedings.

Rec. Indeed, holy Father, that distinction of directly and indirectly is pretty; but few of our Judges are logical; and when I have used that difference in disputing your cause, the Hereticks choke me with the very same; for, say they, the Judges of *England* do not send the Jesuits directly to *Tyburn*, but indirectly; for they are first examined, and found to be Priests, they are then sent to the Tower, to the Counter, to the Clink, or to *Newgate*, and then after proof of direct practice, direct hanging.

Jes. Ay, but mine Host, you know that many are executed before they practice in any sort, and those you must confess dye for their Conscience sake only.

Rec. I confess it; but what say the Hereticks, forsooth, they do you the same wrong that the Hunter or Huntsman doth to the young Foxes, when he hangs them up before they ever slaughtered Hen or Lamb. But thus indeed they excuse it, that they know that the whole Litter will, if they live, prove Thieves and Murderers, they by nature, you by direction; for you know it, holy Father, that the intent of evil against the person of a King is Treason. Now the intents of all Jesuits are ill in *potentia*, tho not in *actu*.

Jes. Tush, tush, mine Host, these are ridiculous discourses; for who is he that may not be perswaded, and then directed to do mischief. Every man is subject to perswasion; and therefore by that rule every man hath an ill intent potentially. These are childish and foolish inferences.

Rec. Nay, by my faith, holy Father, there is more in it than so; for there is no order of men, religious or otherwise, no fellowship, brotherhood or society, that the world ever had, or hath, that think themselves warranted in conscience to commit Murther; yea, even upon Gods anointed, that confess themselves bound to their superiour, in whatsoever he commands them, without asking a reason, or any other warrant for what they do, but his simple direction and commandment, your Order and Society of Jesuits only excepted. Kings cannot command their Subjects to murder those whom they dislike, except they be abject and irreligious Subjects; but they will desire to be excused, performing the direct commandment of God, before the furious commandment of the King: and if any Reprobate have therein obey'd them, yet they have in the end repented and lamented their misdeeds; but you, holy Father, say the Hereticks, do not only obey willingly, but cut out your way to Heaven through

through the Bowels of Princes, and thereby merit Eternal Salvation.

But, holy Father, I beseech you let us return to speak of the other two parts of your Letter: for as I have said before, to hope any thing by perswasion it is in vain, because whatsoever we promise or swear, they know it all, that either by the Popes dispensation, or our mental reservations, the same is of no binding nor assurance; they are resolved that we think worse of the Hereticks, than of Infidels, for with Infidels the Patriarchs kept faith, but as you told long ago those Examples are old.

And now, holy Father, let us consider the hope you have of foreign Princes, which you remembred unto me in the second part of your Letter; for it seemeth that you are of opinion, that to avoid the joint War that may be made by all the Catholicks upon our King, he may be brought to come to composition, and to yield to give unto you free access, and to us liberty of Conscience: but I have long debated this point with my self, and do find no great probability in this your project.

Jes. And why? mine Host.

Rec. Because I neither perceive any likelihood how any such league can be made, that the Catholicks are able to affect any great matter against the Hereticks; for of the Catholicks there are but these five Princes which we account powerful; the King of the *French-men*, the *Spanish* King, the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of *Polonia*. For the Estate of *Venice*, they hate your Society, hate the *Spaniard*, and love the *English*: for the petty Princes of *Italy* I value them at nought: for besides that they will never join with the *Spanish* King, in any thing that may render him more powerful than he is, fearing his present greatness and his neighbourhood, they have ever held good correspondence with the *English*, and reap great profit by our trades; and howsoever, to say the truth, they are of no force.

Now to begin with the *French* King, you know that he is but a Child, and it will try the uttermost of the Queens wits and of her Council to keep *France* it self in Peace: To which end, she hath already consumed the greatest part of the Treasure which the late King left her; neither can she forget the love of Queen *Elizabeth* to her Husband, neither can the young King prove so ungrateful as not to acknowledge the great assistance which *Henry* the Fourth his Father had from the said Queen; the aid of Men and Money from time to time, and in all his extremities, without which he had never worth,

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worn, no not so much as assay'd the Crown of *France*. Again, holy Father, I would not have you believe that ever the *French-men* will joyn with the *Spaniard* against *England*, these are but Scholastical policies, or rather dreams, for the *French* have no quarrel at all against the *English*, but all the good Subjects of *France* honour them for their services to their late Master: Yea, holy Father, the house of *Guise*, who hated the late Queen, have the honour to be the Kinsmen of King *James* and his: on the contrary, the *French-men* have most urgent cause to hate the *Spaniard*, they hold from them, without all manner of title the Kingdom of *Navarre*, and by a bad and broken, the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Cicill*, with the Dutchy of *Milan*, and many other Signories in *Flanders*, *Artois* and *Heinault*: they dispossess the *French* of *Naples* by Treason, they cast them out of *Cicill* by Murder, they entred upon *Navarre* by strong hand, they hold divers parts of *Flanders* by force only: and that which is more, they invaded *France* in the time of *Henry* the third: they set his Subjects against him, and possess the best City he had, and in the end practised his death, and effected it: the same War they made upon *Henry* the last, and to the same end they brought him. Lastly, were the *French* Catholics ill affected to the *English*, yet would the Hereticks within *France* cut them out work enough to make up, if they once moved against the King of *England*, their chief protector.

Jes. Tush, tush, mine Host, you know somewhat of *England*, but it is long since you were in *France*, you know not what interest we have in the Queen; and for our policies, which you call Scholastical, I am sure that we have troubled all the Kingdoms and Estates of *Europe*, and swayed the greatest of them with our Scholastical policies.

Rec. You say well, holy Father, that you have troubled all the Estates of *Europe*, and by my faith with much trouble to your selves, and by setting your quarters far asunder: and I confess that you have swayed much, but with lamentable success: for, to tell you plainly, the Councils of Priests have been very unfortunate in all ages.

Jes. It is falsely and foolishly said, mine Host. I can forbear you no longer.

Rec. Holy Father, you know that I so much reverence your calling, as I will not offend you by reply. But this I say, that the temporal wisdom of the Church of *Rome* hath well near made itself despised, it hath by the policies afore spoken of, lost the one half of all it had; God grant them grace to keep the rest. The form of policy begun by the

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A Dialogue between a Jesuit and a Recusant. 43

Cardinal *Granvill* in the *Low Countries*, and followed by *Alva* and the rest, hath lost the good Catholick King the better part of all those Countries.

The policy of Queen *Mary's* Priests lost *Calais*, the zealous policy of the *Portugal* Priests carried *Emanuel* into *Barbary*, but they left him there, and brought the Nation into slavery to the *Spaniard*; and not to weary you, holy Father, with many instances, your policies in *England* have brought many a man to the Gallows, tainted many noble Houses, and put my self and many others in danger of our Lives and Estates.

Jes. Why, mine Host, fear you any thing in respect of God and your Salvation? if you do, speak it freely.

Rec. No, holy Father, your self can witness it; but I will tell anon what I fear indeed; but, by your favour, I will first go on with your Catholick union: Of *France* I have already delivered you mine opinion, and howsoever you flatter yourselves with that Nation, believe me, holy Father, that that Knave *Anticoton* (tho I believe little of that he hath said) yet he urgeth one point against you so strongly, and indeed so truly, as I resolve my self that your credit is as great in *France* and *England* both, as ever it will be, except you alter the very fundamental policy of your Order.

Jes. I tell you, mine Host, that the Sun shall leave the Sky, and the Earth the Center, ere that alteration come to pass; for I know that you mean our obedience to our General.

Rec. It is true indeed, holy Father, and I pray consider it; that seeing your General is evermore a *Spaniard*, and that you are all bound to obey his commandments, without asking a cause or a reason, without all dispute, reply or deliberation: if your General command a *French* Jesuit to kill his King, or an *English* to kill his, dare you refuse it? and this is the point which *Anticoton* urgeth.

Jes. It is a sawcy question, mine Host, and I am not bound to resolve you therein.

Rec. I desire it not, holy Father, for I am resolved already, and therefore conclude that we may give over this first game, for it is lost.

And now, holy Father, for *Spain*; that if ever *Spain* lost the reputation of her forces, it hath been against *England*; and you are deceived if you think that the *English* make any account of the forces of the *Spaniard*; they who have so deep a Ditch to wade thro ere they can reach the Rocky Ramparts of *England*: The *English* know that the *Spaniards* have not any trained Soldiers within *Spain*, they must be gathered from *Naples*, *Millan*, and other places far distant: and for the Army of the *Low Countries*,

tries,

tries, under the Arch-Duke, you must consider two things; the first, that there is also an Army of the States to confront it; the second, that the Arch-Duke hath not any Port capable of Ships able to transport an Army: for if he hopes to pass them over in small Vessels, a dozen of the Kings Ships, or the same number out of *Holland* and *Zealand*, will batter them in pieces: for that they can draw their forces to the Sea side, and imbarke them on the sudden without our knowledge it is impossible.

Jes. Why, mine Host, do you think that the Catholick King, when he hath gathered sufficient Treasure from the *Indies*, which now in time of Peace comes in by heaps, but that he shall be able to compound an Army, as well of *Spaniards* as of all other Nations, and to transport them into such a Fleet, as the *English* shall not be able to withstand them. Which being done, the Army also of the Arch-Duke may be transported to join with them; for if the Catholick King become Master of the Sea, and his Fleet victorious over ours, who shall then hinder the transportation of the *Low Conntry* Army.

Rec. You say well, holy Father, but there is much to do ere this be brought to pass, the Catholick King must first be rich, he must then prepare an invincible Fleet, and so he called that of 88, but, you know, holy Father, that the Hood makes not the Monk, invincible Titles do not conquer, but invincible Armies, and were the *Spanish* King as full of Treasure, as he is of Malice towards our Nation, yet all the Fleets of *Europe* assembled, cannot beat the *English* and *Netherland* out of the Sea.

Jes. But what know you, mine Host, to the contrary, but the *Spanish* Kings party may encrease in the *Low Conntries* in a short time, and equal that of the King of *England*; for I can tell you thus much, that the Prince of *Orange* is now in his own Town of *Breda*, that the Marquis of *Bergers* lives in his *Bergen op zoom*, that *Aramberg* hath the possession of all his Lands in the heart of *Holland*, and keeps his Court there: These are principal men, great Princes, and Catholicks; and the common people, that have not had any Nobility among them for many years, do greatly rejoice to live under their own Lords, by whom they are feasted, and entertained with all kind of pastimes, from which they have been beaten, and forbidden by the Heretical Ministers.

Rec. I do not say it is impossible, that if the Peace continue, but that the Catholick King may purchase a party in *Holland* and *Zealand*, as well as in *England*; but that he can pay

pay his millions of debts in haste, and become rich enough to renew a War upon us, I do not see the reason; for you must know, holy Father, that the Catholick King hath no such heaps of Treasure from his *Indies* as you suppose he hath, for he hath no Mines of his own, and of those that are he hath but his *quinto fifth* part, and if you consider the charges that he is at in those parts, you will find it true that the Revenue of the *Low Countries* (if he had had the grace to have kept them) was more in value than all that comes clear to his purse from the *Western Indies*.

Jes. Charges, mine Host, alas what cause of Expence hath he in those far off Regions, seeing all the natural people are either rooted out, or made then *Vassals*.

Rec. It is true indeed, that the *Spaniards* have destroyed five or six millions of people in *Hispaniola*, and have not left one of all that God created to inhabit that Land, and so the Gospel may be preached to Beasts and Birds in that Kingdom: for instead of winning of Souls, they have destroyed every Soul living of those Nations. For the *Indians* in other Regions, it is true that the *Spaniards* have subdued them, or the greatest number of them, tho (as I hear for certain) that the naturals of *Chile* and *Balduna* have again recovered the best part of their Countries from the *Spaniard*, and have well near rooted them out; and the *Chickemicas*, to the North of *Mexico*, make yet sharp War against them; both which Nations, had they succour from any Christian Prince, they would give the *Castilians* their hands full of work. But do not you think, holy Father, that it is a marvellous charge to the Catholick King, to pay thirty or forty Governours or Captains of Towns, Forts and Islands, to maintain ten Presidencies or Governments of Provinces, with the Officers belonging, two of which ten are commanded by Vice-Roys; of which ten Presidencies, like unto that of *Wales* and *York* in *England*, some of them have eight Judges, with Officers Civil and Criminal; and of those mens great entertainment and wages, and of the wages of the Senitories, Fiscals, Registers, Customers, Receivers, Auditors, Comptrollers, and a world of petty Knaves under these; you may judge by that which is which is given to a common Souldier in *Peru*, where every Horse-man hath a thousand Ducats a year, and every Foot-man 500, insomuch as the Vice-roys Company of 200 Horse doth cost the King two hundred thousand Ducats a year: Neither do I reckon unto you the Kings Ships of War in the *South Sea*, the charge of his Gallions that are sent to the *Indies* for the Treasure, and the victualling and wages of the men

men and of the Admiral; neither the charge that the King hath been at to send out Fleets every year safely to conduct his Treasure into *Spain*, and his Officers and Councillors in *Spain* it self, called the Councillors of the *Indies*. But this I say, when those summs are cast up, which remain after the former deductions, the same are far short of the same. No, holy Father, did not the Kings imposition, called the *Alcaval*, which is the tenth penny of all things bought and sold, how often soever bought and sold, greatly help him, together with his reserved merchandize, which no man may vent but himself, and did not the Pope's Bulls of Pardon help to fill the Bag, he could work no wonders with his Treasures from thence.

Jes. His Holiness Pardons, mine Host? What hath the Catholick King to do with those Pardons, the proper Revenue of *St Peter*, and the Church?

Rec. They are still, holy Father, of *St Peter's* Revenue, and truly his Holiness hath a Conscience in venting them; for though he cannot give freely. as *St Peter* did, who had not a Guard of *Switzers* to entertain, yet his Holiness sells them to the *Spanish* King for a Farthing a Pardon; I mean for Sins past, but for Sins to come somewhat dearer, and the King does retail them for a Ducat, and doth enforce every Soul dwelling in the *Indies*, be they bound or free, *Spaniard*, *Indian*, or *Negro*, which hath received Christianity to take two of these Pardons every every year, and so he hath for every Christian head (for I think few of them have Christian hearts) every year two Ducats, which makes twelve Shillings of our Money.

Jes. I swear, by the unspotted Sanctity of our Order, I will never believe it.

Rec. A great and dangerous Oath, holy Father; but I assure you that it is true, as that the Sun riseth and setteth, and as the Waters ebb and flow.

Jes. Well, well, mine Host, I pray give no credit to these things, I know that his Holiness may do what he pleaseth, for he hath power over all earthly Creatures, and over all Souls, but that he doth it I cannot be perswaded; and yet to enforce men to Salvation is a noble Act; for except the *Indians* were constrained they would never hearken after Salvation, how cheap soever they might purchase it.

Rec. Let it then rest in doubt, holy Father, for the present, and I will go on with my discourse touching the hopes of *Spain*: for as I have told you already, his Treasures are far short of the opinion which the world

world hath of them, neither would I believe that the Catholick King will break with *England* in haste, considering the ill success he had in the last War with Queen *Elizabeth*; for you know well that the *English* sackt many of his good Towns in the *Indies*, they took from his Subjects a world of Riches by reprizal, they braved him at *Lisbon*, they beat him at *Cadix*, they overthrew his invincible Fleet in 88, and that ever the *Spaniard* did any thing against our Nation, either by Sea or Land, it now here appeareth; and to tell you true, holy Father, I have heard it reported by very sufficient and expert men, that two or three places in the *Indies* being taken, which may be done with one thousand Soldiers, the King of *Spain* shall never be able to bring any Treasure from thence into *Spain*.

Jes. I have heard as much, mine Host; and it is true, that the *Spaniards* had ill success in the last War, but you must understand, that the Catholick King will first make his Enterprize upon *England*, before he makes any shew of War. He will gather his Forces, and prepare his Fleet upon some other pretence, upon *Barbary*, *Tunis*, or *Algier*; we must in affairs of such importance imitate the Watermen, that look one way and row another.

Rec. Ay, but, holy Father, you must give me leave to reply, and you must not think that the *English* are ignorant in Sea-Enterprizes, they will instantly judge by the Port where the *Spanish* Fleet is prepared, to what place the same is likely to be directed, and you must not think to abuse them a second time, as you did in 88, when you came on with an Invasion, at such time as you treated a Peace at *Dunkirk*, where the Commissioners of *England* and *Spain* met; for the *English*, as soon as they hear of any great preparation in *Spain*, they will not neglect their Defences, especially if any Fleet be gathered at *Calais*, *Lisbon*, or the *Groyne*. For the *English* know it as well as the *Spaniard*, that the *Spaniards* compound their Army within the *Streights*, when they mean to invade any part of *Barbary*.

Jes. We will do well enough for that, mine Host, for the Catholick King will pretend the recovery of *Embden*, for the Earls of that place, who are dispossessed of that City and Port by the *Burghers*; for those of *Embden*, by the Example of the rebelling *Hollanders*, make themselves Masters of the City, and have joyned themselves with them of *Holland* and *Zealand*, and *Friezland*, or he may pretend to succour the Catholick King of *Poland*, for the recovery of *Prussia* and *Leveland*, in which divers Ports are held from him by his Uncle Duke *Charles*, a Rebel and a *Lutheran*. *Rec.*

Rec. This Voyage, holy Father, is no less long and tedious, than the pretence is short, and (by your favour) foolish; it is no easy matter to sail out of *Spain* with an invading Fleet, either to *Embsen* or into *Leveland*; for before they can recover *Embsen*, they must of necessity (except they command the wind) succour themselves in some of our Ports, and ere they can enter the *Baltick Sea*, they must pass the Strieght of *Elsenour*, by favour of the King of *Denmark*; and think you, holy Father, that either the King of *England* or the King of *Denmark* will suffer such a Fleet upon their Coasts, whatsoever they pretend or can pretend? and if God should take understanding from both these Kings, yet those of *Holland* and *Zealand* would arm to the Sea so strongly in their own respect, as the Catholick King should never be able to land an Army in these parts.

Jes. Mine Host, you can cast more doubts than there is cause. Do you think that the King of *England* upon a rumor of our arming in *Spain*, hath such store of Treasure as he will make ready all his Ships, and set them to the Sea, attending our purposes? hath not the Catholick King an Ambassador here to satisfy the King in all things? And to say true, I do not think that the King of *England* hath so many sufficient Captains left in *England*, as are required to command such a Fleet as shall be sufficient to encounter ours; for if in 88, the stormy weather (because we set out so late in the year) had not done us more harm than the *English* did, we might have commanded all the Coast of *England* at our pleasure. You know that *Drake* is dead, *Hawkins* is dead, *Furber* dead, *Comberland* dead, *Grenville* dead, *Lewson*, *Sommers*, and all the Sea Captains are consumed.

Rec. Deceive not yourself, holy Father. Do not you know that whensoever the *Turk* Arms by Sea, and whensoever the King of *Spain* Arms by Sea, within the *Levant*, that the *Venetians* (altho they assure themselves that the preparations doth no way concern them) yet they also make ready a Fleet proportionable to that of the *Turks* or the *Spanish* Kings. Flatter not yourself in this, for the King hath no such confidence in the *Spanish* Amity, that he will at any time stand to his courtesy, and though you assure yourselves that there are some about the King that are *Spanish*, yet to dissuade so necessary a prevention, it would be too perilous for them, and they know it well enough. Rest satisfy'd, holy Father, that Kingdoms are not to be stoln in this Age; and for Captains, I do not think that *Spain* hath any greater store than we have. But lest I forget it, let me put you in mind of this one thing, which

which is, that the Catholick King hold fast his advantage which he hath by the Peace, that no *English* be permitted to Trade in the *West Indies*, and if any do, let the *Spaniards* hang them up without mercy, as they have done, and thereby in a few years the *Indies* and the Pilotage thereof will be altogether unknown to our Nation; and if the *French* and *Netherlands* had yielded but to that Article, it had been happy to the Catholick King. For the rest, you must consider, that without a party there was never any Kingdom conquered of any strength, it is the Worm in the Kernel that corrupts the fruit, and not the air from without. To give examples hereof it were superfluous, it hath been so ever, and every where; and I cannot tell what account you make, holy Father, of the Catholicks in *England*; for my part I cannot conceive any such strength among us.

Jes. I cannot tell what you conceive, mine Host, but I know it, that there are ten thousand more Catholicks now in *England* than there were ten years since; and whereas the Hereticks shall fight against us but for their pay, all ours fight for their Religion, for the Church, yea, for Heaven itself, inasmuch, as ten thousand of us shall be able to overthrow forty thousand of the Heretical Army.

Rec. That we are encreased, I cannot deny, and for one Battel we have as many in number, as may suffice against the greatest Army that the Hereticks can make, but that we exceed the Hereticks in resolution, I cannot so well resolve, neither doth the success always follow the goodness of the quarrel. *Sacrilegi prospere navigant & viri piissimi naufragantur*: the wicked sail prosperously, when the most godly do often suffer Shipwrack. But, holy Father, there is somewhat else to be considered, that falls not within the compass of your Book-learning; for let it be granted, that with the assistance of any Foreign Prince we were able to encounter the Kings Forces, and be it also granted, that all the good Catholicks of *England* will live and dye in the Pope's quarrel, and that his Holiness may absolve us of our Allegiance, and dispence with any Oath we take, yet how is it possible for us to assemble our selves and to make one body: for how shall the Catholicks of *Yorkshire* and *Lancashire* joyn themselves to those of *Sussex* and *Hampshire*, or those of *Kent* with those of *Cornwall*; for it is certain, that in most of the Shires of *England*, the Sheriff of the County will be able to cut all the Catholicks in pieces within the said County. Again, all the Cities from whence we may provide Arms, will shut their Gates against us, and for the Nobility, how sure soever you think

think yourself of any of 'em, they will never bett on our side) except they think the match ten to one, I mean such of them as have or expect good Estates ; for the love of the world, holy Father, is invincible.

Lastly, do you not remember, that in the late Queen's time we were disarmed upon every rumor of Invasion? Were we not clapt up, and some of us sent to *Banbury*, some to *Wibich*, and to other places? and think you that there are not of the Council now, that will perswade the like disarming and restraint whensoever their intelligence shall tell them of any trouble toward?

Jes. Shall I answer you, mine Host?

Rec. I beseech you, Sir ; for I would fain believe as you do.

Jes. I would then fain know a Cause, why the Catholics may not as well assemble themselves now, as they did in *Edward* the 6th's time, were there not Sheriffs then as now in every Shire of *England*?

Rec. Alas, holy Father, there is nothing so unlike itself as time. That time begat 20 Catholics for one Protestant, this time 40 Protestants for one Catholic. All the people were then Catholick in effect, the Sheriff then had none to follow him but his own Servants, and those with an ill heart ; but what with them, those which they call Protestants, what with the *Puritan*, the *Brownist*, and I know not how many other Sects, and all Enemies to your *Romish* Religion, the number of Catholics will soon be devoured. To conclude, let us take care that we be not found more zealous than wise, let the *Spanish* King gather Riches, and do you gather Souls, and perswade them to resolution, and in the mean while let us exercise our dull patience ; we are in better state now than we were heretofore, we have 4 Churches in *London* wherein we hear Mass, as you know, to wit, the *Spanish* Church, the Arch-Dukes Church, the *French* Church, and the *Venetian* Church ; and for your parts, you have better Hostesses than you had in the Queens time ; you, holy Father, and the best learned among you, which are young and comely men, have great Ladies to harbour you, where you fear no search : but let us go on with the rest of the Catholick Princes, and speak again of our selves at more leisure.

Jes. Go on, mine Host.

Rec. For the *French* and *Spanish* you have heard my opinion, and for his Holiness, you know it better than I, that the Popes draw their Spiritual Sword often, they fight with

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Cursings and Excommunications : but for their Temporal Sword, a very costly weapon, they never pull it out but for the defence or augmentation of *St Peter's* patrimony, and for their own profit : they will perswade well, and set on others, give their Blessings liberally, and their Pardons abundantly ; but it is not the least Grace that God hath given them, to spare the Treasures of the Church, except it be to provide some Principality for their Nephews, or nearest Kinsmen. But for the right and interest which his Holiness hath in many Kingdoms, as namely in *Ireland*, I am verily perswaded that he would deal liberally in that kind, and give the one half thereof to any Prince that would conquer it, and reserve but the other half to himself ; or if any Prince would buy his Holiness title to *Ireland*, or any other Heretick Kingdom, he might have a reasonable pennyworth, but I do not think that his Holiness will be at any charge in Law.

Jes. Why you know, mine Host, that nothing can be more profitable to his Holiness that is, and shall be, than the recovery of *England* and *Ireland* and *Scotland* : it was no small Revenue that they had out of this Kingdom of *England* alone in former times, besides the preferments which they gave to those about them, and especially to those of their own Nation, which I must confess much grieved the *English* : and tho his Holiness will not greatly charge himself with expence of Money, yet he may both encourage and command others to travel for the recovery of the inheritance of the Church.

Rec. It is true, holy Father, his Holiness may do much in it ; and tho he hath not done as *St Peter* did, that is, to bid the lame rise and walk, yet he may command those that have their Limbs to walk on his errand : but herein lies the difference, whereby men are the more unwilling : for *St Peter* willed the lame to rise and walk, and thereby they recovered their Limbs ; but his Holiness hath so often commanded the *Spaniard* and *Italian* to rise and walk toward *England*, and into *Ireland*, and they have lost so many Limbs by walking that way, as they will hardly be brought to travel again into these parts.

Jes. They must have died there or elsewhere, mine Host ; and seeing all those that lost their lives in his Holiness service obtain pardon for their sins, it was a very happy exchange for them.

Rec. Truly, holy Father, I do not envy them, nor any of them that bought their inheritance in Heaven at that price ; but this I conclude, that his Holiness will not strain his Purse, whatsoever he do his Conscience for us in *England*, and whensoever he shall set on others to invade *England*, or

use his Spiritual Sword against the King, let him remember that *England* hath a young Prince, that thinks his life an imprisonment till he exercise his Courage in some notable enterprize; and he hath enough about him that kindle that fire; and I have heard some of the Hereticks say it; and they were men of very good judgment, that if the Prince would transport an Army by the *Mediterranean Sea*, he might land it even in sight of *Rome*, and sack it without resistance, and that it may easier be done than to force *Dunkirk* in *Flanders*.

Jes. Where is the Money, mine Host?

Rec. By my faith, holy Father, I am resolved that the charge will be born without a penny demanded of the King: for in such an action the Hereticks are so forward and violent, as they will spend any thing they have in the world; and therefore it behoveth his Holiness to be well advised; and to tell you all, holy Father, I do greatly fear that we Catholics shall be forced to pay the greatest part of the expence, if his Holiness by Excommunication or otherwise should irritate the King.

Jes. What, mine Host, will the King enforce us to whip ourselves, to make war against ourselves, to scale the holy City, the seat of Gods Vicar, and *Peter's* Successor? there was never any Tyrant so barbarous.

Rec. Yes, by my faith, holy Father, *Charles* the fifth was so barbarous a Catholick Emperour; and what will they Hereticks say, if the Pope move War upon us, if he send the Jesuits to stir up Rebellion, and to withdraw the Kings people from his obedience, it shall be necessary for the King to strike at the root, to destroy the Seminary, and to convert that City into ashes, in which have been held all the cruel and bloody Councils both against his predecessors and himself, and against all Kings and States professing the Religion Reformed: You know, holy Father, what we said of the Parliament-house, that because therein all the cruel Acts against us had been devised and enacted, therefore did we resolve to blow up both the place and the persons; nay, they will say farther, shall the Protestant spend his Money, and adventure his Life, and shall the Recusant sit at home in safety, curse our proceedings, pray to their Saints against us, hoard up Treasure to spend against us, and discover our purposes to our enemies in all he can: No, saith the Heretick, zeal doth best agree with poverty, seeing they will be enemies and unnatural, let us leave them beggarly enemies, and then they are the less to be feared; this is plain dealing, holy Father, and so it will fall out,

out, believe me. For, say the Hereticks, why should not the Papists of *England* be constrained to contribute toward the safety of the King, and towards all enterprizes against his enemies? Did not the Duke of *Alva*, by order from the Catholick King, enforce the Citizens of *Antwerp* to pay 40000 Florins towards the building of the Cittadel, raised up to no other end than to beat themselves; and besides that sum to furnish 2400 Beds for the Garrison of the same Cittadel, which sackt their City twice in seven years, and yet were the Inhabitants of *Antwerp* which paid this sum, for the greatest part good Catholics; and if one City could furnish at one time such a mass of Money, a far greater quantity may be had from all the Catholics of *England*.

Jes. These are but idle fancies, mine Host; you have many of your kindred that are Hereticks, and they do but terrify you with these imaginations.

Rec. Pray God it prove so, holy Father, and so let it rest: and let us for the last examine what your great King of *Polonia* can do against us; for you know that he hath no other trade than by the *Baltick Sea*, all his Corn, Soap-ashes, Honey, Wax, Flax, Deal-board, and the like, come down upon Rafts to *Riga* and *Dantzick*, by the Rivers of *Dvina* and *Weisel*; and if these commodities be not taken from them by the *English Eastland Merchants* and by the *Netherlands*, those shavelings of *Polonia* must cut their long Coats to the knees; and when all these commodities are embarked, yet if the King of *Denmark* stop the Transporting Ships at *Elseneur*, the whole State of *Polonia* will fall into extreme poverty, and therefore I do not think that the King, who is wholly indeed Jesuited, will for all that impoverish himself to help us.

Jes. All this is true, mine Host; and it is as true that the *Spanish King* hath from *England* and the *Netherlands* all the Merchandize in effect which he venteth in his *Western Indies*, Wine and Iron excepted, and some parcels of slight Silks; and yet he was not afraid to break both with *England* and *Holland*, when he was in hopes to prevail against both by Conquest: and tho it will much impoverish the Nobility and the King of *Poland* to forbear the vent of their commodities for 2 or 3 years, yet it will more prejudice us and the *Netherlands* thereby: for when *Spain* hath made provision of all those things which serve for the maintenance of their Navigation, and laid up in Magazines so much as shall serve them for 2 or 3 years, the *English*, that make no provision but from year to year, will not be able to set their Ships to Sea;

for all the Cordage made within the land will not furnish the tenth part of the Shipping employed; and for the *Netherlands*, who have not a bushel of Corn of their own, I mean *Holland* and *Zealand*, what shall become of them, who abound in people, for it is not *France* and *England* that can supply them.

Rec. For Corn indeed I cannot answer, because it is certain that *Holland* and *Zealand* do not only feed themselves out of *Liffland* and *Prussia*, but they carry that Corn into all parts of *Europe* where there is scarcity, as into *Portugal*, *Spain*, *Italy*, *Barbary*, and elsewhere; but for Cordage, the *Netherlands*, and the *English* may have it from *Muscovia*; and this you must understand, holy Father, that *Riga* and *Dantzick*, the two great Ports of *Liffland* and *Prussia*, are but conditional Vassals: for those of *Dantzick* do not suffer the *Polack* to enter their City but with a small train; and as they stamp the Kings face on the one side of their Coyne, so they print their own on the other: and therefore those Cities, and many others upon that Coast, will hardly forbear their trade for the Kings pleasure.

Jes. All that you say is reasonable, mine Host; but perchance you have not heard how the King of *Poland* hath prevailed of late in *Muscovia*, of which mighty Empire we hope to see him Master in a short time, and then from *Muscovia* nothing can be had; and tho' *Dantzick* be a kind of free City, held of the King of *Poland*, and that *Riga*, *Revel*, the *Nerva*, and other places, hold some of them of the *Polack*, others of *Sweden*, and stand upon their own freedom, yet seeing the Kings of *Polonia* won *Prussia* itself when they were of far less power than they now are, and seeing they have mastered the best part of *Russia*, why should it be impossible for them to recover four or five maritime places, seeing all the Inland is theirs, from whence the Sea Towns have the greatest relief and maintenance: for if the *Pole* stop the trade of *Duina* and *Weisel*, then have those two great Cities of *Riga* and *Dantzick* nothing wherewith to draw strangers unto them, they must spend upon the stock, and in a short time their glory will consume like Snow against the Sun.

Rec. But, holy Father, grant it that the *Polack* had all *Muscovia*, and all *Liffland* and *Prussia*, what could those Nations do unto us that are so far removed, and are badly armed; as well might we fear the greatness of the *Turk*.

Jes. I perceive, mine Host, that you are better read in *Stowe's Annals*, than in the Histories of the World: Did you never hear that the *Goths*, the *Huns* and the *Vandals*, with other

other Northern Nations, over-ran all *Hungary*, *Transylvania*, *Austria*, and *Italy* itself; and that they sackt our holy City of *Rome*; that those *Vandals* ranged into *Spain*, of whom the South parts were called *Vandelusia*, now *Andalusia*, and that the *Goths* did the like, and did also possess *Spain* when the *Vandals* past into *Africa*, who afterward returned again into *Italy*, and spoiled it: for these Northern Nations, covered with cold and poverty from the knowledge of the Southern people, did at last, like a furious inundation, or breaking in of the great Ocean, over-run all the Continent of *Europe*; and therefore was *Sarmatia* and *Scandia* called *Vagina*, since *Officina Gentium*: again, did not Nations farther off, to wit, the *Saracens* of the stony and desert *Arabia* possess *Africa*, conquer *Spain*, and entering far into *France* sit down both in *Languedoc* and *Guienna*?

Rec. Yes, holy Father, I have read those stories, and I know them to be true: but you must consider how time hath altered the face of the world since then, and how many scattered Towns and Villages have since been changed into fortify'd Cities, insomuch as the Army of the *Great Turk* hath been stayed at some one place a whole year: you know that *Ostend* held out against the Arch-Duke four or five years; and therefore Kingdoms are not carried as heretofore with multitudes of men.

Jes. Yes, mine Host, even as well now as then: for if such multitudes did in these days enter into any Kingdom, in which there were a thousand fortify'd Cities, the Citizens and Garrisons in them could not live by their Pavements and Stone Walls; for those multitudes would possess the Fields and Villages, and starve the inclosed in a short time: for he that is master of the Field, and cannot be removed by Battel, is also master of all the Forts and Cities: but you know not my meaning: for the *Sarmatians* have many a rude Nation to buckle withal, better armed than they are, before they can be able to think how to offend us here in *England*: and I am resolved that 50000 *Germans* will beat 200000 of those people: but we have another reach, and if our blessed Lady assist us therein, we will tread down all the Hereticks of *Europe* under our feet, all our former undertakings having been but frivolous, in respect of the counsel and resolution now taken.

Rec. I confess, holy Father, that it transcendeth my understanding how any thing prejudicial to us can be effected by the *Polack*.

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Jes. Well, mine Host, I will then make you of our Council, knowing your faith and zeal: and first you must know that the Peace lately concluded between the Catholick King and the King of *England*, and between the Catholick King and the *Netherland* Rebels was founded upon a deeper consideration than any of the Hereticks have yet suspected.

Rec. I do not think so, by your favour, holy Father; for he hath little judgment in matter of State, that doth not look into the bottom of the Catholick Kings purpose by that Peace.

Jes. Ashew, mine Host? it hath a deep and dark bottom, I can assure you.

Rec. It may be, holy Father, that other Nations think the *Spaniards* wiser than they are, or find themselves to be: for I assure you they have done as foolishly for these 20 years as ever Nation did: for the last *Philip* was derided by all wise men in his undertaking upon the *Netherlands*, upon *France*, and upon *England* all at once. In *France* he was robb'd and laugh't at by the League, who only enricht themselves out of his Bags, and made choice of their own conditions with the *French* King by the *Spanish* Kings assistance, never meaning that the *Spaniards* should rest in *France* any longer than pleased them: in the mean while he lost so much to the States of the *Low Countries*, as he was never able to this day to reconquer. And for *England*, to tell you true, his invincible Army was driven away with Squibs from our Coasts. But this I conceive for the first, that the Catholick Kings Treasure was so exhausted, as he was no longer able to assist the Arch-Duke, and to pay his Army there, witness the desperate and most dangerous mutinies of the *Spaniards*, *Walloon*s, and *Italians*; the brave points they stood upon, their Treaties with the States, and the scornful answer they gave the Arch-Duke, with the disdain of his prescriptions. For the second, the *Spanish* King found such an interruption in his Trade, and that all his Treasures were so often endangered, and that they were brought home with so great difficulty and expence, besides the loss which his Merchants received every year, whereupon both his Banks at *Sevill* brake at once, to the great discredit and dishonour of that State, as he had no way to subsist but by a Peace. Thirdly, the just cause which the *Spanish* King had to fear that the *English* and *Netherlanders* would have planted in the *West Indies*, and have sent a Colony thither of eight or ten thousand persons, and being too strong by Sea for all the world, they would in a short time have eaten out the *Spaniards*, and beaten them from all their trades,

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was one of the most urgent causes of the Peace with *England*. For it is well known, that those of the *Spanish* Nation, descended of the first Conquerors, do no less hate the new come *Spaniards* than the *Irish* do the *English*, and would willingly subject themselves to any other Christian Prince, by whom they might be protected: for they are now even devoured by the new *Spaniards*, and little better but for the name than common Slaves. Fourthly, by this Peace the Catholick King will enrich himself, and fill his Coffers, win friends in *England* and *Holland*, and enable himself to go through with the War against our Nation, whensoever he shall resolve to break with us, and when he shall know from us that are Catholicks that we are able to raise a party here at home to assist him. Fifthly, by this Peace the *English* will in short time (as before said) forget the passages and Pilotage of the *West Indies*, their Sea Captains be consumed, and worn out. For, but for the piddling trade which they have of Tobacco, there is not a ship that saileth that way: and seeing the *Spaniards* may hang up the *English*, or put to death by torments, as they do, and that the *English* dare not offend the *Spaniards* in those parts (a most notable advantage gotten in the conclusion of the Peace) it is certain that the *English* will soon give over that Navigation, to the infinite advantage of the *Spanish* King, both present and future. For these causes of importance it was that the Catholick King sought the Peace of *England* and the *Netherlands*, and so much all men of judgment discern:

Jes. By our Lady, mine Host, I perceive that you are no fool, and yet you have not sounded to the bottom; for though this be true, and that the Catholick King was inforc'd to this Peace, howsoever he covered the necessity with a *Spanish* Bravado, yet the great design, and indeed the greatest that ever hath been thought on by any of our side, could never have been managed, or ever have gathered hope during the War.

Rec. What design should this be, holy Father, so far beyond my imagination?

Jes. I will tell you what it is, but I must prepare your capacity by some preceding Advertisements.

First therefore, you must know, (but you know it well enough) that the Catholick King and his Predecessors *Charles* and *Ferdinand*, have by assistance of our holy Fathers the Popes, made themselves the greatest Monarchs of Christendom, and have never been wearied with the desire and difficulty, to become the absolute Lords of all the Christian Kingdoms

doms and States of those parts of the world; to effect which, they have fought by a war of 40 years and more, to subject unto them all the *Netherland* Provinces, who have never been but conditional Vassals to the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Brabant*, the Earls of *Flanders* and *Holland*, &c. but in this wasteful War they lost King *Philip*, together with his undertakings in *France* by the League, his attempt upon *England* in 88, hath so consumed himself, as the young King now living, guided by better advice, hath been contented to dissemble his intents, and to seem to lay aside that magnanimous project of his Ancestors, as full of impossibility and despair.

Rec. But, holy Father, (not to interrupt you) doth he hope it still, seeing he hath been cast out of *France*, and laugh't at by his own party of the League there, beaten from the Coast of *England* with infinite dishonour and loss, as I have told you already, and hath quitted the Sovereignty of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, *Frizland*, and other parts.

Jes. Yea, yea, mine host, for he had never till now any cause of confidence; his former Enterprizes were zealous, but ill founded; obstinate, but without judgment, resolute, but untimely.

Rec. In very truth, holy Father, I cannot commend the Council of *Spain*, for they have ever proceeded with more violence than advisement, neither can I yet allow of this your new device, if it be such as I guess at; for if you think that the King of *Poland*, enriched by the spoils, or by the marvelous great Revenue of *Prussia*, if he do master it, shall be able first to recover *Liffland* and *Prussia*, and consequently *Sweden*, which in right and nature belongs unto him; then with the Shipping of the *Bodick* and *Eastland* Sea, which are many and great, fall upon *England*, in hope to run over it with multitudes of men, you will fall short of your accompt.

Jes. Nay, mine Host, you must not be wiser than your Teachers, for I propound no such thing, and yet such a course were not to be despised.

Rec. Yes, holy Father; for the Fleets of *Sweden*, *Dantzick*, and all the shipping of *Liffland* joyned together, cannot pass into our Seas without the favour of *Denmark*, who is Brother-in-law to our King, and Uncle to the Prince.

Jes. Well, well, we will not dispute that difficulty at this time, but I can remember it my self, when one *Stevena Burrow* of *Rackliffe*, at such time as there was Wars between *Denmark* and *Sweden*, in the beginning of the late Queen's time, came by *Elfenour* in despite of the King of *Denmark*, and with one Ship of the Queen's, beat the Fort down about their

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ears that defended it: but it is now Rampier'd (you will say) I know it well, but not able to keep a great Fleet, for it can shoot but at one Ship at once. But that is not our meaning, for if it were, we would value *Denmark* at little, for the King hath not any Nobility, the people are not exercised, and of those he can hardly arm Thirty Thousand, whereas *Poland* and *Sweden* united, are able to invade him with Three Hundred Thousand.

Rec. But, holy Father, your Ships are but Hulks, and want Ordnance.

Jes. Why, mine Host, will not Hulks carry Men and great Guns as well as other Ships, and will not those Guns shot out of Hulks make holes, as well as those that are discharged out of painted Ships?

Rec. Yes they will, but they do not sail so well as our Ships.

Jes. Thou art but simple, mine Host, to speak of sailing, for he that comes with a Fleet to invade, will go on to his Port, and then your good sailing Ships must either fight or run away. If they fight, and that our Hulks are fuller of Soldiers, if as strong Ships, and carry as many Guns as they do, what can sailing help or hinder, where the Defendant must stay either to fight, or give way to the Victors.

Rec. You say well, holy Father, but where can you provide Ordnance for such a Fleet?

Jes. Ordnance, mine Host, we have them already; doth thou not know that *England* (cursed by God) hath armed all the Nations of *Europe* against itself? I tell you, mine Host, that the late Treasurer *Buckhurst* would have armed Hell itself for Money: it is private gain (man) and private respect, by which all States and Kingdoms have been overturned.

Rec. Indeed, holy Father, if *England* had kept her Guns she might have commanded all the Trades of the World. You remember what honour it won by the Long-bow in times past, much more had her advantage been by the Iron Ordnance, for that Nation that is Master of the Sea, may invade all people that border on the Sea, with so great an advantage as can hardly be resisted.

Jes. I see not that, mine Host; for though *England* be stronger by Sea than *Spain*, yet if the *English* offer to enter the River of *Sevill*, what should hinder the Catholick King to draw down his Forces to that place, and oppose the ir Landing?

Rec. It is true; but when *Spain* hath gathered all her strength together about *Sevill*, the *English* will again embark

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bark their Army, and within three days land at *Lisbon*, which the *Spaniards*, except they had Wings, cannot prevent: the like may be done with all other Nations.

Jes. Mine Host, that were a terrible thing indeed; for while the King seeks to arm one quarter of *Spain*, the Enemies would invade another, and so draw the *Spanish* Army to death in running to and fro. As for example in 88; If the *English* had not braved the *Spanish* Armada, an Armada compounded of all the great Ships that could be gathered in all *Europe*, and the *English* Fleet only *English*, had first invaded the Western parts, and made offer to have fortify'd *Plymouth*, till the Queen had sent the flower of her Kingdom thither, and then if the *Spaniard* had suddenly embarked again, and landed at *Southampton*, or entred the *Thames*, in what case had the Hereticks been, think you?

Rec. Then, holy Father, I conclude, that he that commands the Sea, besides the advantage of Invasion, may also command the Trade and Intercourse; he that commands the Trade, commands the Wealth, and he that is Master of the Wealth of the World, is Master also of that World that stands by Trade, and therefore a most cursed negligence it was, to suffer so many thousand Pieces to be transported out of the Land.

Jes. Why say you so, mine Host? Is it not better that the Catholicks of *Spain* should be strengthened, than the Ordinance remain for the defence of the Hereticks?

Rec. Yes, holy Father, if all had gone for *Spain*.

Jes. I am sure, mine Host, that since the Kings' time the most part hath gone for *Spain*; for that honest Milliners Son of *Abchurch-lane*, called *Ferne*, sold all that he transported into *Spain*.

Rec. He is a Knight, holy Father, that you speak of.

Jes. And he deserves it well, be it but for that service to the Catholick King; but we had great store in the Queens time, mine Host: for the *Hollanders* themselves, that got Licences to carry Guns for the *Low Countries*, sold them again to all Nations, insomuch as in the Castle and City of *Naples*, I have seen 200 pieces of Culverin, stark new bought out of *England*, and therefore you do ill to call it a cursed negligence.

Rec. I have reason enough for so saying, holy Father; for where *Spain* hath one Piece, the *Netherland* Rebels have 30, who are now so strong by Sea as they are able to beat both *England* and *Spain*.

Jes.

Jes. By my faith, I think you say true; but what should we say to it, there is no good policy, but if God be at one end, the Devil will be at the other: but stay, mine Host, we are now stray'd from my purpose, for all this talk is but a parenthesis, and therefore I will return to tell you the project I promised to discover.

Rec. Yea, I pray you Sir, for I shall not sleep nor eat till I hear it.

Jes. But first, mine Host, I must let you know somewhat of the state of those Countries, that you may the better conceive the soundness of the Plot.

You have heard, I am sure, that *Polonia* is a large Kingdom, and that the Gentlemen are more in number than in any other Christian Kingdom, and all men of war; for the King of *Poland* in 20 days warning is able to draw into the field forty or fifty thousand Horse.

Rec. How came it so great? holy Father; for it was not anciently so.

Jes. I will tell you, mine Host, at such time as *Lithuania*, adjoyning unto it, was a Principality apart, it had not half the strength it now hath; but in the year 1386 the Lords of *Poland* did elect *Jagello*, Great Duke of *Lithuania*, which lies between *Poland* and *Russia*, for their King, who thereupon became a Christian, and was baptized by the name of *Vladislaus*; which done, he annexed *Lithuania* to *Polonia*, and caused all his people to receive the faith of Christ, who even so lately, as I tell you, were Pagans, and worshipped Fire, Trees and Serpents. Now the two other Provinces adjoyning to *Lithuania* and *Poland* are *Prussia*, of which *Dantzick* is the Metropolis; and *Livonia*, of which *Riga* is the head and chief City, the Inhabitants of which maritime Provinces, to wit, *Prussia*, and *Livonia* or *Liffland*, were brought to Christianity before those of *Lithuania*: for in the time of *Frederick* the First, about the year of our Lord 1255, a great fraternity of *Germans*, who fought in the Holy Land against the *Saracens*, and were called *Fratres Teutonici*, or our Ladies Knights, invaded *Prussia*, and won the best part thereof, compelling the *Sarmatians* to become Christians, built Churches and erected Bishops; another company also of *Germans* invaded *Livonia*, and called themselves Brothers of the Sword; but this was long after: for there were few Christians in *Livonia* till the year 1386, to which *Waldemar* II. then King of *Denmark*, gave great assistance; for that King built the famous Town of *Revell* in *Livonia*, and vanquished the *Sarmatians*, after which he sent divers Bishops, Priests and Prelates into that Province, insomuch

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so much as the Bishop of *Revell* was of the Diocese of the Arch-bishop of *Lunden* in *Denmark* not long since. Now this second order of Brothers of the Sword became one with the *Teutonicks*, or Lady Knights of *Prussia* adjoining, and in process of time became Lords both of *Prussia* and *Livonia*, and had the Order confirmed by Pope *Honorius*, in the time of *Frederick II.*

Rec. I pray, holy Father, what then became of the natural people of the Country?

Jes. They remained still, and did dress the ground, but they were kept in the greatest slavery of any living Nation: for it is written of them truly, *Vivunt miseri ut bestia, tractantur ut bestia.*

Rec. How came it, good Father, that those of so holy an Order, being once Victors became Tyrants?

Jes. As for that, mine Host, we will not dispute; you know that the humble *Templers* grew to horrible insolency, and were therefore rooted out: yea, the four Orders of Begging Fryars, against whom the Pope himself, *John* the 22d, wrote of, and so did *Will.* of *St Amour*, who foresaw the future pride of this new-born Beggery, who first, by obtaining the bodies of the dead, by reason of the gain of Purgatory, enriched themselves, &c. have since governed Kings and Kingdoms, have been Bishops, Cardinals and Popes.

Rec. I perceive; holy Father, all things are pretty while they are young: to tell you true, the Hereticks say the same thing of your Order, holy Father; but what of that, Dogs bark, and the Wind carries away the noise.

Jes. Yea, yea, we know it well enough: But to our matter; you then conceive me, that the Kings of *Poland* became great, first by the recovery of *Lithuania*, and then by the conquest of *Prussia* and *Livonia*, two maritime Provinces lying on the *Baltick* Sea, which runneth in by the Streights of *Denmark* at *Elsenour*, and so by *Sweden*, *Pomerland*, *Prussia*, *Liffland*, *Finland*, and the rest of the Provinces of *Scandia*.

Rec. But how did the King of *Poland* wrest *Prussia* out of the hands of those Christian Knights?

Jes. The first War began between *Ulric* the 23d Master of the *Teutonic* Brothers; *Ulric* contending for the limits of *Prussia* with the *Polack*, was by him overthrown, and 50000 of his Army slain; whereupon the Cities and Castle revolted to the *Pole*, to wit, 55 Cities and Towns, and the City of *Dantzick* being the chief, acknowledging the King of *Poland* for their Sovereign, and abhorring the Tyranny and Exactions of the Brothers, obtained liberty: But the War lasted long,

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long, till in the end, about the year of Grace 1492, the King of *Poland* became victorious over the Brothers, and possessed himself of the whole Territory, giving the same with the title of Duke to *George* Marquis of *Brandenburg*, and his heirs males.

Rec. And have the Provinces upon the Eastland Sea any good Ports for Shipping?

Jes. Ay, mine Host, the world hath no better.

Rec. Which be they, I pray?

Jes. It were to no purpose to reckon all: but you have heard of *Dantzick*, *Coningsberg*, *Elbing*, *Revell*, and the *Nerva*, besides those of *Pomerland* and *Sweden*.

Rec. Well then, holy Father, go on I pray.

Jes. If then the King of *Poland*, who dares not think a thought without the consent of one of our fellow Jesuits, do prevail in *Russia* and *Muscovia*, having already gotten the better part, he will become the greatest King of all *Europe*, in Men, Revenue, and good Ports.

Rec. Why in Men? holy Father.

Jes. Do you ask that question, mine Host? did you never hear that *Basilides* the Tyrant of *Muscovia*, who lived during the reign of *Elizabeth*, brought 300000 men into the field, over-ran *Lithuania* and *Livonia*, won the *Nerva*, and past into *Finland*; do you not know that the *Pole* alone is able to raise 100000 fighting men? Do you not know that the Revenue of *Russia* and *Muscovia* is as great as that of *Spain* with all his *Indies*.

Rec. By our Lady, holy Father, you say well; and if the *Pole* recover again his own Kingdom of *Sweden*, then will *Denmark* be devoured without difficulty, and so those two *Lutheran* Kingdoms brought home again to the Mother Church.

Jes. Ay, Ay, mine host, if the King of *Poland* recovers his own Kingdom of *Sweden*; *Denmark* is also ours, for then shall the *Poles* be able to beat the King of *Denmark* by Sea, and being once mastered in Shipping, his Land Forces are not to be accounted at any thing.

Rec. But do you think, that he shall be able to force *Denmark* by Sea?

Jes. Do you doubt that, when you see that *Sweden* alone hath ever been as strong as *Denmark* upon the water, and if he want shipping in *Sweden* itself, he may build 3 or 400 sail of great Ships in *Prussia* and *Liffland*, and cost him in effect nothing, for he hath Timber and Planks, *Prussia* Iron the best of the World, Pitch, Tar, Rosen, Flax, and all that be-
longs

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longs to the making of a Fleet, at a most lash and low prizes.

Rec. Why is there such store of these things in those Countries?

Jes. Such store, mine Host? all *Europe* I tell you are furnished from thence, and from *Russia*. Did you never hear of *Russia* Cordage? *England*, *France*, the *Netherlands*, *Portugal*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, have all that belongeth to Shipping from thence. But, mine Host, in a word, thus it stands, the *Low Countries* of *Holland* and *Zealand*, which two petty pieces of Land, have been the Ramparts against all our *Spanish* Greatness, have of their own neither Corn nor Timber, their strength is all in Shipping, by Ships they defend themselves at home, by their Shipping they gather Riches more than any Nation in the world; they maintain by their Ships their Trades in the *East Indies*, and are like in time to beat the *Portugals* thence; they have a Million of Money in stock upon that Trade alone, they are Masters of the Market in all the Ports of *Europe*; they eat out our *English* upon our own Coasts in their Fishing Trades, with their Herring-Busses, by which they gather 500000 *l.* a year. They have in effect all the Trade of *Portugal*, *Spain*, and the *Levant*; they draw abundance of Gold from *Guinea*; and in a word, suck the Honey from all the Nations of *Europe*. Now to do all this, whence have they their means? even out of *Eastland*, to wit, from *Prussia*, *Livonia* and *Russia*, they every year load thence above four hundred Sail of their Ships with Timber and Planks to build new Ships; and as many Sail they load with Corn grown in *Polonia*, and brought down upon Rafts of a thousand Tun to *Dantzick* and other Ports; insomuch as *Holland* and *Zealand*, that hath neither Timber, Cordage, nor Corn of their own, have by the *Eastland* Trade more abundance, and better cheap than either *England* or *France*, and make more Ships, employ more Ships, and sell more Ships than all Christendom doth.

Rec. And how shall this be prevented?

Jes. I have told you that if the *Pole* keep them from that trade of *Prussia* and *Livonia*, they are gone, they are beggar'd, infeebled, and utterly starved. This, I say, the *Pole* may do without War, and withal take from *England* their best trades, and the means to maintain their Navy: this, I say, mine Host, will be the sound blow, for thereby we blow up *Sweden*, *Denmark*, the *Netherlands*, and *England*; and who shall then hold up a hand against us.

Rec.

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Rec. Indeed, holy Father, you speak of great things, but the *Lutheran* Princes and States have also Eyes and Ears, they are many and strong, and have followed their affairs with better Councils (though with less means) than we have done, and although the King of *Poland* have prevailed for the present in *Russia* and *Muscovy*, yet this very year he was repulsed before the great City of *Smolonsk*, and the event of War is doubtful. I will not trouble you with particular examples, but this I have observed, that those Kingdoms which have been lost to the last Town and piece of Ground, have again been recovered by the vanquished. God hath his hand in all these things, the success of worldly things is so uncertain, as there is no rule to direct them by; I will forbear, as I have said, to lengthen our discourse by examples, for you are better read than I, only let me remember you of the *French* King *Henry* the 4th, who being driven into a corner of *Normandy*, covered himself in *Diepe*, and being in dispute whether he should fly over into *England*, or abide the Army of the League, did from that one poor Town, with a little help from *England*, recover all *France* in a short time.

Jes. Mine Host, it is true, but I do not well conceive that the *Lutheran* Princes, or the rest, as Heretical as they, have any equivalent strength whereby to hinder this conclusion.

Rec. No, holy Father, what can all the Kings of the world do against the King of *Great Britain*, of *Denmark*, of *Sweden*, and the States of the *Netherlands* by Sea? I tell you that the world cannot beat them, and of late you see that *Fuliers* and the land of *Cleve* is become subject to a *Lutheran* Prince, or at least it is like to be, which had it been kept in the power of a Catholic, the States of *Holland* and *Zealand* could never have received any succour out of *Germany*: And besides, these Kings and States, are not all the Electors Secular Protestants, and all the Great Dukes of *Germany*, *Bavaria* excepted? Are not the *Swissers* Protestants as strong as the Catholics, tho they have fewer Cantons? Are not the Hereticks in *France* stronger than ever? And that which is more, have not the *Hussites* and other Hereticks of *Bohemia* and *Austria* set up their Churches under the Emperors Nose? Believe it, holy Father, their party was never so strong as they are at this day.

Jes. But stay, mine Host; do you remember how you answer'd me, when I told you how strong the Catholics were in *England*?

Rec. How was that? holy Father.

Jes.

Rec.

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Jes. Marry, Sir, you demanded how they might be drawn together into one body, how those of the North could joyn with those of the South, and those of the West with those of the East. The same I say of the Protestants, for each of them attend their own Estates, and respect the rest but upon meer necessity. Doth the King of *England* trouble himself with the Wars between the *Pole* and the *Muscovite*, or doth the King of *Denmark* assist the *Swede*? nay, doth he not at this day make War upon him? No, mine Host, the King of *Denmark* is well pleased to see *Sweden* in feeble, in hopes to become Lord of it in the end. His Ancestors have seized upon *Norway* already, and they were once in possession of the chief City thereof. Princes do commonly attend the good near them, and seldom consider of the far-off evil. Did not the Princes of *Europe*, especially of *Greece*, for hatred to each other, suffer the *Turk* so long till he became Lord of all. Nay, did not the *Moors* of *Granada* no longer since than the time of *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, even destroy one another at that very instant when *Ferdinand* invaded them all: for, but for the irreconcilable malice between the Sons of *Ismael*, his Brothers and Grand-children, *Ferdinand* had never slept in *Granada*, for such was the hatred they bare each other, though all of one Religion and of one Grandfather, as when *Muly Albohacen* the Son of *Ismael*, sent Succours to those Towns which were besieged by the Christians, his own Son *Mahomet Boabdelline*, whom his Father purposed to disinherit, cut his Fathers Armies in pieces, and rather made choice to leave those places that were in his Fathers possession to the common Enemy, than that they should obey and remain subject unto him. The like slaughter the Father committed upon all the *Arabians* that followed his Son: yea, when the Brother of the one, and Uncle to the other was elected King, because the Father and the Son were at the point to lose the Kingdom by contention, the same War was continued by the new King and his Nephew, till *Ferdinand* won the Kingdom from both, which their Ancestors had held 800 and odd years; for Malice, mine Host, doth first satisfy itself, without respect either of the present good, or of the future success.

Rec. You say true, holy Father, in the particular of the King of *Denmark*; for as the Wars between those Kings hath been very cruel for many years, so do neighbour Princes seldom agree; but what is that to the King of *England* and the States,

Jes.

A Dialogue between a Jesuit and a Recusant. 67

Jes. For the States, let them do what they can; but for the King of *England* we doubt him not.

Rec. And why, I pray?

Jes. Because he wants all that should make a King fearful to his enemies.

Rec. By my faith, holy Father, I see not that; for putting aside his Religion, he is a Prince of the greatest understanding in all *Europe*.

Jes. I know that as well as you, mine Host: but what can a Prince do that is poor, and hath not the love of his people?

Rec. If these be the things you build on, holy Father, give me leave to make you an answer: that the King wants Money, I cannot deny it, but it follows not for all that, that he is poor; for a King of *England* cannot be poor: and be it that he want for the present, doth it follow that he is therefore unable to assist his friends, or harm his enemies. Was there ever any King since there was a King in the world so needy as *Henry* the 4th of *France* was: I will tell you what state I saw him in before *Diepe*, when I went over with my Lord *Willoughby*. I assure you that he had not a Silver Dish to eat in, a Jewel to set in his Hat, a good Garment to cover him, 5000 Crowns in his purse to pay his Army withal; but you know it, that he recovered his Kingdom again in a short time; he rewarded his Servants, he furnished his Palaces, he erected sumptuous Buildings, he paid 4000 Souldiers for the States, and he dyed with more Crowns in his purse than any King of Christendom did for these many years: flatter not your self, holy Father, with the Kings poverty, it is, by your favour, but Childish so to do.

And for the love of the people, if he want it, he may again recover it in a week: for whereupon is their dislike grounded, not that the King is a Tyrant, a Murderer, and Adulterer, a Prince that denies the course of Justice, a favourer of these, or of any men that commit outrage, but they say that he hath given more in eight years, than the late Queen did in forty years; and to whom, to the *Scottish* Nation.

But I will tell you, holy Father, that of all others we have no reason to do him wrong by false reports: and for your parts, you see how often he hath sent you out of the Kingdom, as unwilling to take your lives: yea, notwithstanding the most cruel Conspiracy against him in the Gun-powder Plot. You know, holy Father, that it was a Law among the *Macedonians*, that whosoever attempted upon the life of the King, that all his Kindred and Blood should suffer death: the

Jes.

King hath not dealt so with your Order, for which he hath a Law to warrant him, not devised by himself, but he found it the Law of the Land; but thereof I will tell you more of my mind anon: And for his gifts to the *Scots*, to say truly, he had been an ungrateful Prince if he had not done it, for they long attended his fortune with great fidelity; and what is the Commonwealth the worse for the Land which he hath given among them? doth not the same Land feed the same People and the same Beasts that it did? doth it not give the same increase that it did? and doth it not serve the Market as it did? it is the King himself that hath the loss, the Commonwealth hath not any loss thereby, and are men angry with the King for harming himself? I will tell you, holy Father, where he hath given a foot to the *Scotch* he hath given an acre to the *English*, let the goodness of the Land be considered.

Jes. Ay, ay, mine Host, if he had but given of his own it had been nothing, but he hath laid new Impositions upon his people, contrary to the Laws and Customs of the Land, as hath been directly proved in the last Parliament.

Rec. Alas, alas, holy Father, in good faith the King was but faintly served in that Parliament: I pray let me ask you this question, is the King more subject to the Law than a Vassal? can my Daughter wear a Crimson Velvet Petticoat by the Law? can my Lady *Flash* wear a Purple Velvet Gown by the Law? can every petty composition attire himself like a Duke by the Law? can every saucy Serving man wear Gold and Silver Lace, and gilt Rapiers and Spurs by the Law? can we keep Retainers by the Law? cut down Woods without leaving of Standards by the Law? or can you receive Orders at *Rome* by the Law? can the great Lords and Ladies receive you by the Law, or can I do it? or being young men, as you are, can you lie in Ladies Chambers by the Law? Well then, if the King overslip his advantage upon all sorts of people, of whom he might make boot, shall we tie the King so precisely to the Law, as he may not lay an Imposition upon things superfluous? What if Currans were never brought into the Land, were the Commonwealth any whit the worse? Let those that have sweet tongues pay for their palate: What if we had no Silks at all but for our Princes, and that our Peacock Ladies, that spend two parts of their Husbands Revenue in Flags and Streamers, were tied to wear Kerfies, as in former times, what were the Commonwealth the worse? In those days the Noblemen and Gentlemen lived in their Counties and kept Hospitality, they fed the poor, and were beloved and followed; but now forsooth my Lady must live in

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London, and consume more in the covering of her tail than would serve to feed a hundred honest men. Oh the abominable pride and vanity of this age, and the doltish and cuckoldly humour of men that paint and prink up their Wives to please other mens eyes, that bring them hither to make them Courtizans, to bastardize their race, and to beggar themselves. And, holy Father, I pray examine the government of other Kings: By what Law doth the Arch-Duke take 2 s. for the grinding of every quarter of Wheat within his dominions? and by what Law doth he take 4 s. for every Cow sold, or kept for Milk? You know it well that there is no Nation more free than those of *Flanders*, *Brabant*, *Artoys*, and *Heinault*, over whom the Arch-Duke is but a conditional Prince, and no Monarch. And by what Law hath the *French* King enforced every Subject to buy his Salt of the King himself at his own price, with a thousand other Taxes? And pray, holy Father, for your Catholick King; doth it agree with the Laws and Customs of *Castile*, that the King takes the tenth penny of all things bought and sold, be it for the very Garments his Subjects wear; yea, the tenth penny of all things, how often soever it be bought and sold, so as if it be exchanged ten times, the whole is his? A Tax called the *Alcouall*; as for example: He hath a tenth of the Wooll, a tenth of the Yarn, a tenth of the Cloath, and a tenth of the Garment. I speak to you of those Regions which are governed by Laws and Customs written, and to the observations of which their Princes are sworn. I do not give you an Example of *Florence*, where you pay for the Cloak-bag you carry behind you, and for every Sallad you eat; neither need I tell you that his Holiness takes Tribute for Whores and Jades. Let us be indifferent, holy Father, and then we shall do according to our profession; for this dislike of the King being ill founded and unjust, let us not therefore presume that he cannot use the services and abilities of his people in any action, either for his honour or safety, or for the defence of his Allies.

Jes. Mine Host, I shall never be of your opinion, give us what Reasons you can, I have ever found you full of despair and over-fearful, which perswaded me not to acquaint you with the Gunpowder Plot.

Rec. I thank you for it, holy Father, and yet we had a knavish guess that some great matter was in hand, for both my self and 5000 other Catholicks sang the new Psalm, and prayed for the good success, though we know not the particulars.

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Jes.

Jes. O mine Host, I must still curse his Soul that was last trusted in that business; for his foolish care of his Brother-in-law lost us the fairest day that ever we shall see again, and yet we had resolved him and the rest, that for the General Cause, it was lawful for them to blow up such Catholics as would have been present.

Rec. By our Lady, holy Father, it was a terrible sentence to destroy the Innocent. We read in the Scriptures, that God would have spared all the Cities of the Valley of if there had been found but ten just men among so great a multitude; but that it agreed with the Mercy and Justice of God to destroy the faithful with the reprobate, and rather kill the just than spare the wicked, I never found it in God's Book: *Non faciamus malum ut eo eveniat bonum.* But I will tell you more plainly my mind at our next meeting.

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An Apology, written by Sir Walter Raleigh, for his last unlucky Voyage to Guiana.

IF the ill success of this enterprize of mine had been without example, I should have needed a large Discourse, and many Arguments for my justification. But if the attempts of the greatest Princes of *Europe*, both amongst themselves and against the *Turk*, and in all modern Histories, left to every eye to peruse, have miscarried, then it is not so strange, that my self, being but a private Man, and drawing after me the Chains and Fetters, wherewith I have been thirteen years ty'd in the *Tower*, being unpardoned, and being in disgrace with my Sovereign King, have by other Mens errors, failed in my attempts. For if that *Charles* the fifth (the famous and renown'd Emperor) returned with unexpected losses (I will not say dishonour) from *Algier* in *Africa*; if King *Sebastian* of *Portugal* lost himself and his Army in *Barbary*; if the invincible Armada (that fearful Fleet, and force of *Spain*) in 88, were beaten home by the Lord *Charles Howard*, Admiral of *England*; if Monsieur *Strozzi*, and the Count de *Brisack*, the Count *Vinioso* and others, with a Fleet of 58 Sail, and Six Thousand Soldiers, encountred with far less numbers, could not defend the *Terceres*; and, leaving to speak of a world of other attempts, furnished by Kings and Princes; if Sir *Francis Drake*, Sir *John Hawkins*, and Sir *Thomas Baskerville*, Men for their experience and valour, as eminent as *England* had, or hath had any, strengthened with divers of her Majesties Ships, and filled with Soldiers at will, could

not possess themselves of the Treasure they sought for, which in their view was embarked in certain Frigots at *Puerto Rico*; if afterwards they were repulsed with fifty Negroes, upon the Mountains of *Vasques Numius*, or *Tiera de Capraor*, in their passage towards *Panama*; if Sir *John Norris*, although not by any default of his, failed in the attempt of *Lisbon*, and returned (by Sicknefs and other casualties) with the loss of Eight Thousand Men; what wonder is it (but that mine is the last) being followed by a Company of Volunteers, who (for the most part) had neither seen the Sea nor the Wars, who (some forty Gentlemen excepted) had with me the very scum of the World; Drunkards, Blasphemers, and such like, such as the Fathers, Brothers, and Friends, thought it an exceeding gain to be discharged of, with the hazard of some 30, 40, or 50 pounds, knowing they could not live one whole year, so good cheap at home; I say, what wonder is it, that I have failed, where I could neither be present my self, nor had any of the Commanders, whom I might trust living, or in state to supply my place?

Now where it was bruted afore my departure out of *England*, and by most men believed, that I meant nothing less then to go to *Guiana*; but that being once at Liberty, and in my own power, having made my way with some Foreign Prince, I would turn Pirate, and utterly forsake my own Country; my being at *Guiana*, my returning into *England* unpardoned, and my not taking the spoil of the Subjects of any Christian Prince, hath (I doubt not) destroyed that opinion.

But this is not all, for it hath been given out by an Hypocritical Thief, which was the first master of my Ship, and by an ungrateful youth, which waited upon me in my Cabbin (tho of Honourable and worthy Parents) and by others also, that I carried with me out of *England* 22 Thousand of 22 s. pieces; and therefore needed, nor cared not to discover any Mine in *Guiana*, or make any other attempt elsewhere. Which report being carried secretly from one to another in mine own Ship, and so spread through all the Ships in the Fleet, which stayed with me at *Trinidad* (whilst our Land forces were in *Guiana*) had like to have been my overthrow, in a most miserable fashion; for it was consulted, when I had taken my Barge, and gone on Shoar, either to discover or otherwise (as I did often) that my Ship should have set sail, and left me there, where I must either have suffered Famine, or been eaten with Wild Beasts, or have fallen into the hands of the *Spaniards*, and so have been flayed alive, as other

other *Englishmen*, that came hither but to Trade only, had been formerly served. To this report of riches, I make this protestation, that if it can be proved, either now or hereafter, that I had, either in my keeping, or in my power, directly or indirectly, in trust or otherwise, above an hundred pieces, when I departed from *London* (of which I had left 45 pieces with my Wife, and 55 I carried with me) I acknowledge my self a Reprobate, a Villain, a Traytor to the King, and the most unworthiest man living, that ever hath lived upon the Earth.

True it is, that those who sought all the Bills from the Scriveners, found 14 or 15 Thousand pounds more Adventure, than mine own Adventure came unto. But did not consider that I gave the Bills of Adventure for the other five Ships, or for the greatest part thereof, which amounted to 15 or 16 Thousand pounds, but I never received any penny of that Money.

Now, where the Captains that left me in the *Indies*, and Captain *Baily* that ran away from me at *Lancerotto*, have (to excuse themselves) objected; for the first, that I lingred at *Plymouth* when I might have gone thence, and lost a fair Wind, and the time of the year; or to that effect: It is very strange, that men of fashion, and Gentlemen, so grossly should bely their own knowledge; for had I never lived, nor returned to have made answer to this fiction, yet all that know us in *Plymouth*, and all that we had to deal withal, knew the contrary. For after I had stayed in the *Isle of Wight* divers days, the *Thunder*, commanded by Sir *Wareham St Leger*, by the negligence of his Master, was at *Lee* in the *Thames*: And afterwards when I arrived at *Plymouth*, Captain *Pennington* was not then come to the *Isle of Wight*; and being arrived there, and not able to redeem his Bread from the Bakers, he rode Post back to *London*, to intreat help of my Wife to pay for it; who having not so much Money to serve his turn, she wrote to Mr *Wood* of *Portsmouth*, and gave him her word for 30 l. which soon after she payed him; without which, as Captain *Pennington* himself protested to my Wife, he had not been able to have gone the Voyage.

Sir *John Ferne* I found here, without all hope of being able to proceed, having neither Men nor Money, and in great want of other necessary Provisions; insomuch, as I furnished him by my Cousin *Herbert*, with an Hundred Pounds, before his coming to *Plymouth*, having supplied him also in *Wales* with an hundred Pounds before his coming to *Plymouth*, and procured him a third hundred pound from that worthy and honest Dean of *Exeter*, Dr *Sutcliffe*. Cap-

Captain *Whitney*, whom I also stayed for, had a third part of his Victuals to provide; inſomuch, as having no Money to help him withal, I ſold my Plate in *Plymouth* to ſupply him.

Baily I left alſo at the *Iſle of Wight*, whoſe arrival I alſo attended ſome ten or twelve days, as I remember. And what ſhould move *Baily* to leave me as he did at the *Canaries*, (from whence he might have departed with my leave and licence) and at his return to do me all the wrong he could deviſe, I cannot conceive. He ſeemed unto me from the beginning not to want any thing. He only deſired of me ſome Pieces of Ordnance, and ſome Iron-bound Caſk, and I gave them him. I never gave him ill Language, nor offered him the leaſt unkindneſs to my knowledge. It is true, that I reſuſed to give him a *French* Shallop, which he took in the Bay of *Portugal*, outward bound; and yet after I had bought her of the *French*, and paid 50 Crowns ready money for her, if *Baily* had then deſired her he might have had her. But to take any thing from the *French*, or any other Nation, I meant it not.

True it is, that as many things ſucceeded both againſt reaſon and our beſt endeavours, ſo it is moſt commonly true, that men are the cauſes of their own miſery, as I was of mine, when I undertook my late Enterprize without a pardon. For all the Companies having heard it averred in *England* before they went, that the Commiſſion I had was granted to a man that was *Non Ens* in the Law, ſo that the want thereof took from me both Arms and Actions, it gave boldneſs to every petty companion to ſpread rumors to my defamation, and the wounding of my reputation in all places where I could not be preſent to make them Knaves and Lyars.

It hath been ſecondly objected, that I put into *Ireland* when I left *Plymouth*, and ſpent much time there in taking care to re-victual my ſelf, and none of the reſt. Certainly I had no purpoſe to ſee *Ireland*; but being encountred with a ſtrong ſtorm ſome eight leagues to the Weſtward of *Scilly*, in which Captain *Chidley's* Pinnace was ſunk, and Captain *King* thruſt into *Briſtol*, I held it the Office of a Commander of many Ships (and thoſe of divers ſailings and conditions, of which ſome could hull and trye, and ſome of them beat it up upon a Tack, and others neither able to do the one nor the other) rather to take a Port, and keep his Forces and Fleet together, than either to endanger the loſs of Maſts and Yards, or to have them ſevered far aſunder, and to be thruſt into divers places.

places. For the attendance of meeting them again at the next Rendezvous, would conſume more time and victuals, and perchance the weaker Ships might be ſet upon, taken or diſcovered, than would be ſpent in recovering an Harbour, and attending the next change of wind.

That the diſſevering, were it not in every mans knowledge, in the laſt Enterprize of worth undertaken by our Nation, with 3 Squadrons of Ships, commanded by the Earl of *Essex*, the now Earl of *Suffolk*, and my ſelf, where was alſo preſent the Earl of *Southampton*, if we, being Storm-beaten in the Bay of *Aractuſ* or *Biskay*, had had a Port under our Lee, that we might have kept our transporting Ships with our Men of War, we had (of all likelihood) both taken the *Indian* Fleet and the *Azores*.

That we ſtaid long in *Ireland* it is true: But they muſt accuſe the Clouds and not me for our ſtay, for we loſt not a day of good Wind: And there was not a Captain in the Fleet but had Credit, or might have had it, for a great deal more Victuals than we ſpent there; and yet they had of me fourſcore Beeves amongſt them, and ſomething elſe.

For the third Accuſation, That I landed in hoſtile manner in *Lancerotta*: Certainly Captain *Baily* had great want of matter, when he gave that for an excuſe of his turning back. For I refer my ſelf to Mr *Barniſh*, who I know will ever juſtify a Truth; to whom, when he came to me from Captain *Baily*, to know whether he ſhould land his Men with the reſt, I made this Answer, That he might land them if he pleaſed, or otherwiſe keep them aboard. For I had agreed with the Governour for a proportion of Victuals, which I hourly expected. And it is true, that the Governour being deſirous to ſpeak with me with one Gentleman with him, and another with me, with their Rapiers only; I accepted thereof, taking with me Lieutenant *Bradſhawe*: And we agreed that I ſhould ſend up an *English* Factor, whoſe Ship did then ride in the Road; and that whatſoever I required that the Iſland could yield ſhould be delivered at a very reaſonable rate. I ſent the *English* Factor, according to our Agreement, but the Governour put it off from one morning to another; and in the end ſent me word, That except I would embark my men which lay on the Sea ſide, the Iſlanders were ſo jealous, that they durſt not ſeparate themſelves to make our proviſion. I did ſo; but when the one half were gotten aboard, two of our Centinels were forc'd and ſlain; and the *English* Factor ſent to tell me, that they had nothing for us; whom he ſtill believed to be a Fleet of *Turks*, which had lately taken

ken and destroyed *Puerto Sancto*. Thereupon all the company would have marched towards the Town, and have sack'd it: But I knew it would not only offend his Majesty, but our Merchants, having a continual Trade with those Islanders, that their Goods would have been stayed; and, amongst the rest, the poor *English-man* riding in the Road, having all that he brought thither on shore, would have been utterly undone:

Hereof I complained to the Governour of the *Grand Canaries*; whom I also desired that we might take in fresh water without any disturbance: But, instead of Answer, when we landed some hundred of our men, far from any Habitation, and in a Desert place of the Island, where we found some fresh Water, an Ambuscado was laid, and one *Fisher* (of Sir *John Ferne's* Ship) was wounded to death, and more had been slain, had not Captain *Thornex*, and Mr *Robert Hammond*, my Son's Lieutenant, (two exceeding valiant Gentlemen, which first made head against them) seconded by Sir *Wareham St Leger* and my Son, with six others, made forty of them run away.

From thence, because there was scarcity of Water, we sailed to *Gomera*, one of the strongest and best defended places of all the Islands, and the best Port, the Town being seated upon the very wash of the Sea. But at the first entrance of our Ships they shot at us, and ours at them; but as soon as my self recovered a *Spaniard* taken in a Bark which came from Cape *Blanck*, I sent him ashore, to tell the Governour that I had no purpose to make War with any of the King of *Spain's* Subjects, and if any harm was done by our great Ordnance to the Town, it was by their default, who by shooting first, gave the occasion. He sent me for answer, that he had thought we had been the *Turkish* Fleet that had lately been at *Puerto Sancto*, and destroyed it; but being resolved by the Messenger, that we were Christians and *English*, and sought nothing but Water, he said he would willingly afford us as much as we were pleased to take, if he might be assured we would not attempt the Town and spoil it, with the Churches and other Religious Houses, nor destroy the Gardens nor Fruits. I returned him my answer, that I would give him my Faith, and the word of the King of Great Britain, my Sovereign Lord, that the people of the Town and Island should not lose so much as one Grape; and if any of my Company did take from them, were it but an Orange or Grape, without paying for it, I would make him an example to the rest, and hang him up in the Market-place. Now, that

that I kept my Faith with him, and how much he held himself bound unto me, I have divers of his Letters to shew, for he wrote unto me every day; and the Countess being of an *English* Race, 2. *Stafford* by the Mothers side, and of the House of the *Hornes* by the Father's, sent me divers Presents of Fruits, Sugar, and Rusk; to whom I returned (because I would not depart in her debt) things of greater value. The old Earl, at my departure, wrote a Letter to the *Spanish* Ambassador here in *England*, how I behaved my self in those Islands.

There I discharged the Bark of the *Grand Canaries*, taken by one of my Pinnaces coming from Cape *Blanck* in *Africa*; and demanding of him what prejudice he had received by being taken, he told me my men had eaten of his Fish to the value of six Ducats, for the which I gave him eight

From the *Canaries* it is said I sailed to Cape *de Verte*, knowing it to be an infectious place, by reason whereof I lost so many of my men ere I recovered the *Indies*. The truth is, I came no nearer Cape *de Verte* then *Brano*, which is an hundred and fifty Leagues off; but had I taken it in my way, sailing upon the Coast, or any other part of *Guiana*, after the Rains, there is as little danger of Infection there as in any other part of the world, as our *English* that do Trade into those parts every year do well know. There are few places in *England*, or in the world, near unto great Rivers, which run thro low Grounds, or near Moors or Marshes, but the people inhabiting those places are some time of the year subject to Fevers; witness *Woolwich* in *Kent*, and all down the River on both sides. Other infection there is not found either in the *Indies* or in *Africa*, except it be where the Easterly Wind or Breezes are kept by some high Mountains from the Valleys, whereby the Air wanting motion, doth become very unhealthful, as at *Nomtre de Dios*, and elsewhere, &c.

But as good Success admits of no examination of errors, so the contrary allows of no excuse, how reasonable or just soever.

Sir *Francis Drake*, Mr *John Winter*, and *John Thomas*, when they passed the Streights of *Magellan*, meeting with a Storm which drove Mr *Winter* back, and thrust *John Thomas* upon the Islands to the South, where he was cast away, and Sir *Francis Drake* near a small Island, upon which the *Spaniards* land their Thieves and Murtherers from *Baldavia*: He found there one *Philip* an *Indian*, who told him where he was, and conducted him to *Baldavia*, where he took his first Prize of Treasure; and in that Ship he found a Pilot called *John Gregg*,

Gregg, who guided him all the Coast over, by which means he possessed himself of the rest; which Pilot, because he should not rob him of his Reputation, and of his knowledge of those parts, resisting the earnest entreaty of all his Company, he set on shore upon the Island of to be by them devoured: After which, passing by the *East Indies*, he returned into *England*, and notwithstanding the Peace between us and *Spain*, he enjoyed the Riches he brought, and was never so much as called to account for cutting off *Doutie's* Head at *Port St Julians*, having neither Marshal Law nor Commission available.

Mr *Cavendish*, having passed all the Coast of *Chilo* and *Peru*, and not gotten a farthing, when he was out of all hope, and ready to shape his Course by the East homewards, met a Ship which came from the *Philippines* at These two, in these two Voyages, were the Children of Fortune, and much honoured.

But Sir *Francis Drake* in his last attempt, when he might have landed at *Cruseis*, by the River of *Chriegra*, within eight Miles of *Panama*, he notwithstanding set the Troops on Land at *Nombré de Dios*, forty miles off, and received the repulse aforesaid; and he died for sorrow.

The same success had *Cavendish* in his last passage towards the *Streights*; I say, one and the same end they had both, viz. *Drake* and *Cavendish*, when Chance had left them to the Trial of their own Virtues.

For the rest, I leave it to all worthy and indifferent men to judge, by what neglect or error of mine, the Gold Mine in *Guiana*, which I had formerly discovered, was not found and enjoyed: For, after we had refreshed our selves in *Calliana*, otherwise (in the first discovery) called *Port Howard*, where we buried Captain *Hastings*, Captain *Pigor*, and Captain *Snedall*, and there recovered most part of our sick men, I did embark six Companies, of fifty in each Company, in five Ships, viz. in the *Encounter*, Commanded by Captain *Thomas Whitney*; the *Confidence*, Commanded by Captain *Richard Wadleston*; in two Flyboats of mine, one Commanded by Captain *Samuel King*, and Captain *Robert Smith*, and in a Carvel; which Companies had their Leaders, *Charles Parker*, Captain *Roger North*, my Son, Captain *Thornex*, Captain *Pennington*, Lieutenant *Bradshaw*, and Captain *Chudley*.

Lieutenant *Priden* at the *Triangle* Island, embarked the Companies for *Orienoque*, between which and *Calliana* I lay on ground 24 hours, and if it had not been fair weather, we had never come off that Coast, having not above two fa-

thoms and a half water, eight Leagues from whence I directed them for the River of *Surenama*, the best part of all that tract of Land between the River of *Amazones* and *Orienoque*; and there I gave them order to trim their Boats and Barges, and by the *Indians* of that place, to understand the state of the *Spaniards* in *Orienoque*, and whether they had replanted or strengthened themselves upon the Entrance, or elsewhere; and if they found no *Indians* there, to send in the little Flyboat or the Carvel into the River of *Dessebell*, where they should not fail to find Pilots for *Orienoque*; for with our great Ships we durst not approach the Coast, we having all of us been aground, and in danger of leaving our Bones upon the Shoals, before we recovered the *Triangle* Islands, as aforesaid. The biggest Ship that could enter the River was the *Encounter*, who might be brought to eleven Foot water; for that there was any more water upon the Bar we could never understand, neither by *Keymish*, who was the first of any of our Nation that ever entered the Main Mouth of *Orienoque*, nor by any of the Masters or Mariners in our Fleet, which had traded there ten or twelve years for Tobacco. For the Ship, when she came near the Entrance, drawing but twelve Foot, she found herself in danger, and bore up for *Trinidado*.

Now, whereas some of my Friends have been unsatisfied, why I my self did not go up with the Companies I sent, I desire to give them hereby satisfaction, that besides my want of Health and Strength, having not recovered my long and dangerous Sickness, but was again fallen into a Relapse, my Ship stuck, and lay on ground at seventeen Foot Water, being an heavy Ship, and charged with the weight of forty pieces of Ordnance. Besides this impossibility, neither would my Son, nor the rest of my Captains, and other Gentlemen have adventured themselves up the River, having but one months Victuals, and being thrust and thronged together, an hundred of them in one small Flyboat, had not I assured them that I would stay for them at *Trinidado*, and that no force should drive me thence, but that they should find me there, except I were sunk in the Sea, or set on Fire by the *Spanish* Gallies. For that they would have adventured upon any other Mans word or resolution, it were ridiculous to believe.

Having in this sort resolved upon our enterprize; and having given them instructions how they should proceed, both before and after the Entrance into *Orienoque*; *Keymish* having undertaken to discover the Mine with six or seven persons in Sir *John Ferne's* Shallop; I better bethinking myself, and

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milkiking his determination, gave him this order following.

Instructions for Captain Keymish.

Captain Keymish,

Whereas you were resolved after your arrival in *Orienoque*, to pass to the Mine, with my Cousin *Herbert* and six Musketeers, and to that end you desired to have Sir *John Fernes* Shallop; I do not allow of that course, because you cannot land so secretly; but that some of the *Indians* from the Rivers side may discover you, who giving knowledge of your passage to the *Spaniards*, you may be cut off, before you recover your Boats. I do therefore advise you, to suffer the Captains and Companies of the *English* to pass up to the Westward of the Mountains, from whence you have less than three miles to the Mine, and to lodge and incamp between the *Spanish* Town and you, if there be any Town near it; that being so secured, you might make tryal what depth and breadth the Mine holds, and whether or no it answereth our hopes; And if you find it Royal, and that the *Spaniard* begins to War upon you, then let your Serjeant Major repel them, if it be in his Power, and drive them as far off as he can. But if you find not the Mine to be so rich as may persuade the holding of it, and draw on a second supply, then shall you bring but a Basket or two to satisfy his Majesty, that my design was not imaginary, but true, though not answerable to his Majestys expectation; for, as touching the quantity I never gave assurance, nor could. On the other side, if you find that any great number of Soldiers be sent into *Orienoque*, as the *Cassique* of *Calliana* told us that there were; and that the Passages be fenced, so that without the manifest peril of my Son, yourself, and the other Captains, you cannot pass towards the Mine; then be well advised how you land, for I know (a few Gentlemen excepted) what a scum of men you have; and I would not for all the world receive a Blow from the *Spaniards* to the dishonour of our Nation. I myself for my weaknels cannot be present with you, neither will the Companies land except I stay with the Ships, the Gallions of *Spain* being daily expected. Pigeon the Serjeant Major is dead, Sir *Wareham*, my Lieutenant, without hope of Life: my Nephew, your Serjeant now, but a young man: It is therefore

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fore on your Judgment that I rely; whom (I hope) God will direct for the best.

Let me hear from you so soon as you can. You shall find me at *Punto Gallo*, dead or alive. And if you find not the Ships there, yet shall you find their ashes; for I will fire with the Gallions if it come to extremities, but run away I will never.

Walter Raleigh.

That these my Instructions were not followed, it was not my fault; But it seems that the Serjeant Major, *Keymish*, and the rest were by accident forced to change their first Resolution; and that finding a *Spanish* Town, or rather a Village, set up twenty miles distant from the place where *Antonio Berreo*, (the first Governour by me taken in my first discovery) had attempted to plant, viz. about two Leagues to the Westward of the Mine; and the Town, which they did not suspect to be so near them as it was; and meaning to rest themselves on the River side till the next day, they were in the night set upon, and charged by the *Spaniards*; which being unlookt for, the common sort were so amazed, that had not the Captains, and some few other Gentlemen among them made head, and encouraged the rest, they had been quite broken, and all cut in pieces. So having put themselves in order, they charged the *Spaniards*, and following them upon their Retreat, they were ready to enter the Town ere they knew where they were. Being then again charged by the Governour, and five or six Captains, which led their Companies, my Son, not carrying for his Musketeers, came up in the head of a Company of Pikes, where he was first shot; and pressing upon a *Spanish* Captain, with his Sword, called *Erinetta*, who taking the small end of his Musket in his hand, struck him on the head, and with the stroke felled him; whom again *John Plesington*, my Sons Serjeant, thrust through with his Halbert. At which time also the Governour *Diego Pallimaque*, and the rest of the *Spanish* Captains being slain, their Companies retired themselves into the Houses adjoining to the Market-place, whence with their Murderers and Muskets (the Houses having loop-holes cut out towards the Market-place) they slew and wounded our men at their pleasure; so as they had no way to save themselves but by firing the Houses adjoining; which done, all the *Spaniards* ran into the bordering Woods and Hills, keeping the *English* waking with perpetual Alarms.

The Town (such as it was) being in this sort possessed, *Keymish* prepared to discover the Mine; which at that time he was resolved to do, as it appeareth to me by his Letter of his own hand writing, hereafter inserted. He took with him Captain *Thornex*, Mr. *William Herbert*, Sir *John Hamden*, and others; but at his first approach near the Bank where he meant to land, he received from the Wood a Volley of Shot, which slew two of his Company, hurt six, and wounded Captain *Thornex* in the head, of which wound he languished three Months after.

Captain *Keymish* his Letter, dated the 8th of January, from *Oriénogue*.

ALL things that appertain to humane Condition, in that proper Nature and Sence, that of fatal necessity belongs unto them, makes me choose rather with grief to let you know from me the certain truth, than uncertainties from others; viz. That had not his extraordinary Valour and Forwardness, with the constant vigour of mind, being in the hands of death, his last breath expressed in the words, *Lord have mercy on me, and prosper your Enterprize, lead them all on*; when some began to pause and recoil shamefully, this action had neither been attempted as it was, nor performed as it is, with his surviving honor. This *Indian Pilot* whom I have sent, if there be an occasion to use his service in any thing, will prove sufficient and trusty. *Peter Andrewes*, whom I have sent with him, can better certify your Lordship of the state of the Town, the Plenty, the Condition of our Men, than I can write the same. We have the Governors Servant that waited on him in his Bed-chamber that knows all things that concerned his Master, a Prisoner. We find three or four Refiners Houses in the Town, the best Houses in the same. I have not seen one piece of Coyne or Bullion, neither Gold nor Silver, a small deal of Silver Plate only excepted. Captain *Whitny* and *Woolaston* are but newly come unto us; and now I purpose (God willing) to visit the Mine, which is not eight miles from the Town. Sooner I could not go, by reason of the Murmurings, Disorders, and Vexations wherewith the Sergeant Major is perpetually tormented and tired, having no man to assist him but my self alone.

alone. Things are now in some reasonable order, and as soon as I have made Tryal of the Mine, I will seek to come to your Lordship by the way of the River *Macario*; by which River I have appointed *Peter Andrewes* to go and search the Channel if it be possible, that our Ships may shorten their course to *Trinidad*, when time serves, by those passages. I have sent your Lordship a parcel of scattered papers (I reserve a Cart load) one Roll of Tobacco, a Tortoise, some Oranges and Lemmons; praying God to give you health and strength of Body, and a mind armed against all extremities.

I rest to be Commanded

your Honours,

James Keymish.

Now it seemeth, that the death of my Son, fearing also (as he told me when he came to *Trinidad*) that I was either dead of my first Sickness, or that the news of my Sons death would have hastened my end, made him resolve not to open the Mine: To which he added for excuse (and I think it was true) that the *Spaniards* being gone off in a whole Body, lay in the Woods between the Town and their passage, and that it was impossible, unless they had been beaten out of the Country, to pass up the Woods and craggy Mountains and Hills, without the loss of all the Commanders who should have led them, in their Retreat; and being in possession of the Town, which they guarded with themselves from firing, and the daily and mighty alarms wherewith they were vexed. He also gave for Excuse, that it was impossible to lodge any Companies at the Mine for want of Victuals, which from the Town they were not able to carry up the Mountains, their Companies being divided: He therefore (as he told me) thought it a greater Error to discover it to the *Spaniards* (themselves not being able to work it, or possess it) than to excuse himself to the Companies that he could not find it.

All which fancies I rejected, and before divers of the Gentlemen disavowed his Ignorance. For I told him that a blind man might find it by those marks which himself had set down under his hand. And I told him that his care of losing so many men in passing through the Woods, was but feigned: For, after my Son was slain, I knew that he had no care at all of my man surviving; and therefore had he brought to the King but one hundred weight of the Oar, tho with the loss of an hundred men, he had given his Majesty

satisfaction, preserved my reputation, and given our Nation encouragement to have returned the next year with a greater Force, and to have held the Country for his Majesty, to whom it belongeth; and of which himself hath given the Testimony, that besides the excellent Air, Pleasantness, Healthfulness, and Riches, it hath plenty of Corn, Fruits, Fish, Fowl, both wild and tame; Beeves, Horses, Sheep, Hogs, Deer, Conies, Hares, Tortoises, Amadilles, Nanaes, Oyls, Honey, Wax, Potatoes, Sugar-canes, Medicaments, Balsam, Simples, Gums, and what not. But seeing he had followed his own Advice, and not mine, I should be forced to leave him to his own Argument; with which, if he could satisfy his Majesty and the State, I should be glad of it, tho for my own part he must excuse me to justify it, that he might, if it had pleased him, though with some hazard, have gone directly to the place.

With this he seemed greatly discontented, and so continued divers days.

Afterwards, he came to me in my Cabbin, and shewed me a Letter, which he had written to the Earl of *Arundel*, to whom he excused himself, for the not discovering the Mine, using some of those Arguments (and many other) which he had used before; and prayed me for to allow of his Apology.

But I told him he had undone me by his obstinacy, and that I would not favour in any sort his former folly.

He then asked me whether that were my Resolution?

I told him it was.

He then reply'd in these words. I know then, Sir, what Course to take: And went out of my Cabbin up into his own; into which he was no sooner entered, but I heard a Pistol go off. I sent up (not suspecting any such thing as the killing of himself) to know who shot the Pistol. *Keymish* himself made answer, lying on his Bed, that he shot it off, because it had been long charged; with which I was satisfy'd. Some half an hour after this, his Boy going into his Cabbin, found him dead, having a long Knife thrust under his left Pap through his Heart, the Pistol lying by him, with which it appeared he had shot himself, but the Bullet lightning upon a Rib, had but broken it, and went no further.

Now he that rightly knew *Keymish*, could not but know him of that obstinate absolute resolution, and a man so far from caring to please or satisfy any man but himself, as no

mans opinion, from the greatest to the least, could have perswaded him to lay violent hands on himself; neither would he have done it, when he did it, could he have said to me he was ignorant of the place, and knew no such Mine: For, what cause had I then to have rejected his excuses, or to lay his obstinacy to his charge?

Thus much I have added, because there are some Puppies which have given it out, that *Keymish* slew himself because he had seduced so many Gentlemen and others with an imaginary Mine. But as his Letter to me makes it plainly appear that he was then resolved to open it, so to take off all these kind of objections, let Captain *Charles Parker*, Captain *George Raleigh*, and Captain *King*, all living, and in *England*, be put to their Oaths, whether or no *Keymish* did not confess to them, coming down the River, at a place where they cast Anchor, that he could from that place have gone to the Mine within two hours. I say then, that if the opening of the Mine had been at that time to any purpose, or had they had any Victuals left them to bring them away; or had they not been hastned by seeing the King of *Spain's* Letters before they came to my Hands, which I am sure *Keymish* had seen, who delivered the same to me; whereof one of them was dated at *Madrid* the 17th of *March*, before I left the *Thames*, and with it three other Dispatches, with a Commission for the strengthening of *Orienoque* with 150 Soldiers, which should have come down the River from the new Kingdom of *Granada*, and other 150 from *Puerto-Rico*, with ten Pieces of Ordnance, which should have come up the River from the Entrance, betwixt which two Troops they might have been inclosed; I say, had not the rest seen these Dispatches, and that, having been in the River above two months, they feared the hourly arrival of these Forces; if they were not by these Reasons otherwise perswaded, why had they not constrained *Keymish* to have brought them to the Mine, being (as himself confessed) within two hours march thereof. Again, had the Governours or Commanders but pinched the Governours man, whom they had in their possession, he would have told them of two or three Gold Mines more, and a Silver Mine not above four Miles from the Town, and have given them the names of their possessors, with the reason why they forbear to work them at that time, and when they left off from working them; which they did as well because they wanted *Negraes*, as because they feared the *English*, *French* or *Dutch* would have forced them from these Mines, being once thoroughly opened.

having not sufficient strength to defend themselves.

But to this I have heard it said since my return, that the Governors Man was by me perswaded, being in my power, to say, that such Mines there were, when indeed there was no such thing.

Certainly they are but Silly Fools that discovered this Subtilty of mine, who have not yet, by the long Calenture that weakened me, lost all my Wits, which I must have done if I had left my Redemption in trust with a *Molletto*, who for a pot or two of Wine, or for a duzen or two of Hatchets, or a gay Suit of Apparel, would have confessed that I had taught him to speak of Mines that were not in *verum natura*. No, I protest before God, that without any other Arguments or Promises of mine than good usage, he hath discovered to me the way to five or six of the richest Mines which the *Spaniard* hath, and from which all the mass of Gold which comes into *Spain* (in effect) is drawn.

Lastly, When the Ships were down the River as far as *Garrapana* his Countrey, who was one of the natural Lords, who resigned that part of *Guiana* to her Majesty, hearing that the *English* had abandoned that part of *St Thome*, and left no force in the Country, which he hoped they would have done, he sent a Canoa with store of Fruit and Provisions to the Captains; and by one of his men, which spake *Spanish* (having, as it seemed, been long in their hands) he offered them a rich Gold Mine in his own Country, knowing it to be the best argument to perswade their stay; and if it pleased them to send up any one of the *English* to view it, he would leave sufficient pledges for his safe return. Mr *Leake*, Mr *Molyneux*, and others offered themselves; which, when the greatest part refused (I know not upon what reason) he sent again, leaving one of his men still aboard, to intreat them but to tarry two days, and he himself would come to them, and bring with him a sample of the Ore; for he was an exceeding old man when I was first in the Countrey, about 44 years since: Which being also neglected, and the Ships under sail, he notwithstanding sent a Boat after them to the very mouth of the River, in hopes to perswade them. That this is true, witness Captain *Parker*, Captain *Leake*, Mr *Tresham*, Mr *Molyneux*, Mr *Mawdit*, Mr *Robert Hammond*, Mr *Nicholls*, Captain *King*, *Peter Andrews*, any I know not how many others.

But against this also there hath not been wanting an Argument, though a foolish one; which was, that the *Spaniard* had imployed these *Indians*, with a purpose to betray our Men,

Men. But this Treason had easily been prevented, if they had stayed the old Mans coming, which would have brought the Gold Ore aboard their Ships: and what purpose could there be of Treason, when the *Guianians* offered to leave Pledges six for one? Yea one of the *Indians*, which the *English* had aboard them, whom they found in Fetters when they took the Town of *St Thome*, could have told them that the *Cassique* sent unto them to shew them the Gold Mine in his Country, which was unconquered, and an Enemy to the *Spaniard*, and could have also assured them, that this *Cassique* had Gold Mines in his Country.

I say then, if they would neither compel *Keymish* to go to the Mine, when he was, by his own confession, within two hours march of it: If they neglected to examine from whence those two Ingots of Gold which they brought me were taken, which they found laid by for the Kings *Quinto*, or fifth part; or these small pieces of Silver which had the same Marks or Stamps: If they refused to send any one of the Fleet into the Country, to see the Mines which the *Cassique Carpana* offered them: If they would not vouchsafe to stay two days for the coming of *Carpana* himself, who would have brought them a Sample of the Gold Ore. I say that there is no reason to lay it to my charge, that I carried them with a pretence of Gold, when neither *Keymish* nor my self knew of any in those parts.

If it had been to have gotten my liberty, why did I not keep my liberty when I had it? Nay, why did I put my life into manifest peril to forego it? If I had had a purpose to turn Pyrate, why did I oppose my self against the greatest number of my Company, and was in danger thereby to be slain, or cast into the Sea, because I resisted it?

A strange fancy had it been in me to have perswaded my Son, whom I have lost, and to have perswaded my Wife, whom I left behind me, to perswade her to sell her House at *Mitcham*, in hopes of enriching them by the Mines of *Guiana*, if I my self had not seen them with my own eyes. For, being old and sickly, thirteen years in Prison; and not used to air, to travel, and to watching, it being ten to one that I should never have returned; and of which, by reason of my violent sickness, and the long continuance thereof, no man had any hope; what madness could have made me undertake this long and dangerous Journey, but the assurance of the Mine, thereby to have done his Majesty service, to have bettered the Country by the Trade, and to have restored my Wife and Children to the Estate they had lost; for in that I

refused all other ways and means. And that I had no purpose to change my Prince and my Country, my return in the estate I did return, may satisfy every honest and indifferent man.

An unfortunate man I am; and it is to me a greater loss than all I have lost, that it hath pleased his Majesty to be offended with me for the burning of a *Spanish Town* in *Guiana*; of which those parts bordering the River *Orienoque*; and to the South as far as the *Amazones*, doth by the Law of Nations belong to the Crown of *England*, as his Majesty was well resolved, when it pleased him to grant part thereof to Mr *Harcourt*, and else his Majesty would not have given me leave to have landed there; for I set it down under my Hand, that I intended only that Enterprize, and nothing else; and that I meant to enter the Country by the River *Orienoque*, it was not held to be a breach of the Peace, neither by the State here, nor by the *Spanish* Ambassador, who knew it as well as I, that I pretended the Journey to *Guiana*, which he always held to be but a pretence; for he said it to Mr Secretary *Winwood*, and to others of my Lords, that if I meant indeed to sail to *Guiana*, and had no intent to invade any part of his Masters *West Indies*, nor his Fleets, I should not need to strengthen my self as I did; for I should work my Mine there without disturbance and in Peace. To which I made answer, That I had set it under my hand to his Majesty, that I had no other purpose, nor meant to undertake any thing else.

But for the rest; if Sir *John Hawkins* in his former Journey to *St John de Luz*, notwithstanding he had leave of the *Spanish King* to Trade in all parts of the *Indies*, having the Plate Fleet in his power, did not take out of it one Ounce of Silver, but kept his Faith and Promise in all places, yet was set upon by *Don Henrico de Martines*, whom he suffered to save himself from perishing, to enter the Port upon *Martines* Faith, and interchangeable Pledges delivered, and had the *Jesur of Lubek*, a Ship of her Majesty of a thousand Tuns burnt, his Men slain which he left on Land, lost his Ordnance, and all his Treasure which he had gotten by Trading. What reason had I to go unarmed upon the Ambassadors promise? whose words and thoughts that they were not all one, it hath well appeared since, as well by the Forces which he perswaded his Majesty to send to *Guiana* to encounter me and cut me off there, as by his prosecuting me since my return, who have neither invaded his Masters *Indies*, nor his Fleet, whereof he stood in doubt.

True

True it is, that the *Spanish* cannot indure that the *English* Nation should look upon any part of *America*, being above the fourth part of the known world, and the hundredth part thereof not possessed by the *Spaniards*, nor to them known, as *Acosta* the Jesuit, in his description of the *West Indies*, doth confess, and is well known to be true. No, the King of *Spain* can pretend no other Title to all that he hath not conquered than the Popes Donation. For, from the Streights of *Magellan* to the River of *Plate*, being a greater Territory than all that the *Spanish* possess in *Pernu* or *Chibe*, and from Cape *St Augustine* to *Trinidado*, being a greater extent of Land than all that they have in *Nova Hispania*, or elsewhere, they have not one Foot of Ground in their possession, neither for the greatest part of it, so much as in their knowledge.

In *Orienoque* they have lately set up a wooden Town, and made a kind of Fort; but they have never been able either to conquer the *Guianians*, or to reconcile them: But the *Guianians*, before their Planting there, did willingly resign all the Territory to her Majesty, who by me promised to relieve them against the *Spaniard*. And although I were a Prisoner for these last fourteen years, yet I was at the charge every year, or every second year, to send unto them, to keep them in hopes of being relieved: And as I have said before, the greatest of the natural Lords did now offer us a rich Mine of Gold in his own Country, in hope to hold us there.

And if this usurped possession of the *Spaniards* be a sufficient Bar to his Majesty's Right, and that therefore the King of *Spain* calls himself King of *Guiana*; why might he not as well call himself Duke of *Bretaigne*, because he took possession of *Blavet*, and built a Fort there; and call himself King of *Ireland*, because he took possession of *Limerick*, and built a Fort there?

If the Ambassador had before I went protested to his Majesty that my going to *Guiana* would be a breach of the Peace, I am perswaded that his Majesty, if he had been resolved that *Guiana* had not been his, would have stayed me. But if it be now thought to be a breach of the Peace, not for the going thither, for that cannot be, because I had no other intent, and went with leave; but for taking and burning a *Spanish Town* in the Country: Certainly, if the Country had been the King of *Spain's*, it had been no less a breach of Peace to have wrought any Mine of his, and to have robbed him of his Gold, than it is now called a breach of Peace to take a Town

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Town of his in *Guiana* and burn it; and with as good reason might I have been call'd a Thief and Robber, and have been punished for a Thief and Robber, of the King of *Spain*, if the Country be not his Majesty's, as I now pursued for the Invasion.

For, either the Country is the Kings, or it is not the Kings: If it be our Kings, I have not then offended; If it be not our Kings, I must have perished, if I had but taken Gold out of the Mines there, though I had found no *Spaniard* in the Country.

For Conclusion: If we had had any Peace with the *Spaniards* in those parts of the World, why did even these *Spaniards* which were now encountered in *Guiana*, tye 36 *English-men*, out of Mr *Hall's* Ships of *London* and mine, back to back, and cut their Throats, after they had traded with them a whole month; and came to them ashore, having not so much as a Sword, or any other Weapon amongst them all?

And if the *Spaniard* to our Complaints made answer, That there was nothing in the Treaty against our Trading in the *Indies*, but that we might trade at our Peril; I trust in God that the word Peril shall ever be construed to be indifferent to both Nations; otherwise we must for ever abandon the *Indies*, and lose all our Knowledge and our Pilottage of that part of the World. If we have no other Peace than this, how can there be a breach of Peace, when the *Spanish* with all Nations, and all Nations with them may trade upon their guard? For, to break Peace where there is no Peace is impossible.

The request way that the *Spanish* Ambassadour could have taken to have stayed me from going to *Guiana*, had been to have discovered the great practice which I had with his Master against the King my Sovereign Lord, in the first year of his Majesty's Reign of *Great Britain*, for which I lost my Estate, and lay Prisoner thirteen years in the *Tower of London*; and not to urge my offence in *Guiana*, to which his Master hath no other title than his Sword; with which, to this day, he hath not conquered the least of those Nations; and against whom whole Nations of *Cannibals* and other *Indians* do continually wage War. For, in a Letter of the late Governours to the King of *Spain*, dated the 18th of *July*, he not only complained, That the *Gniansians* are not only up in Arms against him, but that even those *Indians* that live under their noses, do, in despite of all the Kings Edicts, trade with *los Flamings* & *Angleses Enemigos*, with the *French* and *English* Enemies; they never naming the *English* Nation, but with the Epithet of an Enemy.

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But in truth the *Spanish* Ambassadour hath complained against me to no other end but to prevent my Complaint against the *Spaniards*; who, landing my men in a Territory appertaining to the Crown of *England*, they were invaded and slain before any violence was offered to any of the *Spaniards*: And I hope the Ambassadour doth not esteem us for so miserable a people as to offer our Throats to their Swords, without any manner of resistance.

Howsoever, I have said it already, and will say it again, That if *Guiana* be not our Sovereigns, the working of a Mine there, and the taking of a Town there, had been equally perilous to me: For, by doing the one I had robbed the King of *Spain*, and been a Thief, and by the other a Disturber and Breaker of the Peace.

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